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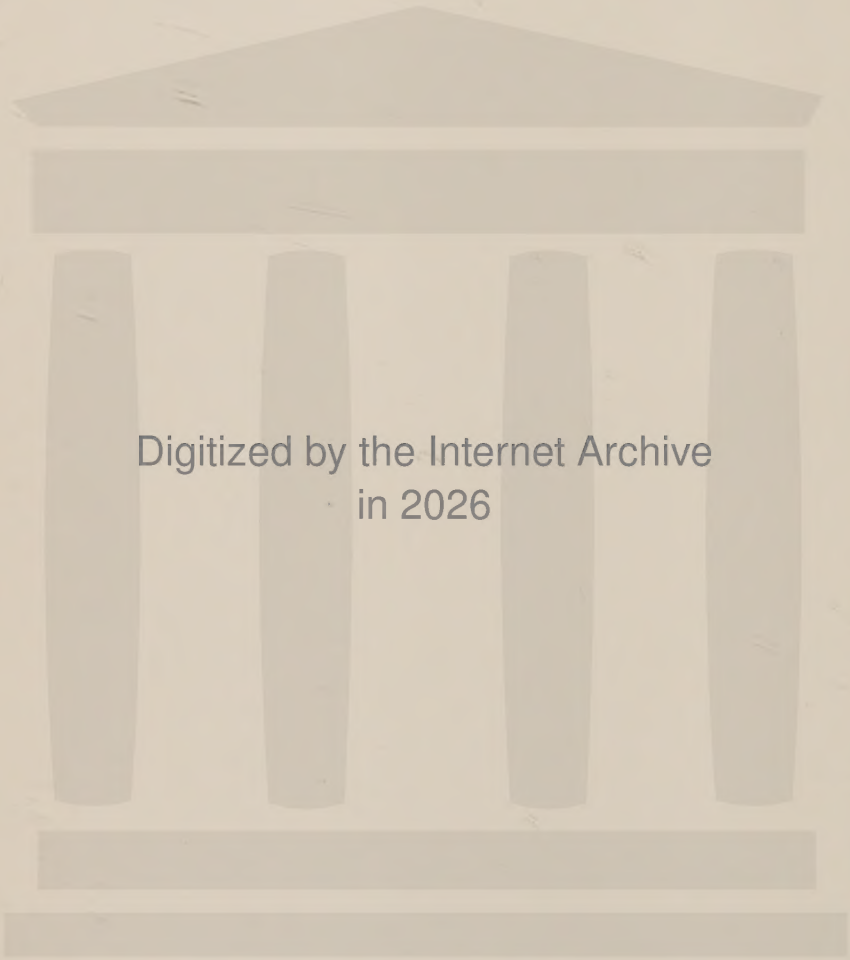

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PREFACE.

DR. LÜBKE'S GRUNDRISS DER KUNSTGESCHICHTE was first published in 1860. The eleventh edition was published in 1891, and was really a revised edition; but it was still the old book, containing many of the characteristics of the original issue.

Since 1891 much has been added to the scholar's knowledge of archæology and to the critic's perception of artistic truth; but, since 1860, the whole point of view has changed. The history of art which is possible to-day was unthinkable in 1860; many assumptions have been proved untrue; many known facts have wholly different explanations now, from those once thought sufficient. The amount of added fact is incredibly great and important.

It has seemed, therefore, to the American publishers of Lübke's book that an entirely new edition of it should be made, and that there was but one way of doing this, namely, to incorporate the necessary new matter with the original text. This has been done with the single desire to make the book what Dr. Lübke would probably have made it had he been writing in 1902, and in America. Thus the opinions of the author as to the relative importance of this and that school and master might not be different now, and under present conditions: and for this reason such opinions (as when bringing the Bolognese school of painters into prominence, and treating with much less proportionate respect the work of Correggio), have been left unchanged. On the other hand, when there is insistence upon the difference between Greek and Indian art, as based upon a supposed influence of the religious belief and social organization which underlie it, in either case, it has been necessary to modify the terms used; because we know more now of the Oriental habit of mind, and because it is no longer possible for the scholar to call the Greek more truly religious—the Indian a mere slave to degrading superstition. In this way, then, expressions of opinion have been modified in one case and left unchanged in another: the attempt having been always

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not to substitute the present writer's views for those of the German author, but to modify the thought of the original as would seem inevitable in view of the discoveries and the critical studies of the last forty years.

The basis of this English edition is the translation made under the supervision of Edward L. Burlingame and the editorship of Clarence Cook in 1877 from the seventh edition of Dr. Lübke's work, and the text of that translation has been retained where no change has seemed desirable. The changes, however, both from the use of the last German Edition, and the many additions of the present editor, have made necessary the entire resetting of the book. This occasion has also been taken advantage of to enrich the book with many full-page and additional text illustrations.

RUSSELL STURGIS.

February, 1904.

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OUTLINES OF THE HISTORY OF ART

Chapter I.

PREHISTORIC AND PRIMITIVE ART.

IN the intricate complexity of things around him, man tries to determine the general laws by which their true character and relation may be explained and which bring them into an harmonious connection. Only by the assurance of the possibility and the necessity for such a connection can he calmly survey the apparent arbitrariness of the separate parts, and perceive, in the successive phases of life afforded by the history of mankind, a progressive development of the ideas and spiritual facts underlying them. If this is indispensable, it is especially so in the realm of art, as in its works the character of nations and of centuries is sensibly manifested. The question, therefore, of the origin of art, confronts us at once.

This origin, however, is not so easy to establish, because everywhere we find evidence, although this is often obliterated by the productions of later civilization, that it took place in a similar manner in every region, as may be seen, even at the present day, among nations yet in an immature condition. The period of this origin is, therefore, just as uncertain as the place. One nation dates the birth of its art a thousand or ten thousand years ago; another is looking for it still to come. Only so much is certain, that in the first stirrings of an impulse to art, under all zones and at all times, a remarkable harmony may be observed. It is the original universal language of mankind, the traces of which meet us in the islands of the Southern

Ocean as on the shores of the Mississippi, among the old Celts and Scandinavians as among the heroes of Homer and in the interior of Asia; only, in these primeval times this language does not pass beyond its first stammering utterance. Man is still too much fettered by surrounding Nature: he ventures too little beyond her immediate conditions for him to be able to rise to the portrayal of images of individual freedom. Hence these primitive works seem rather the results of the workings of a general law of nature than the conscious creative efforts of individual man. The farther man advances, in the course of time, on the path of progress, the clearer stand out the differences of individual minds, and the richer are the abundance and variety of individual human character.

The simplest primitive form, produced by the awakening impulse

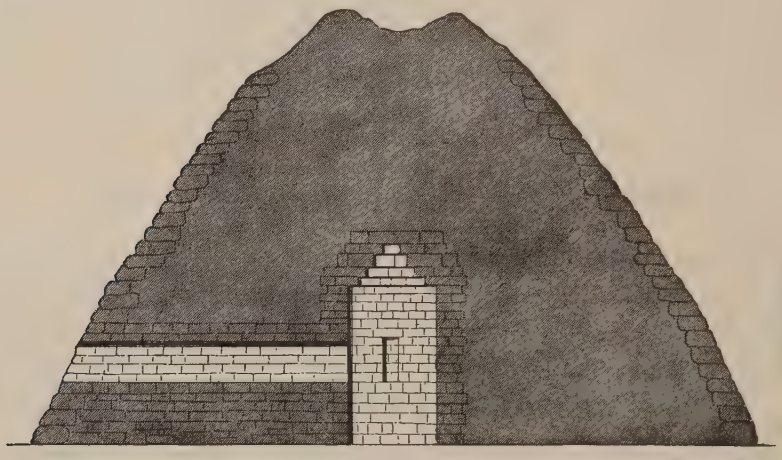


Fig. 1. Section of the Altun-Oba Sepulcher Near Kertsch, Crimea.

to art, is the mound (tumulus) of earth heaped up to mark a burying-place, as of a fallen hero. Such monuments are found in the most varied forms; and they have existed among all ancient peoples of sufficient civilization to undertake and carry out a considerable labor. Occasionally they attain great dimensions, like the mounds of Lydia, or that monument near Kertsch, in the Crimea, called Altun-Oba, which measures 100 feet in height, 150 feet in diameter, and incloses a sepulchral chamber 60 feet high, 10 feet long, and from 3 to 4 feet wide (Fig. 1). These chambers were formed by large stones firmly joined to protect the interior against the pressure of the heaped-up earth. In a few cases these monuments were also provided, as in the accompanying illustration, with an outer facing of stone blocks.

The tumuli of the ancient people of North America were very often used for burial; sometimes of many persons in a single mound; but their original purpose seems to have been rather to support in a higher and therefore more honorable place, the religious or communal building, which would often be of perishable material, low and not by itself impressive.*

In other instances there rises on the memorial spot an upright stone, such as were often engraved with characters at a later day; or a large block or table-like mass is balanced upon three or more upright stones, as in Fig. 2; or merely a mighty block of stone erected by the joint effort of many hands, rough as the mountain yields it, or as some primeval flood has left it. Here man's work is scarcely distinguishable from the casual formations of nature;

Fig. 2. Stone Monument at Trenithy, Cornwall.

the inner associations which man, of his own will, connects with it, alone give it significance. The numerous combinations of such blocks of stone—the stone circles, the grottoes, the rude, table-like altar-forms of stone which we constantly meet with—by the magnitude of the ground plans or by the colossal size of the stones and the unusual character of their positions and combinations, are more capable of affecting the imagination. The awful sense of something mysterious, mighty—ay, even fearful—seizes us with feelings similar to that by which the foreboding of divinity declares itself among people yet in a natural and undeveloped condition. Here, too, we first perceive a striving after architectural unity and proportion, after composition and a certain harmony. Two mighty blocks of

* Consult F. S. Dellenbaugh, "The North Americans of Yesterday," in which are references to authorities and sources of information.

stone are erected and a third is placed as a lintel upon them. A number of such combinations are arranged in a circle, or in several wide circles, one within the other; and the central point of the monument is thus unmistakably indicated. Thus it is with the famous stone circle (Fig. 3) near Salisbury, Wiltshire, England. Here the outer circle is formed by thirty stone pillars each about

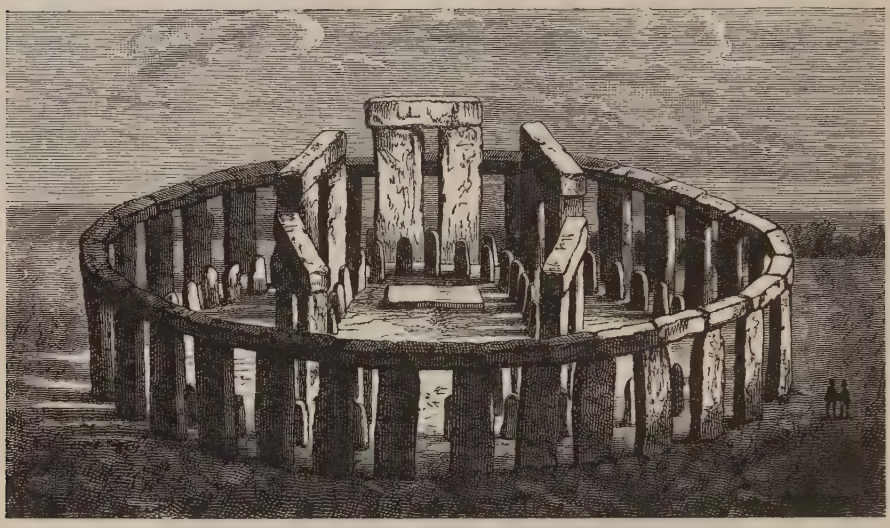


Fig. 3. Stonehenge.

15 feet in height, which were connected by mortised stone beams. In the interior were ten still more colossal pillars about 21 feet high, connected in pairs by similar stone beams. In the intermediary space were two more circles of smaller pillars (see the plan, Fig. 4). The great monument at Abury, or Avebury, also in Wiltshire, occupies far more ground than Stonehenge; the great circle having been about 1,250 feet in diameter, as against about 100 feet in the more impressive and better-preserved monument. Two double stone circles (Fig. 5) are inclosed by the larger circle, and the latter is surrounded by a deep moat which had once another rampart within and close to it. An earthen mound, called Silbury Hill, is close at hand, as shown in the figure, but no connection is traceable between the two monuments. At the stupendous monument at Carnac, Brittany, there were perhaps five thousand mighty pillars in eleven parallel rows, still traceable for a distance of nearly two miles.*

* See Waring's "Stone Monuments, Tumuli, and Ornaments"; also Fergusson's "Rude Stone Monuments."

Besides these monuments we meet with combinations of stones having more apparent utility, being set side by side and fitted rather closely together; often having the obvious purpose of grave-chambers to be covered with the earth of the mound. Advancing a step

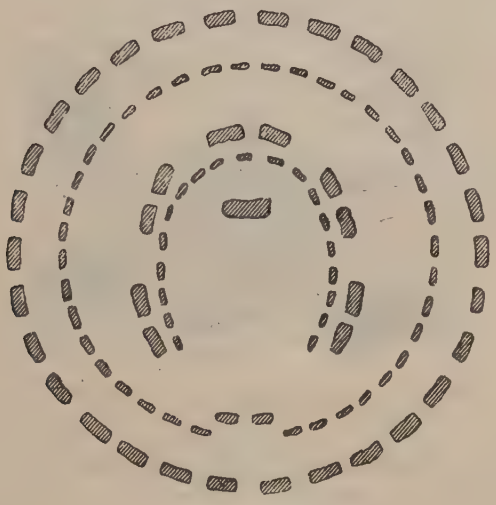


Fig. 4. Plan of Stonehenge.

farther on the same stage of art, we find a better monumental construction; the tomb-chambers being closed at top by gradually projecting the layers of stone until they meet over the center, and thus

Fig. 5. General View of Abury Circles, Wilts.

a kind of vault is formed (see cut, plan, and section of the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenæ, in "Greek Art," ch. I.). Other tombs are inclosed in a more simple manner by making two or more stone slabs rest obliquely against each other, like the rafters of a roof

(Fig. 6). The monuments of this primitive period do not belong exclusively to the Celtic and Germanic prehistoric ages, but are scattered far and wide over the surface of the whole earth, as if to

Fig. 6. Arch at Delos. Fergusson. (From Stuart's "Athens.")

prove that everywhere among men art has had one and the same beginning. We find these remains in Scandinavia, England, and Ireland, in Brittany, and in North Germany (in Hanover and the

Fig. 7. Dolmen (Pierre levée) in a suburb of Poitiers, thirteen feet long and three feet thick.

Baltic provinces); also in India and Asia Minor, in Egypt, on the north coast of Africa, and in the region about the Atlas Mountains. The Breton and Cornish names are commonly adopted: thus a

Menhir or Peulvan is a single stone set upright—called also Bauta when in Scandinavia, and Cath Stone or Battle Stone when thought to be a record of victory; Dolmen or Cromlech, a structure of several stones more or less upright, carrying a large and often somewhat flat block. These pass insensibly into the Cistvaen, because it is never certain whether a given Dolmen was intended to be covered by the earth of a mound. Long Cromlechs are structures like several cromlechs close together, forming a single covered alley;

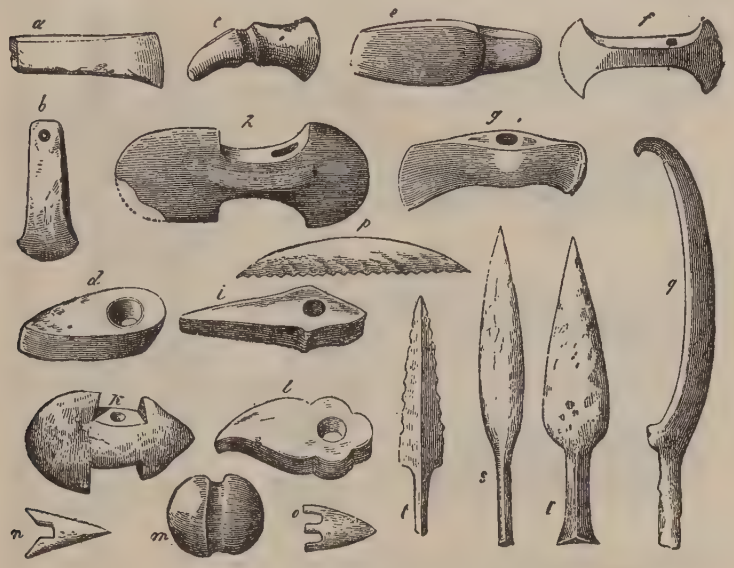


Fig. 8. Stone Implements and Weapons.

a, c, e, ax-heads intended to be secured by cordage to wooden handles; *b, d, i, e,* ax-heads or picks with holes for the handles, though cording will still be needed; *f, g, h, k,* double-edged axes (twibils) for similar use; *m,* head of a club with groove to assist the mounting; *p,* tool with saw-toothed edge; *q,* sickle-shaped tool, probably a hook; *n, o, r, s, t,* arrow-heads and spear-heads.

resembling a very large cistvaen. Loggan stone, or Loggan, is a name given to a stone so balanced that it can be easily rocked, although of enormous weight. Galgal is the same as Cairn. Cairn is a roughly made pile of stones; a mound, but of rather large stones instead of earth and gravel. The early pyramids of Egypt may be considered as great cairns. Menan-Thol (the word *men* occurring in several of these names signifies stone) is a stone pierced with a hole. Kistvaen, same as Cistvaen. Cistvaen, a stone burial chamber, usually a mere box covered by the earth of a tumulus. The portable objects which have been preserved to us from the time of

the rude stone monuments are chiefly tools and weapons. The earliest are of stone (see Fig. 8). Weapons and implements of bronze succeed the stone objects; not that the epochs can be fixed in most cases, but that the obviously natural growth of industry is in that direction; facility in using metals and alloys by means of fusion and casting being a later growth of human intelligence. Fig. 9 gives a group of these objects. Fig. 10 shows a number of utensils of earthenware dating from the Bronze Period, a fact which is ascertained partly by the ornamental patterns upon both the

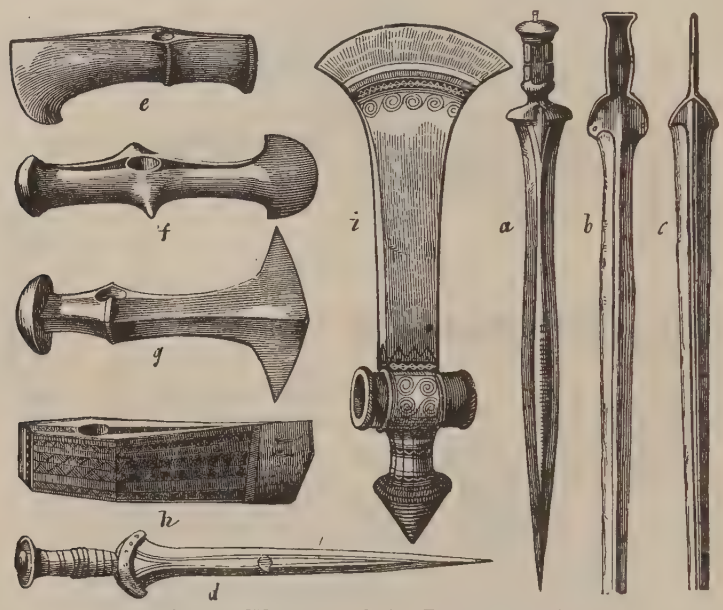


Fig. 9. Weapons of the Bronze Epoch.

e, f, g, stone ax-heads which have been worked by means of metal; *h,* bronze ax-head with ornaments copied from stone originals; *i,* bronze ax-head of the fullest development; *a, b, c,* bronze swords; the flat tang of the handle intended for a double facing of wood, horn, or bone; *d,* dagger entirely of bronze.

metal and the earthen utensils, and partly by the discovery of these pieces in the same graves or among the same ruins. Fig. 11 gives a number of pieces of personal adornment, jewelry, and the like; also of the Bronze Epoch; a time at which metal work was varied, elaborate, and rich.

A further stage in the progress of art * is marked by the cut

* Consult: I. D. Von Braunschweig, "Ueber die altamerikanischen Denkmäler"; Berlin, 1840. Lord Kingsborough, "Antiquities of Mexico." J. L. Stephens, "Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan"; New York, 1841; and "Incidents of Travel in Yucatan"; New York, 1843. E. G. Squier, "Nicaragua: Its People, Scenery, Monuments, etc."; New York, 1852; "Peru"; London, 1876-77;

stone monuments of Central America. Although these, in their highest perfection, do not occur till a period contemporary with the European Middle Ages, they mark a primitive stage of artistic creation, such as other nations had probably passed through in ancient times. The monuments of Peru, witnesses to the once mighty kindom of the Incas, which was destroyed by the Spanish invaders in 1532 after a duration of several centuries, have a strong individual character. The remains of the mighty road, which stretched for miles through the country, boldly victorious over the most extraordinary difficulties of soil, astonish modern travelers. Other remains testify a predilection for terraces, and a use of the

Fig. 10. Vessels of the Bronze Epoch.
c, f, cooking vessels; *a, b, d, e,* vessels for food richly ornamented with incised or raised patterns; *g,* details of the patterns.

so-called Cyclopean stonework, familiar to other primitive peoples all over the world; that is, of walls consisting of irregularly formed blocks of stone fitted carefully together, and the interstices filled with smaller pieces. The door openings are contracted at the top so as to have a triangular form by means of the gradual projecting of the stones, as shown, for instance, in the remains of the so-called palace of Manco-Capac. Imposing ruins of palaces are to be seen at Tiaguanaco near Lake Titicaca with vast pillared halls and mighty portals conspicuous for ornamentation, singularly unpretending and clear. The extensive remains at Truxillo, designated

"Notes on Central America"; New York, 1855. J. F. Nadaillac, "Prehistoric America"; New York, 1884. Stubel and Uhle, "Die ruinenstätte von Tiahuanaco im Hochlande des alten Perú"; Breslau, 1892. R. B. Brehm, "Das Incareich"; Jena, 1885. And as above, Mr. Dellenbaugh's recent work.

as the palace of Chimu-Canchu, also have an original decoration of friezes and staircase-like ornamental bands, denoting a keen taste for the appropriate ornament. In the southern part of Quito, finally, in the valley of Cuenca, considerable ruins have been found, and in their tombs an abundance of treasures, gold, jewelry, weapons, and vessels, the linear system predominating in their ornamentation, although vegetable forms also occur. In Mexico and Central America, especially under the rule of the warlike and powerful Aztecs, art

Fig. 11. Jewelry and Ornaments of the Bronze Epoch.

h, l, m, n, pins with ornamental heads; *u, v, w, x,* clasp pins (the modern safety-pin); *r, s,* finger-rings; *c, d, e,* head bands which in *a, b,* approach the quality of crowns (the Greek *stefani*); *t,* neck ornament like the *hausse-col* of the eighteenth century; *f, g, h, o,* armlets; *q, p,* spiral armlets covering much of the arm.

reaches the utmost height to which the mind of the primitive races of America could attain. The stone remains of this people, so highly developed to a certain extent, afford even now striking proofs of their incapacity to attain to a higher culture. We find among them the primeval monumental form common to every people, reduced among them to a settled type—that of a pyramid rising in several terraces. Vast courts inclosed in walls, and with the dwell-

ings of the priests connected with them, formed a complicated temple building, of which that of the Teocalli of Guatusco is an example (Fig. 12). Broad steps led to the height of the platform, where captured foes were slaughtered as sacrifices to the horrible war-god Huitztilopochtli. Numerous monuments of this kind are to be found at Xochicalco, Papantla, Guatusco, Tehuantepec, and in other places.

In these works, more or less important remains of which have been preserved, we also discover the primitive development of a second impulse—that craving for ornamentation and decoration which almost always accompanies the awakened desire for monu-

Fig. 12. The Teocalli of Guatusco.

mental memorials. Two things here serve the creative fancy as motives—first, plaiting or weaving employed by the earliest pastoral tribes in the manufacture of clothing, tent-cloth, carpets, and curtains, and suggesting many varieties of square and rectangular meanders and interlacings; second, the forms of vegetable and animal life. The ornaments of the first kind are generally richer and more tasteful in device, and are more neatly executed; they constantly exhibit motives of an artistic kind, such as would seem to have been shared by the human race originally as a common heritage. They are early applied to works of architecture, at first, indeed, in luxuriant overloading, without distinctness, rule, or systematic arrangement; so that not unfrequently they cover the whole surface like tapestry, and conceal the construction. Many of the later Mexican monuments, especially those at Uxmal, are conspicuous for this (Fig. 13).

In Mexico and Central America the statues and reliefs with which the structures are very lavishly covered appear fantastically overdone, distorting the organic form almost to shapelessness. It is especially the monstrous specimens of headgear, consisting of feathers, scalps, human sculls, and grotesque pendants of every description, which impart to these works the impress of confused visions and fantastic horrors. The human form seems stifled in a strangely barbarous ornamentation. The old places of worship that have been discovered in the South Sea Islands represent a still more primitive stage of productiveness. They are either simple pyramidal cairns of the roughest kind (such as are found

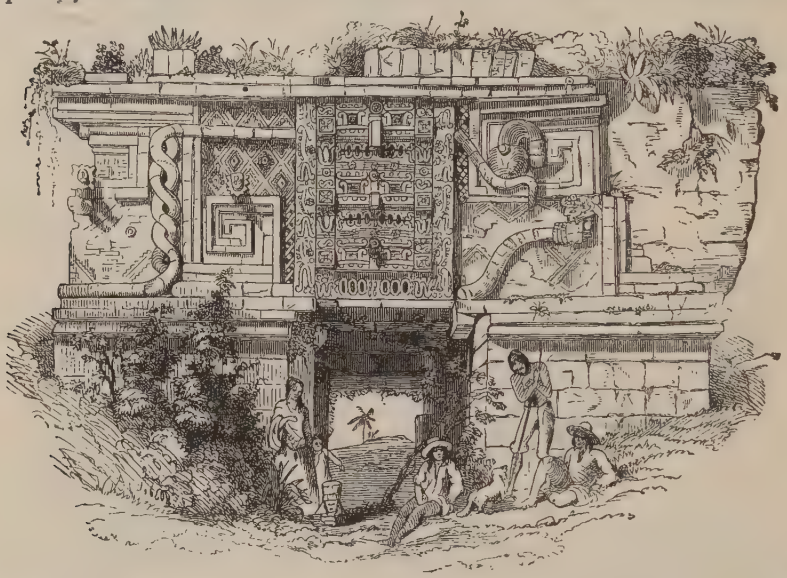


Fig. 13. Casa de la Monjas at Uxmal.

on Easter Island), or regular terraced pyramids, in which the most primitive monumental form has acquired a more firmly marked type, as may be seen especially in Tahiti. In this island, walls of great coral blocks surround the sacred precincts, within which arose a structure of the same material, in the form of a terraced truncated pyramid, rising in ten steps to a height of about fifty-six feet. Colossal memorial pillars with rudely suggested human limbs and abnormal heads, often comprising one-third or even one-half of the entire figure, have also been found in certain islands of the Pacific, and these are closely allied in style to the dwarfish and deformed figures carved in wood which have been brought to Europe and are found in many collections.

The cemeteries of Peru have yielded an abundant supply of pottery vases and useful vessels displaying a singular variety of form. Decoration is not freely applied; the smooth black ware has rough incisions or slight relief. The same tombs have yielded a great number of interesting woven fabrics. Work of later date within the bounds of the present United States may be seen in the pottery of the communal villages of Arizona and New Mexico. Textile fabrics and carved wooden objects from islands of the Pacific made during the nineteenth century are similar in character to the above, and denote a civilization of a class comparable to that of North America, and also of South America at earlier but uncertain epochs.

The division of civilizations into the Rough Stone Age, the Polished Stone Age, the Bronze Age, and the Iron Age, has been generally abandoned, because these epochs have not been found to be contemporaneous in the different parts of the world. When the whites reached North America the native people were still in the Stone Age. The inhabitants of many Pacific Islands were still in the Polished Stone Age at the time when their indigenous civilization was replaced by that brought in from Europe and the United States. It can only be said of a single people or of a single land that there are evidences within it of these successively advancing eras; moreover, it has constantly happened that a given race has been checked in its natural development by the interference of a higher physical civilization; thus, the American Indians never passed through the Bronze Age at all, their stone tomahawks and scalping knives having been replaced by steel weapons procured from the whites.

Chapter II.

EGYPTIAN ART.

1. *Land and People.*

ON the banks of the Nile and of the Euphrates we meet with the earliest traces of artistic activity, and those of the African river-banks are far more enduring and are therefore better known. As a higher state of early civilization is generally displayed in valleys watered by rivers, we find this especially and conspicuously the case here. The inhabited and historical parts of Egypt are the work of the Nile. Flowing down from the lofty mountains of Abyssinia, the river, swollen with the mass of waters in the tropical rainy season, rises annually with the utmost regularity, covering the narrow, rock-inclosed valley with its floods, depositing, as it subsides, an extraordinarily fruitful alluvial soil. This state of things, even in very ancient times, was the source of prosperity and of a high degree of civilization. The wonderful stream compelled the inhabitants not merely to build protecting dikes and embankments, but it also early made necessary a system of irrigation, by which its blessings might be regulated, and uniformly distributed. It even gave the first impetus to scientific studies, since the regular return and subsidence of the waters early became a subject of observation, and, with the help of astronomical study, a matter of learned computation. Indeed, the whole life of the people, dependent as it was on the river, acquired a distinct outward form, a fixed rule and order; hence a spirit of strict conformity to law was early familiar to the Egyptians.

Undoubtedly, however, the natural disposition of this remarkable people contained the germs which, under the fostering influence of outward circumstances, unfolded in such a characteristic manner. We may suppose that, in the prehistorical ages, the people of the Pharaohs passed into the rich valley of the Nile from their dwellings in Western Asia, crossing the Isthmus of Suez, that bridge of nations, over which, through thousands of years, the races of Asia

and Egypt streamed to and fro both for war and peace. We may suppose that they partly subjugated the aborigines and partly supplanted them, and laid the foundation of the Egyptian civilization with its distinctive features. The character of this people was utterly separate and isolated; and while their native river is strangely distinguished from all other rivers of the world by the fact that, in its whole course through Egypt and the northern and more historical part of Nubia—a land the length of which is equal to the distance from London to Florence, or from the seaport of Havre to Vienna: from New York to Chicago or Savannah—it receives no single tributary, not even the smallest, so the ancient Egyptians rejected with proud reserve all intermingling with foreign elements. Thus the land lay, like one long oasis, protected by its rocky walls, and surrounded by the sandy tracts of the desert; and thus the people, like some oasis of civilization, towered with fullness of vigor above the surrounding races, who were inferior to them in culture and in development.

The form of government in which Egyptian life remained petrified for thousands of years was that autocracy common to the whole East. But the sober, practical, sensible turn of mind peculiar to the Egyptians prevented them from yielding to that enervating voluptuousness so common under the Asiatic despotisms, and directed their minds to useful and energetic work. The Pharaohs certainly ruled with unlimited power; and so high was their position above the whole people, even above the privileged castes of priest and soldier, that they shared divine adoration, and were identified with the gods of the land. There was, however, an extremely complicated web of legal and ceremonial arrangements, which fettered the power of the ruler, and commanded his respect. Next to the ruler, the priestly caste enjoyed the most considerable influence. The priests were the guardians of science, especially of geometric and astronomical knowledge, which they knew how to envelop with a veil of mystery; they were the superintendents and warders of the temple, the guardians of the theoretical and practical religious systems.

Their religious belief was deeply rooted in a polytheistic system, the forms of which were, for the most part, only symbols of events and circumstances connected with the peculiar nature of the country. Something of abstract ideas may have lain at the foundation of this system; yet the mode in which they were expressed to the senses was somewhat crude. Thus the gods were represented as if in the image of the divinely esteemed Pharaohs, in human form: but to the upper and nobler parts, especially to the head, a distinct animal form was sometimes given, differing in the different gods; some ani-

mals, noxious as well as harmless, received divine adoration, or, at least, were reverenced as symbolical of divinity, and were embalmed like human beings at their death. This custom of embalming is also closely connected with the religious notions of the Egyptians. They believed, though in a rather material than spiritual manner, in a perpetual existence after death, in the separate life of the soul, in which they regarded themselves as living forever; and further, in a double, or more spiritual body, the Ka, for whose sake the earthly body must be preserved for the time when the Ka might seek its old earthly home. Hence their extraordinary care for the dead, their systematic reverence for the tombs; treating the abodes of the departed with far more importance and solemnity than the dwellings of the living, which were only raised to meet ephemeral needs, and were as easily destroyed as they were built. All this imparted to the character of the ancient Egyptians a trait of earnestness which revealed itself in all their being, whether it assumed the form of unalterable laws or of religious conservatism, or became, in private life, their settled rule of conduct. By their dress, mode of life, and manners, no less than by their language, and by the figurative, significant, but clumsy hieroglyphic writing employed by them alone, they were distinguished from other races, and felt themselves, in their proud self-consciousness, so far superior to all other nations, that they avoided even peaceful contact with them, and prohibited all strangers from entering the sacred kingdom of the Pharaohs, or at least made it very difficult for them to do so.

The beginning of the political life of Egypt is lost in the impenetrable obscurity of remote antiquity. Four thousand years before Christ, however, the oldest Egyptian kingdom existed in the lower part of the land, with its capital Memphis. The first three dynasties is set down by Flinders Petrie as about 4800 to 4000; by Brugsch, as 4400 to 3700 B.C. Even at the time of the fourth dynasty (about 4000 to 3700 B.C., Flinders Petrie), magnificent dikes and waterworks were constructed, and the pyramids were erected, the founders of which—the Pharaohs Chufu, Shafra, and Mencheres called by Herodotus Cheops, Chefren, and Mycerinus)—all belonged to the fourth dynasty of Manetho.* The ruling family had probably migrated from Western Asia, and had become mingled with the aborigines of the country. Besides the Pyramids of Memphis, the rocky tombs associated with them testify to the art activity of that

* Manetho of Heliopolis was an Egyptian high priest, and keeper of the sacred archives, in the third century before Christ, under the first two Ptolemies. He wrote in Greek a history of Egypt, of which nothing but fragments remain. These fragments, in addition to an account of the Hyksos, furnish the complete lists of thirty dynasties, extending over more than thirty-five hundred years.

earliest epoch of the "ancient kingdom." A second flourishing period began with the twelfth dynasty, somewhat more than two thousand years before Christ. At this period, in the obelisk erected at Heliopolis by King Sesurtesen I., we meet for the first time with this remarkable form of monumental column so peculiar to the Egyptians. Similar monuments soon after began to be erected over a large extent of country, an evidence of the resistlessly advancing and increasing power of the Pharaohs. The tombs of Beni-Hassan, in Central Egypt, exhibit the style of this epoch in its grandest expression. But, about the year 2000 B.C., conquerors from Western Asia, under the name of the Hyksos, invaded the land, and drove back the power of the Pharaohs to Upper Egypt. This interregnum lasted about six hundred years, until about 1400 B.C., when the invaders were vanquished and expelled by King Sethos I. The "new kingdom" now rose to the height of prosperity, its capital being Thebes with its hundred gates. The eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, with their mighty rulers, especially the great Rhamses II. (the Sesostris of the Greeks), witnessed the golden age of Egyptian civilization, as is proved by the many temples and monuments still remaining. Imperceptibly, however, and probably resulting in part from increased Asiatic influence, dissensions, divided policy, disputes among rulers, and frequent political changes began, and broke the old strength of the nation. The Assyrians conquered the land as far up the Nile as Thebes. The wise Psammetichus attempted another regeneration by the help of Greek mercenaries, about the year 650 B.C.; this, however, lasted but a short time; for, under his immediate successors, Egypt became a prey to the Persians; and afterwards fell, with the Persian empire itself, before Alexander the Great. So indestructible, nevertheless, was the national tenacity of the people, that in the monuments of a late period, even under Greek and Roman rule, the foreign conquerors adhered to the native forms of art, consecrated as they were by the tradition of centuries.

2. *The Architecture of the Egyptians.**

The earliest monuments to which we can assign an approximate date are the Pyramids in and near the ancient Memphis. They rise aloft like gigantic landmarks of history, memorials of an age which reaches back into an almost fabulous antiquity. They mark the epoch at which a higher civilization first took root on the earth;

* Brugsch, H. K., "Egypt Under the Pharaohs." Perrot and Chipiez, "Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité," vol. i. Petrie, W. M. Flinders, "History of Egypt"; "Egyptian Decorative Art"; "Ten Years' Digging in Egypt." Prisse d'Avennes, "Histoire de l'Art Egyptien."

and thus at the same time they point to the beginnings of historical life and of monumental creations. There is no longer any doubt that the earliest of these monuments are of the fourth Egyptian dynasty, dated by Flinders Petrie 4000 to 3721 B.C. The pyramid at Medum, forty miles above (south of) Cairo, and the mastabas or table-top tombs about it, are ascribed to the first king of this dynasty, Sneferu, called also Soris. The pyramid as it now is shows a tower-like mass with very steep sides, for the smooth outer casing has disappeared. There is an inclined passage leading to the burial chamber in the heart of the pyramid. Against the eastern face of the pyramid is built a small one-story structure inclosing a square court; this was certainly a temple; and the pyramid and temple together are surrounded by a wall, forming a sacred inclosure. The step-pyramid at Sakkarah has been thought to be the oldest of all; it is certainly to be considered with that of Medum.

The successor of Sneferu was Khufu, the Cheops of the Greeks, and his tomb is identified with the Great Pyramid of Ghizeh. The immense mass of these artificial mountains—the largest is reckoned to hold eighty-five millions of cubic feet—inclosed a small stone-built chamber containing the sarcophagus of the ruler. Narrow, steeply inclined passages, the openings to which are concealed by a coating of blocks of stone covering the whole exterior, led into the tomb within; and still smaller ducts or flues carried upward diagonally served for ventilation. The most various and ingenious precautions in construction secure the roof of these chambers against the immense pressure of the mass above. Either the mighty stone beams of the roof are supported like rafters against each other, or, in order to discharge the weight, a system of hollow spaces, one above the other, is contrived above the chamber, formed by the projection of the horizontal layers of stone. The building of some of the pyramids, as may be still perceived by several of those which were left unfinished, was made after the plan of a terrace-like step-structure, diminishing as it rose; while the angles formed by the steps were filled up in a reverse manner, beginning from the top, and forming the regular sloping pyramidal figure. There are examples of pyramids which have been made much larger than was originally intended, by having, at a later period, received a complete new casing over the first one; such is the pyramid of Menkaura (the Mycerinos of the Greek writers), the third in size of those at Ghizeh. The material for these mighty buildings consists, in some instances, of limestone, and others of bricks. The most primitive architectural works in Egypt were formed, most probably, of wood, for the earliest wall-paintings show many such structures. Mud plas-

EGYPTIAN ARCHITECTURE
TEMPLE AT PHILÆ

tered over light frames was used, even for elaborately designed monuments, as appears from the forms of the stone monuments, evidently suggested by the earlier and less permanent structures. Sun-dried brick as well as burned brick were used from the earliest historical times, as in Mesopotamia. The desire for the highest monumental character in their buildings, however, led the Egyptians early to make use of the rich quarries of every kind of stone afforded by the mountain ranges on both sides of the Nile. In the pyramids, too, we find the working of stone already brought to such a high degree of perfection, that we may argue long practice in the art.

The three largest pyramids are in the neighborhood of Cairo (six miles southwest), near the village of Ghizeh; and, from their inscriptions, they owe their origin to the kings Khufu (Cheops), Shafra (Chefren), and Menkaura (Mycerinos). That of Khufu

Fig. 14. Sphinx and Pyramid of Ghizeh.

is the oldest; at its base it measured originally more than 750 feet square, with a height, as calculated, of above 470 feet. Next in size, as in antiquity, is the pyramid of Shafra, which had a square base of 764 feet, with a height of 455 feet. Considerably less in extent is the pyramid of Menkaura (Mycerinos), which measures only 354 feet square, and 218 feet in height; but it surpasses both the others in some parts of the execution, as in the granite facing of the lower part of the slope. When entered by Colonel Vyse (in 1837), the sepulcher still contained the sarcophagus of the king; but in its transport to England, the latter was subsequently lost off the coast of Spain. On the east side of each pyramid there is a small shrine, probably designed for funeral obsequies. Although only ruined remains are left of these structures, there exists in the neighborhood of these three gigantic buildings a proportionally no less gigantic

work of sculpture, which manifests a similar striving after grandeur of effect; namely, the colossal Sphinx, standing in front of the group of pyramids—a mighty lion's body with a human head (Fig. 14). This work of sculpture, which is almost completely covered over with the sand of the desert, except where some temporary uncovering has been done, is 65 feet high, and 142 feet long, and is entirely cut out of an isolated ridge of rock. Its date is wholly unknown. It was the opinion of an excellent judge, Auguste Edouard Mariette, that it was older than the neighboring pyramids; this opinion seems to have been held also by G. C. C. Maspero; but the researches of the last thirty years of the nineteenth century threw doubt upon that theory. As to the question whether any masonry was used to make good the natural rock, and complete the form, authorities differ.

In the immediate vicinity of the greater pyramids there are six smaller ones, all royal tombs, and also some extensive private tombs, usually of the mastaba shape. These private tombs are more or less deeply hewn out of the natural rock. They begin with a small sanctuary intended for funeral rites; and from this a perpendicular shaft leads down into the sepulcher itself. Besides numerous metaphorical representations, the interior is frequently decorated with architectural ornaments, imitating in gay colors a wooden trellis-work. The lintel of the entrance also distinctly reminds us of a wooden construction; for in many cases there is a cylindrical, trunk-like beam uniting the two door-posts; and even the ceilings of the apartments are repeatedly made in imitation of pieces of wood fastened together. Where the size of the apartments has rendered support necessary, this has been introduced in the form of square pillars, which are united either by a rectangular architrave or by rounded beams. A ribbon-wound astragal surrounds the walls, which are crowned with a strongly projecting concave molding forming a wall cornice, surmounted by an abacus; a form which, we shall see, passed also into Persian art. Both of these forms prevail through the whole duration of Egyptian art. The use of columns as an architectural feature does not seem to occur in this epoch.

Other very early pyramids are at Abu Roash, Abu Sir, and other places along the edge of the high rocky cliffs which bound, on the west, the fertile valley of the Nile. During the ancient empire, or during the first twelve dynasties, the royal tomb was generally a pyramid; although often of inferior material, and never comparing in size to the more ancient monuments.

A second golden age of the ancient kingdom, about 2700 years B.C., and comprising the twelfth dynasty, is marked in the first place by the mighty obelisk of King Sesurtesen (Osirtasen) I. at Heliop-

olis. In this work, peculiarly characteristic as it is of the Egyptian mode of thought, the rude stone monumental pillar has transformed itself into a fixed geometric figure, rising upward as a monolithic mass with a square base, gradually diminishing, and ending in a pyramidal point.

The use of obelisks as memorial stones of peculiarly sacred character is known to be much more ancient, but the great one known as the "obelisk of Heliopolis" is the oldest one still remaining in place. They were always set up in pairs—one on each side of a great gateway of entrance. The long inscriptions of the triumphs of kings and the like incised upon their smooth faces are not the primary cause of their placing: they are in some way expressive of

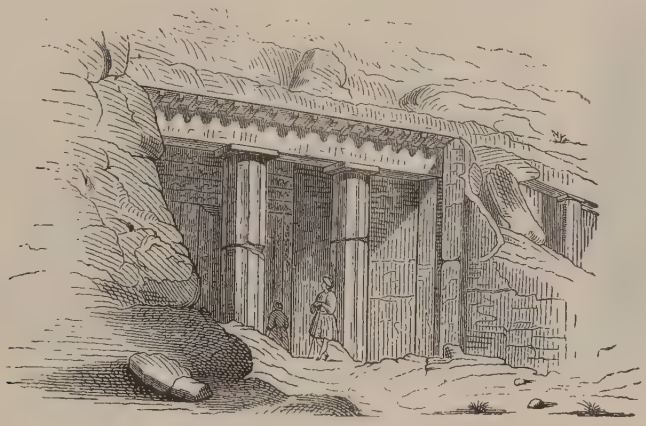


Fig. 15. Tomb of Beni-Hassan.

the sun-worship which lay at the very bottom of all Egyptian religion.

Another great architectural landmark of this epoch is to be found in two of the rock-cut tombs of Beni-Hassan in Central Egypt (Fig. 15), at the entrance halls of which, as well as in the interior—for the first time, it seems—a regular and finished colonnade appears. We see here how the square pillar gave place to the octagonal, and then to the sixteen-sided form; the latter having shallow, concave flutings, in order better to mark the narrow sides. Above the architrave which connects the columns, there is a cornice designed in imitation of the projecting rafters of a wooden roof. The column is connected with the ground by means of a circular disk; it is separated from the architrave by a large projecting square plinth. Besides this form of column we here meet with another, evidently fashioned in imitation of vegetable forms. The shaft, which is sharply drawn in at

the foot, seems composed of four united plant stalks, fastened together at the upper narrowed end by a band several times wound round them. Above this band—the neck of the column—rises the capital, also in four divisions, in the form of a closed lotus-flower, and crowned with a square plinth.

When, after the expulsion of the Hyksos, the new kingdom rose with the eighteenth dynasty into greater power and splendor, owing to the growing national pride of the Egyptians, Thebes became the center of rule; and here for centuries the proud ambition of the Pharaohs found satisfaction in the execution of the most magnificent monuments. Far beyond the lower country—indeed, deep into Asia, and up the Nile into conquered Nubia and Abyssinia—the tokens of the dominion of the Pharaohs were displayed in mighty works. The period of the highest development extends from the eighteenth to the twentieth dynasty, from the beginning of the sixteenth to the end of the thirteenth century B.C. In this period especially, the system of Egyptian architecture was fully completed; an ever-recurring form for the design of the temples was adopted; and the different parts of the building were brought into an harmonious and characteristic whole.

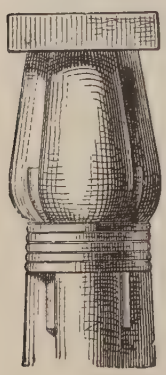


Fig. 16. Capital of Tomb of Beni-Hassan.

The Egyptian temple was a strictly isolated building (Fig. 17). Huge sloping walls, crowned with the overshadowing concave cornice, surround its inclosure, and invest the whole with a solemn and mysterious character. No opening for windows, no colonnade interrupts the monotonous surface of the temple wall, which is often covered as with a gigantic tapestry, with brilliantly colored intaglio sculptures, representations of the gods and the rulers. On the short side of the vast parallelogram, on that facing the river-bank, stands the narrow, lofty entrance, between two tower-like, sloping structures (pylons), rising high above all the rest of the building (Fig. 18). In front of these pylons, hollows are made for the insertion of great masts, which, on festive occasions, were surmounted by pendent flags. The entrance gate, like the pylons and the surrounding walls, is crowned with the same lofty cornice which plays so great a part in Egyptian architecture. Extensive double rows of colossal sphinxes or rams often lead to the entrance, which is sometimes guarded by obelisks, or gigantic statues of rulers (see Fig. 17).

Entering through the narrow portal, we find ourselves in a fore-court under the open sky, inclosed all round, or on three sides, with stone-roofed corridors, which are built against the surrounding walls,

and open toward the court with colonnades. This forecourt is never lacking in Egyptian temples; it is sometimes, in important buildings, repeated after a second or even a third pair of pylons. This forecourt is succeeded by a hall, often no less in extent; and the mighty stone ceiling of this hall rests on columns placed in rows. The two middle rows, corresponding with the longitudinal axis of the building, consist of stronger and taller columns, which support a higher ceiling; so that a lofty central nave is formed, with a clere-story the side walls of which supply the apartment with light through broad and mullioned windows. Passing through this hall, which is also an integral part of an Egyptian temple, the sanctuary

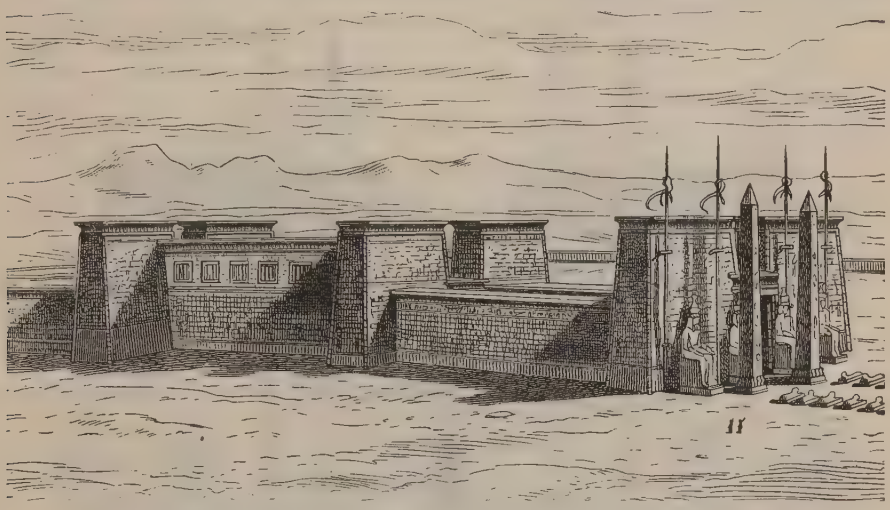


Fig. 17. Restored View of an Egyptian Temple.

is reached by a succession of smaller or larger apartments and halls, the innermost of which is the narrow, low, and mysteriously gloomy adytum. Little that is certain is as yet known with regard to the use and importance of the separate apartments: in some cases a statue, in others a tabernacle with relics or a symbolical object, was kept in the innermost shrine; much as in Jerusalem the only thing in the Holy of Holies was a decorated chest containing the tables of stone. Probably the inner courts were accessible only to the priests and to the initiated, who there solemnized the worship of the gods; whilst the adoring multitude may have filled the vast forecourts. In all the apartments, the ceilings, pillars, and walls, like the outer walls, are covered with metaphorical figure subjects, which, with their varied and splendid colors, and the wonderful

symbolism of their designs, increase to the utmost the strong impression made by the buildings themselves.

The remains of the "hundred-gated" Thebes, mighty even in their ruin, are scattered over a vast area on both banks of the river, and have been named after the modern villages established among the rubbish of the decayed city. Among them, the Temple of Karnak stands forth as the largest and most important. Founded by Sesurtesen I. in the time of the ancient kingdom, it received, under the rulers of the later kingdom, constant additions and enlargements; so that finally, with a breadth of 370 feet, its length exceeded 1130 feet. Passing through the mighty gateway with its flanking pylons, to which an avenue about 200 feet in

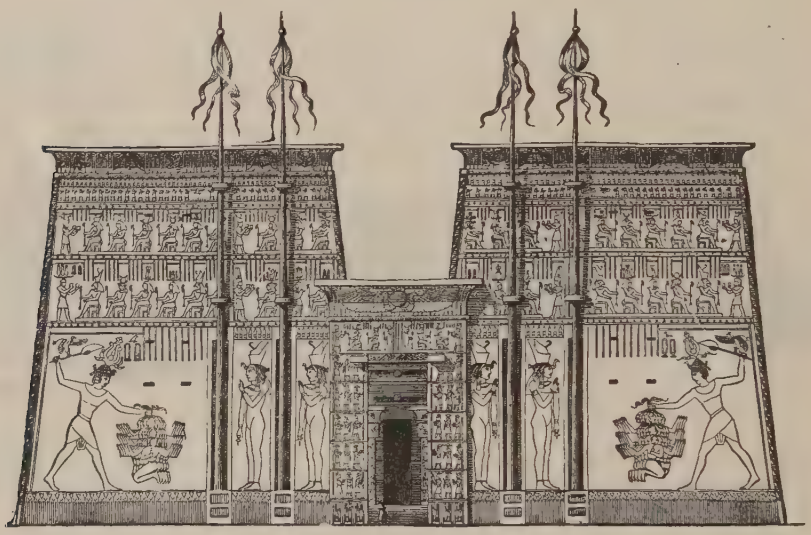


Fig. 18. Restored Front of an Egyptian Temple with Pylons and Gateway.

length of colossal ram-sphinxes, led up, a spacious forecourt was reached, 329 feet broad, and 275 feet deep, with a covered corridor on either side, and a double line of columns down the center. A notable violation of the laws that regulated the plan of an Egyptian temple meets us in this forecourt, the northern wall of which is broken by a smaller sanctuary, about 200 feet long by 80 feet wide. This temple, which is entered from the court itself, was added, at a much later period, by Rhamses II. Passing from the forecourt, between two still more colossal pylons, the famous hypostyle hall was reached —the mightiest in the world—built by Sethos I. and his successors during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries B.C. Its stone ceiling was supported by a hundred and thirty-four columns, the middle

twelve of which, larger and taller than the rest, inclose a lofty central nave. These central columns rise to a height of 66 feet; while the smaller ones, distributed in seven rows on either side of the central twelve, are only 40 feet high. This immense hall, with its area of 55,930 square feet, is like a magnificent cathedral. A third propylon closed the great hall on the eastern side. Beyond, on the east side, and extending across the entire width of the building, is a narrow, uncovered court, in which stood two granite obelisks, erected by Thutmes I.; and behind these was a fourth propylon, at which the true sanctuary begins. Here in labyrinthine complexity are open and covered courts, chambers, chapel-like apartments, and columned halls, connected by corridors and galleries strangely intermingled; so that nowhere so plainly as in this gigantic monument

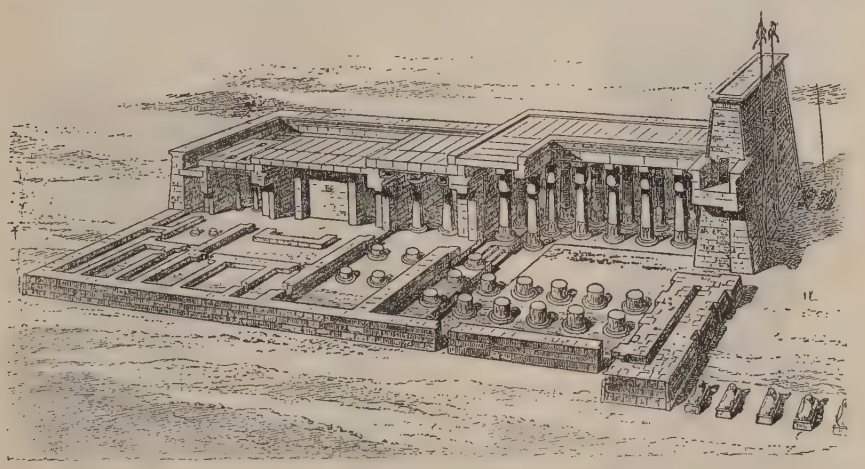


Fig. 19. Temple of Chensee at Karnak.

do we see the intricate system of inclosure that prevails in Egyptian architecture. Significant colossal figures are often placed against the walls, combined with projecting pillars; all the surfaces are covered with richly painted imagery, in which symbolic subjects and religious ceremonies alternate with historical representations of royal heroic deeds. The inner chambers were chiefly built by Thutmes III. and his sister.

As was usually the case, the details of the architectural ornamentation are here also principally displayed in the columns, for which there were clearly defined forms, of the grandest effect, and fully corresponding with the powerful impression of the whole. Thus, in the great columned hall, the smaller columns have the closed lotus capital, already seen at Beni-Hassan (Fig. 16). But the slavish

imitation of the natural growth of the plant is no longer sought for as it was there: the capital is changed, like the stem, into a compact, concentrated mass, the surface of which is decorated with gay hieroglyphics (Fig. 20). But, in the larger columns of the two central rows, a new form of capital appears (Fig. 21), which takes for its motive an opened lotus calyx, and thus introduces a new artistic form into the established system of architectural ornamentation. In order that the widely projecting edge of this capital might not be weighed down and broken, the small square plinth was retained, as in the other capitals.

The column itself is of sturdy proportions (Fig. 22); its shaft, with a heavy entasis tapering toward the capital, rises upon a circular plinth and its base is covered with gaily painted leaf orna-

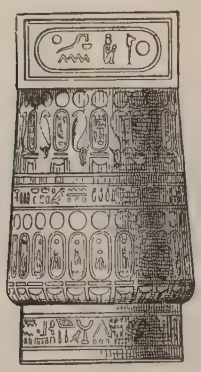


Fig. 20. Çapital at Karnak.

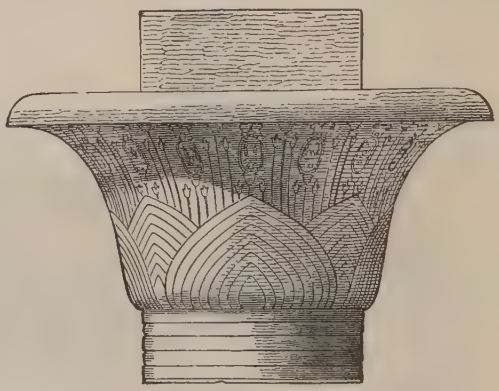


Fig. 21. Capital at Karnak.

ments; while it is bound to the capital by similarly painted decorations which determine the necking.

Among other buildings belonging to this group is the great Temple of Luxor, which is connected with the temple at Karnak by an avenue of colossal sphinxes; and also the so-called Sepulcher of Osymandyas, really a temple erected by Rhamses the Great—one of the finest monuments in Egypt. Farther up, on the western banks, are the important remains of a temple at Medinet-Habu; and farther north there is a temple at Kurna, which, irregular in design and without a propylon, has in front a portico of ten columns. It bears an inscription with the date of Sethos I. The powerful impression made by all these ruins is increased by two colossal sitting figures, which formerly belonged to a temple now entirely destroyed. The most northern of these is the famous so-called statue of Memnon. According to their inscription, they owe their origin to King Amen-

hotep III., and represent his mother and consort. There are besides, on the western side of the river, extensive rocky tombs, in which the rulers of the Theban dynasty were buried with their families. These tombs of the Theban necropolis lie in narrow, desolate mountain defiles, where the rocky cliffs which begin the desert rise above the alluvial land. We first come upon those of the queens (Biban el Sultanat), and next upon those of the kings (Biban el Molûk), of the eighteenth to the twentieth dynasty. In one of these tombs, that of Sethos I., commonly called Belzoni's Tomb, after the name of the discoverer, a dark shaft leads from a forecourt into the depth of the rock, and opens into

Fig. 22. Egyptian Columns.

a large hall, the ceiling of which rests on pillars; and, from the splendor of its wall-paintings, it bears the name of "the golden." Here stood the sarcophagus of the king, and the richly painted representations on the walls relate to his destiny after death. Other important monuments meet us farther south, especially in Nubia. Many of these sanctuaries exhibit an essentially

different form, the ground-plan being more simple, and their cella being surrounded with a corridor of pillars, or piers, as is the case with the southern temple built by Amenhotep III. on the Isle Elephantine (Fig. 23). Other important monuments are the rock-cut temples of Girsheh, Derri, and Ipsambul, the latter having a lofty façade of rock, richly chiseled, the principal decoration of which consists in immense colossal statues of Rhamses the Great.

The later epochs of Egyptian architecture exhibit in their works generally less grandeur of plan; but this is compensated by a richer and more varied handling of the architectural members. It is especially in the capitals of columns that the motive of the opened calyx of the lotus-flower appears in the most beautiful variations. In addi-

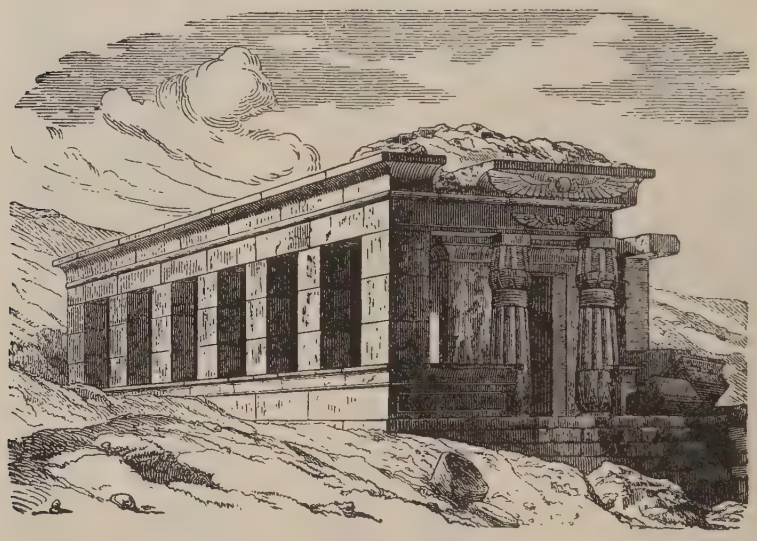


Fig. 23. Temple at Elephantine.

tion to these rich forms, we find one that is entirely fanciful in its symbolism—that of the head of the goddess Hathor, repeated four times on four sides of the capital, on the top of which a cube-like structure, fashioned like a small temple, received the entablature (Fig. 25). The most important of these later designs are those of the temple on the Island of Philæ, erected under the Ptolemies; the magnificent temple at Edfu, and the ruins at Esneh; and, lastly, the splendid temple at Denderah, founded by Queen Cleopatra. The pyramidal form repeatedly occurs in this later period, as seems to be indicated by the pyramids in the peninsula—the so-called Island of Meroë in Nubia. These works, compared

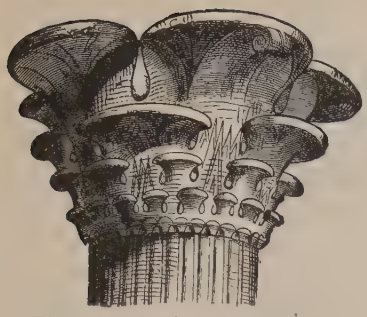


Fig. 24. Capital from Edfu.

with the pyramids of Memphis, are not only very much smaller, but also steeper, and more slender in form, with small forecourts or pylonic buildings in connection with them. The largest are about 100 feet high. Their height is about equal to one side of the square base; and in this we are reminded of the famous Roman tomb of Caius Cestius, which is 114 feet high and 90 feet square, and which is of a date only a few years later than that generally given to the Nubian pyramids.

3. *The Sculpture of the Egyptians.*

During a period of more than three thousand years, sculpture, the true companion of architecture, produced among the Egyptians an abundance of monuments in no wise inferior to the grandeur of their architectural works. But just as the architectural forms, if we set aside certain peculiarities of treatment, remain essentially the same throughout that long period, affording us an example, only possible in the East, of an activity ever in motion, combined with a formal, monotonous style, devoid of the power of deeper organic development, so is it also with the art of sculpture. Whatever finer distinctions in the conception of forms may have been discovered by the ingenuity of more modern research, the indwelling idea, the range of view, the relation of sculpture to architecture—ay, even the types and subjects of representation—remained the same for thousands of years, fixed and unchangeable as the nature of the Nile Valley.

Fig. 25. Capital from Denderah.

The reason of this remarkable fact can only be found in the position which the arts of representation occupied among the Egyptians. This position may be briefly summed up in the statement, that sculpture and painting, whether used in decorating the immense wall-spaces and columns and ceilings with figures and reliefs, or rearing colossal figures in front of the entrances, against the pillars of the courts, or in the interior of the sanctuary, were strictly subordinated to the archi-

tecture. It is true that much sculpture existed, both painted and in rich and costly hard material, which was not attached to any building, and might even be considered as movable as modern portrait or ideal statuary, but the most important monuments, which set the style and determined the character of all, were of the architectural clan. It is true that in all countries this has been the condition of the plastic art; and, even among the Greeks, sculpture especially had to conform to the forms of architecture. Still, in the Græco-Roman world the chains were soon burst asunder; and works of sculpture, resting on their own strength, stood apart from the creations of architecture in a beauty of their own. That this spirit of the free development of the individual work of sculpture was less common among the Egyptians is the deeper reason why the plastic art could not rise in this people from its dependent position, as in some sense a formal and hieratic art, bound by too rigid self-imposed laws of pose and character; and this even in its noblest works. We have here pointed out that element which characterizes the Oriental turn of mind in general, which subordinates all their artistic productions to the inexorable laws of architecture, and stifles in the germ all individual intellectual life. In the same manner, although with national modifications, we shall find this the case with all the other races of the East.

Fig. 26. Wooden Statue. Found by Mariette at Sakkarah. Museum at Boulaq. Commonly called the Sheik el Beled (Arabic), the head man of the village.

In this respect it is certainly a remarkable trait that Egyptian sculpture aims decidedly at portraiture in its oldest works, in the remains left us of the early period of the old kingdom of Memphis. This is to be seen not only in the two remarkable priestly figures in the Louvre at Paris, and in the small figure of a scribe in the same collection (Fig. 28), but also in the seven sitting statues of King Chefren which Mariette found in the neighborhood of the pyramids, and which are in the museum at Boulaq. This realistic tendency appears with astonishing clearness in a wooden figure belonging to the same early period, and also in the museum at Boulaq (Fig. 26); which proves that a high degree of freedom in the lifelike representation of natural forms had thus early been arrived at. If, in such remote antiquity, we see a conscious, artistic striving after individual characterization, we might suppose that a free and vigorous independent plastic

art would develop itself; but very soon the marked naturalism which prevailed in the early time was obliged to yield to the stronger taste for a style more in accordance with the architecture of the country. Even when a deeper spiritual sense begins to lie beneath the features, when the living expression of subjective feeling and of individual mind was to be expressed in the liniaments, the insurmountable barrier of architectural subordination arose. Hence, in spite of the taste for portraiture and for incident, there is the endless repetition of the same kingly figure; hence in the sphinx avenues, as in the pillared halls, there is the monotonous return of the same statues, with the same fixed, typical expression, the same imposed attitude, the same symbolic attributes; so that the human form, like that of the animals, is held fettered by the general conception of the species—the one in no way superior to the other, either in expression, or in the marks of distinctly stamped individual being. This strict uniformity controls the entire bearing in all statues. In the sitting figures of architectural compositions the feet are placed equally side by side; the upper part of the body maintains a strictly solemn position, the head directed forward with a fixed gaze; and, as if to crown the apathetic repose of the whole, both arms, with their flat, outstretched hands, fit close to the upper part of the body and to the thighs, as if molded at one cast (Fig. 27). The same absolute repose is preserved by the standing figures frequently placed against the front of pillars, the same fixed look—legs closely joined, and arms crossed over the breast. Still, these mighty figures, which Egyptian art loved to fashion in colossal size, are as different from the dreamily tender or wild, fantastic figures of the Hindoos as they are from the strong, compact, and somewhat coarsely inclined creations of Assyrian art. Early Egyptian sculpture presents to our view a

Fig. 27. Statue of King Schafra, Cairó.

sinewy, slender, and elastic race of beings. Breast and shoulders are without roundness, broad and powerful; the arms long, sinewy, and muscular; the body, with slender hips and legs, inclining rather to leanness than to stoutness, and everywhere exhibiting in the clearly expressed play of muscles the physical capacity of a people accustomed to work and to endurance (Fig. 28). The heads, in spite of their predilection for portraiture, have a decided national stamp of unmistakable Egyptian character, that is of firm and masterful type—which we recognize as that of the men who gradually subdued and settled the land previous to 4000 B.C., and who maintained an uninterrupted control for two thousand years.

With the eighteenth dynasty, however, this is changed (Fig. 29). There is then a trace of Semitic descent. The form of the skull is flat; and this, joined to the extremely low and receding brow, gives the idea of a deficiency of idealism. The small, oval, and obliquely placed eyes suggest acuteness and cunning. The nose, with the delicate bridge slightly curved, coming out from between the broad, prominent cheek-bones, is brought into close union with the projecting lower parts of the face, to which the mouth, with its voluptuous lips and its corners drawn upward, gives an expression of sensuous love of ease. We perceive even in the changed physiognomy of the race that a great influx of Syrian or other Northern (Semitic) blood into Egypt had taken place. This must have come from the conquests made by the Egyptian kings in the North. Captives by thousands were brought into Egypt, as the wall-paintings show and as the inscriptions relate; and these would be, first, female slaves whose children by Egyptian fathers would form a numerous mixed race, and, secondly, handicraftsmen whose work would be demanded for the most important monuments. It is evident from the representations of objects brought as booty or tribute that the work of the Asiatic races in precious metals and decorative objects was greatly esteemed by the Egyptians. For this twofold reason, then, the heads assume a more or less Asiatic form during and after the reign of Thutmes III., about 1440 B.C.

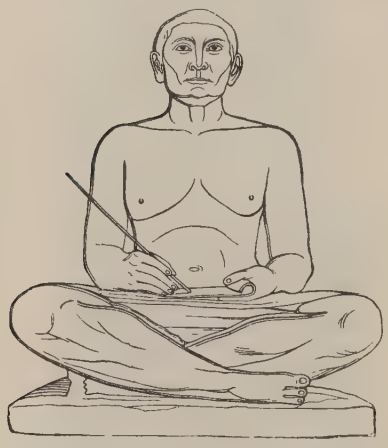


Fig. 28. Seated Figure Called "The Scribe," Louvre Museum.

The forms of the body are treated throughout with intelligence (Fig. 30). The firm build of the whole, the meaning and movement of the limbs, are clearly comprehended. It was undoubtedly of importance, for the understanding of the human form, that the climatic and the custom of the country prescribed only scanty clothing; and even the fuller, richer drapery we so often meet with in the wall-paintings was formed of light, transparent material. Thus the contemplation of the human form must have made the artist sufficiently acquainted with it. The drapery, for the most part, is limited to only an apron. The hair is completely concealed by a cap, which, in the rulers, was combined with the simple or double crown, or a fantastic headdress composed of symbolic attributes. The beard,

Fig. 29. Egyptian Heads in Relief.

also, was ingeniously wound round in a similar manner, and curiously bent into the form of a hook. Nevertheless, to put this knowledge into practice was allowed only under strict limitation; as, even in the earliest period, a fixed canon, of strict arithmetical proportions, was laid down for the forms of the body, and accurate adherence to this was enjoined by the law. This canon, it is true, was changed from time to time when greater slenderness of proportion was desired, or more realistic treatment was demanded. In spite of all these changes, which were in reality only the fluctuations of fashion due to foreign influences, we find the ancient canon adhered to through thousands of years, fettering all free movement, and closing the way to such highly wrought study of nature as the Greeks produced, beginning with the seventh century B.C. The part the sculptor played in the work was largely limited to the execution; and this,

from the general diffusion of skill, must have appeared merely a handicraft. With this are also connected the astonishing certainty and unwearied care with which the hardest materials, granite and basalt, are worked with the same minute accuracy in colossal works as in those of the smallest dimensions—an accuracy shown everywhere in the countless hieroglyphic writings on columns, pillars, obelisks, pedestals, walls, and sarcophagi. That Egyptian art chiefly symbolizes the greatness of the gods and god-descended rulers by colossal figures is to be explained partly by the equally colossal size of the buildings, and partly by a deficient intellectual life, which instinctively seeks to compensate by size for what it lacks in meaning. Seated figures of the Pharaohs, statues placed against piers, and sculptured sphinxes and rams, from 20 to 30 feet high, are not unusual. The six standing figures on the façades of the smaller stone temple at Ipsambul measure 35 feet; the four sitting statues of the great Rhamses, in the principal temple there, are more than 60 feet high; Memnon, with its gigantic companions among the ruins of Medinet-Habu, is 70 feet high; and the famous Sphinx at the pyramids of Memphis has a length of 142 feet.

Fig. 30. Egyptian Wall-Paintings.

Colossal and numerous as these works of sculpture are, they are still far surpassed in extent by the boundless abundance of reliefs exhibited on all the walls of the temples, palaces, and tombs. In their infinite variety, embracing all forms of existence, in their ani-

mated and lifelike reality, they supply the deficiencies of the detached figures, and form, as it were, a reverse side to their solemn seriousness. Their object is mainly that of a chronicle-like and faithful historical narrative, a detailed account of the whole life of the Egyptians. Even in the earliest tombs of the old kingdom, which carry us back to about 3000 B.C., the simple labors of agriculture (Fig. 31) and cattle-breeding, the relations and affairs of a many-sided private life, are faithfully and fully depicted. The types, the mode of expression, the laws of plastic art, were already established, even in this early time, for this kind of representation, and were confirmed by long use. At a later period, on the gigantic walls of the

Fig. 31. Tomb Carving.

Theban monuments and of the other memorials of the golden age of the new kingdom, we see plainly represented, sometimes in the tombs, all the incidents of private life—work and employments of various kinds, recreations and games such as are still in practice among us, cheerful social doings and festive entertainments, as well as religious ceremonies, sacrifices, and other solemn acts, burials, and even the destiny of the soul; sometimes again, and this especially on the walls of temples and palaces, the events in the life of the ruler: solemn political acts and animated hunts; peaceful incidents and warlike enterprises; mighty hosts, in which the king, colossal in height, and towering above everything else, taller than men and cities, rushes along in his battle chariot over the bodies of his fallen foes (Fig.

32), laying low whole armies with his weapon; or in sea encounters sinking fleets of vessels full of armed men, and then at length seizing a kneeling people by their common hair, and hurling his battle-ax for the fatal stroke. Again, we meet with troops of conquered enemies, arranged in rows over each other, and brought before the enthroned despot to render humble homage; and in these reliefs the various races are clearly distinguished from one another by the way in which the characteristic physiognomy and dress of each are given. In all these representations, an accurate and chronicle-like report, an intelligible record of facts, is the only thing aimed at; only in the fact that the form of the king surpasses all others in size may even a trace of symbolism be perceived. But this, too, is another evi-

Fig. 32. Relief at Karnak. Sethos I.

dence of how Egyptian art, wherever it attempts to express intellectual preëminence, is compelled to have recourse to conventionally symbolic and purely external means.

That a deeper spiritual principle is lacking in Egyptian art, as in all Oriental art, is perceived also in the arrangement of these works. There is no idea of a composition in a high sense. The scenes are either arranged one over another in monotonous repetition, or, in more animated incidents, there is a confused jumble of figures. That in some instances regard is paid to the allotted space, and that the action delineated is often with great skill adapted to this space, is a matter of course in such an extensive exercise of the art; but generally the representations cover the vast surface without any architectural principle of arrangement; and everywhere an unimaginative naturalism prevails, which hardly recognizes a higher law of ar-

rangement. But in another respect, also, the animated representations of life do not rise beyond the level of those severe and solemn statues already described. The passive repose of the latter arises, in truth, from the want of individual and intellectual life; the varied action of the former never goes beyond a merely bodily activity. No special intellectual principle, no life of thought, is expressed in their countenances. They cannot tell us anything which goes beyond the sphere of simple practical doings; and thus nothing but the fixed monotony of Oriental manners is recorded even in their most lively action. Hence, while in the course of centuries they portray for us all the manifold changes that took place in the life of the nation in spite of its stability, they show us no progress in thought, nor in artistic feeling. Although the sculptured story may become richer and more animated; although, after the zenith of prosperity reached by the new kingdom, a decline of power is evident, and a weaker expression is perceptible, and again, under the new *régime,* a fresher life makes its way, and this also gradually again degenerates; still, all these cannot be regarded, in a deeper sense, as phases in the development of art; for such only occur when new ideas struggle into light in new modes of expression.

This leads us to the technical treatment of Egyptian sculpture in relief. This is of two kinds: first, bas-relief in the ordinary sense, as on a modern coin, where the background is lowered over all its extent, leaving the head or figure in projection; and, second, what is called concavo-convex * relief—that in which there is no background, but the relief fills a panel or depression exactly as large as itself. In the second class of work the figure desired appears outlined by a trench or groove, while within this groove the modeling of the head or body may be as elaborate and refined as in ordinary bas-relief. All of these sculptures are elaborately painted in brilliant colors; red, blue, green, yellow, and black are used as pure as the pigments allow.

It appears that three systems of representation are used side by side, the more laborious and costly work for the more important monument or for the less extended wall-space. These three methods are painted bas-relief, painted concavo-convex relief, and paintings on the flat surface of the wall. The preservation of the splendid colors, owing to their solid preparation and the favorable climate, is especially remarkable.

This flatness of relief is connected with other peculiarities of representation, which are adhered to as types through all the epochs

*Called also Koilanaglyphic (Coelanoglyphic) sculpture and cavo-relievo and intaglio relevato.

of Egyptian art. The figures, for instance, are portrayed with breast and arms turned frontways, and with the feet and head in profile (Fig. 33). That this mode of position gave the figures a somewhat twisted appearance cannot have escaped the Egyptians, with their keen observation of nature; and, indeed, instances are not lacking, in which, although with small result, the attempt has been made consistently to carry out the profile position. The attempts at realistic freedom of pose and gesture are commonly seen in the inferior personages of the scene; and in like manner for beasts and

Fig. 33. Sethos I., with Osiris, Isis, and Horus.

birds. The sovereign or the master or mistress will be found, in work of the later empire, treated with all traditional severity; while the attendants and children will be shown in varied attitudes, and even turning their backs to the spectator. In fact, it was the slight depth of the relief which led to this conventional position, as, in such limited space, the perspective foreshortening of the separate parts could not easily be accomplished by the resources of their art. How this manner of representing the figure was introduced into the art of Central Asia, we shall see later.

Wall-painting was employed alone to a great extent in many

places, and especially, it would appear, in the rock-cut tombs. Thus, the tombs of Beni-Hassan are adorned with numerous paintings relating to private life, and the royal tombs at Thebes are decorated with the most circumstantial details of every kind. The conception and style of these works call to mind the treatment of the relief-sculpture, although the feeling for modeling and rounding of forms appears still weaker in them than in the reliefs. The strong and decided outlines are simply filled with the necessary local color, without an attempt at modeling by finer toning or shading. Here, too, we find the style most closely fettered; and, during the whole duration of Egyptian art, no higher stage of development is attained.

It is to be noted, however, that as decoration all this mural sculpture and mural painting is faultless. From the work of the

Fig. 34. Subject from "The Book of the Dead."

fourth dynasty, where the solid granite of a sarcophagus is cut into a surface representation of framing and lattice-work of wood, to the elaborate scenes of war and chase and the quiet landscape of later time, all has a strictly decorative purpose. The Egyptians would never have admired a semblance of reality, which would have gone far, as in much modern work, to defeat its ornamental purpose. A similar mode of treatment is shown in the paintings with which the papyrus rolls of the so-called " Book of the Dead " are ornamented, of which rolls the Museum of Turin possesses a fine example. In it was portrayed the fate of the soul after death, and it was put into the grave with the dead person. Here, also, are many genre scenes from daily life, described with such a bright distinctness that they constitute, perhaps, the most charming side of Egyptian art (Fig. 34).

While we have learned to regard the whole wide circle of human

affairs, and the events of public and private life, as the peculiar field of sculpture among the Egyptians, there is, on the other hand, no lack of representations of a symbolic religious purport. In order to distinguish the different gods of the country, recourse is had to outward symbols; the gods, fashioned in human form, bear the heads of animals, which serve at the same time as the hieroglyphic sign of their names (Fig. 35). Thus Thot receives the head of the ibis; Rhe, that of the hawk; Anubis is represented with a dog's head, and Ammon with a ram's; among the goddesses, Hathor bears the head of a cow, and Neith that of a lioness. The decorative scheme hardly allowed for the embodiment of ideas, and for expressing them

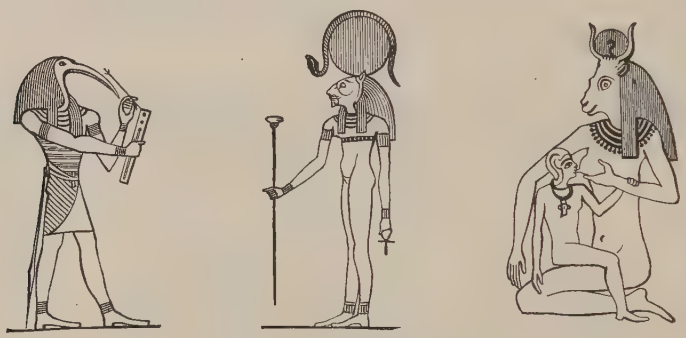


Fig. 35. Representations of Egyptian Divinities.

in the form of an individual character. It is to be noted, also, that the loftier art would not be as quickly and easily legible. Hermes cannot be told from Apollo but by his caduceus or his winged sandals; but the hawk-headed being is always Rhe. Although the combination of such heterogeneous elements, considered from a purely external point of view, is not accomplished without skill and understanding of form, still the important fact remains, that in the representation of the idea of deity, the lower animal forms are employed to represent the seat of the higher mental faculties. More agreeable is that riddle of the sphinx, familiar to Egyptian art, in which a lion's body is added to a human head or the head of a ram—a creation the grand character and mystically significant effect of which cannot be denied.

Chapter III.

THE ART OF CENTRAL ASIA.

*A.—Babylon and Nineveh.**

WESTWARD from the Indus there stretches a vast extent of country, which, in the earliest ages, formed the central point of an important civilization. In contrast to the other regions of Asia, the overwhelming redundancy of nature here appears moderated. There is no lack, indeed, of fruitful districts, but between them extend inhospitable desert wastes; and man, instead of being surrounded with a luxuriously productive nature, is impelled to active exertion in order to bring under subjection the opposing powers of nature. The position of these vast regions, which extend from the Indus to the Euphrates, has, from the earliest ages, brought their people into constant contact; and as the climatic conditions from a very early period induced a spirit of energy, and made possible a mode of life of their own, an historical life, full of rapid change, and rich in exciting catastrophes, was developed; the supreme dominion over these lands connected by nature, passing sometimes to one and sometimes to another of the races, settled there.

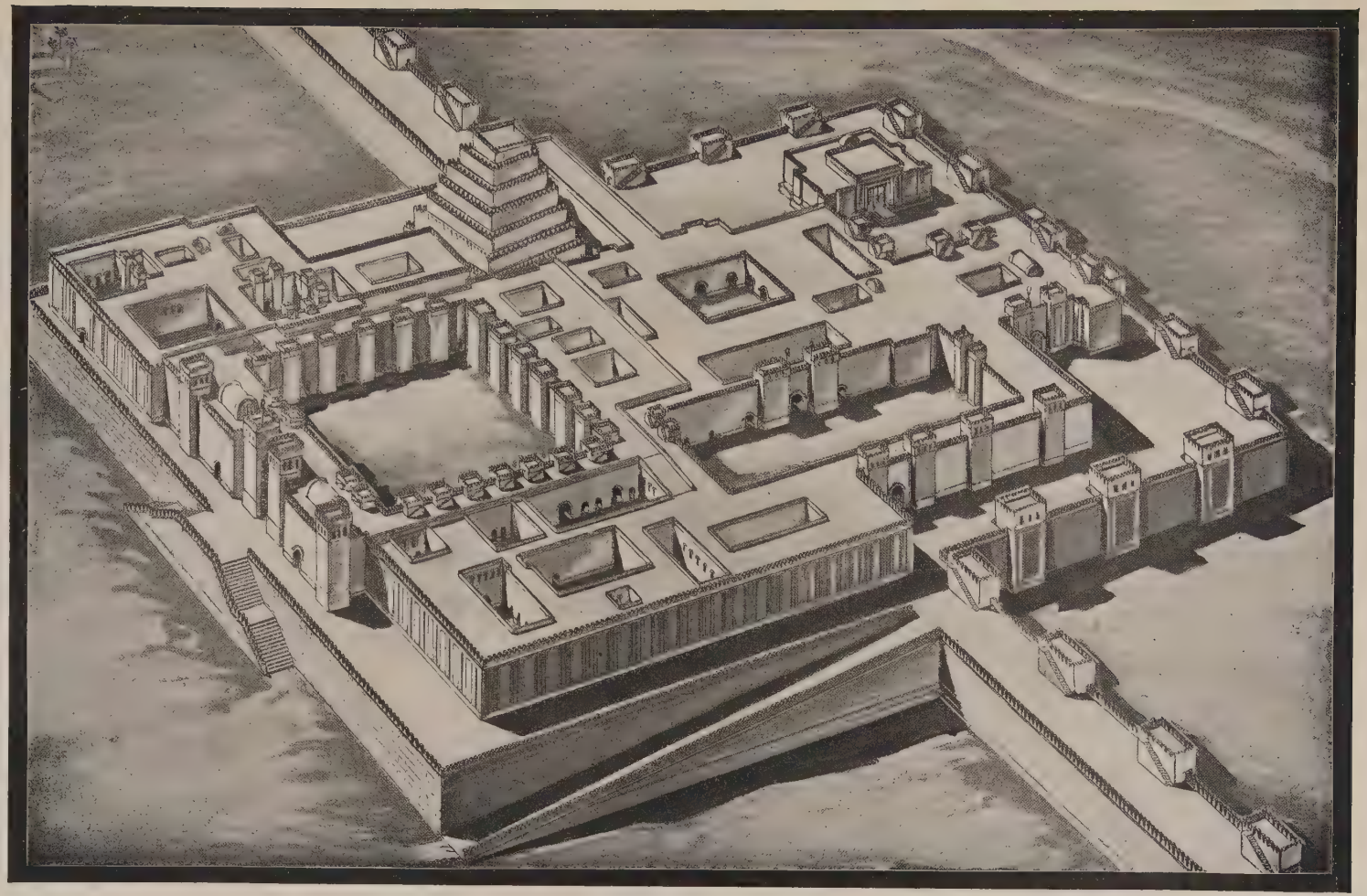
The oldest seat of culture in these regions is to be found in Mesopotamia, the land lying between the Euphrates and the Tigris. Here also, as in Egypt, the progress of civilization was affected by mighty streams, which, in spite of certain differences, still present many analogies with those of the Nile Valley. As the Euphrates flows in a far higher bed, and is more rich in waters, than the deeper-lying and arrow-like Tigris, the whole level land is exposed to inundations in the spring, when the snows melt on the mountains of Armenia. These inundations early led the ingenious people to construct magnificent dams and dikes, and a system of canals. While man was thus

* Botta and Flaudin, "Monuments de Ninive"; Paris, 1849. Layard, "The Monuments of Nineveh"; "Nineveh and Its Remains"; "Nineveh and Babylon"; London, 1853. Perrot and Chipiez, "Histoire de l'art dans l'Antiquité," vol. ii. Place, V., "Ninive et l'Assyrie."

compelled to rule the powers of nature and to render them serviceable, in order that he might gain from them the conditions for a prosperous existence, the impulse for trade was awakened, the activity of the intellect was promoted, and a strong and energetic spirit was developed. Under these influences, far back in time, powerful kingdoms with mighty capitals, with a highly advanced civilization and extensive commerce, rose on the banks of the Euphrates. Even the books of the Old Testament sketch in grandly terse, impressive touches an image of the power and splendor of ancient Babylon, whose fabulous tower conveys a notion of gigantic undertakings, imposing even to the nations of that period. The religion of these people seems, in harmony with these works, to have been practical and sensible, rather than fantastic or poetic; and interests of temporal power and material gain were those which preponderated most in their partly warlike and partly commercial character.

The ancients, in their descriptions of the buildings of Babylon, tell of works of colossal extent, and of grand simplicity of design; among them the Temple of Baal, which, pyramidal in form, rose in eight graduated stories upon a base six hundred feet square, surpassing even the giant pyramids of Egypt. Similar in grandeur of structure were the walls surrounding the immense city, and the two royal palaces, and the famous wonder of the hanging gardens of Semiramis. Nothing is left of these mighty monuments except shapeless heaps of rubbish, covered in spring with luxuriant vegetation, which mark, in the neighborhood of the village Hillah, or Hilleh, on both sides of the Euphrates, the place where once stood the proud mistress of the nations. This state of things is to be explained by the material which the Babylonians were obliged to use, owing to the utter lack of stone in a land formed by alluvial deposit. All buildings were made of tiles which had been dried in the sun, bitumen serving as mortar. The mighty elevation of Birs-i-Nimrud (which is supposed to be the Temple of Belus), that of Mudjelibe, and the so-called El Kasr (which appears to be identical with the new palace of Nebuchadnezzar), are the most important remains. The marks upon all the brick-work discovered refer to this king, and therefore indicate the period about 600 B.C. Among works of sculpture a colossal granite lion has been discovered, which was probably placed as a guard at one of the portals.

The remains of a terrace pyramid which are to be found at Mugeir (Magir or Mugajir), in the lower Euphrates district, appear to belong to a more remote antiquity. They form a parallelogram of 133 by 198 feet; and the interior substance, of sun-dried tiles, was covered with a facing of brick, which, with its slightly projecting pil-



ASSYRIAN ARCHITECTURE

PALACE OF SARGON—RESTORATION

lars, had a kind of architectural construction. These ruins are regarded as the remains of a temple in the primeval city of Ur, or Hur, which was said to have been founded about 2200 B.C. by King Uruk; but it is not thought that any buildings now traceable have any such antiquity as that. Still more important are the ruins of an oblong, palace-like building at Wurka, forty miles south of Bagdad, since they afford an instance of apparently very ancient wall decoration.

Fig. 36. Obelisk of Divanubars.

Small wedges of burnt clay are pressed upon the plaster; and these, by being glazed over with various colors, form a tapestry-like pattern. Thus the famous tapestry-weaving of Babylon became a model for architectural wall decoration.

The English traveler Loftus discovered the ruins of a very ancient temple northwest of Ur, on the left bank of the Euphrates, at what is to-day Senkereh, the ancient Larsam (Elassar). Another ruin of Abu Sharein has been proven to be Eridu, the most southern of Chaldæic cities. It is a structure surrounded like a fortress by

high walls, and occupying a high plateau upon which arose a terraced pyramid; the highest platform bore a temple which was approached by a marble staircase. Among the ruin-hills of Abu-habba, situated southwest of Bagdad, the scholar Rassam discovered ruins of the ancient city of Sippar, notably a palace of extraordinary dimensions—about 1600 feet long.

More important remains have been brought to light in recent times by the excavations at Mosul, on the upper Tigris. Heaps of remains of similar material stretch along the eastern bank of the river for about ten miles (see Fig. 36, the black marble obelisk discovered by Layard, and now in the British Museum); and these are ascertained to be the ruins of Nineveh,* the capital of the kingdom of Assyria.

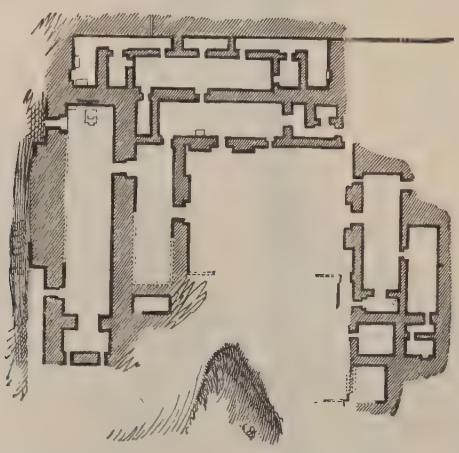


Fig. 37. Ground Plan of the Northwest Palace of Nimrud.

The excavations, first undertaken by the French consul Botta, and then by Layard, have revealed the design and artistic decoration of mighty buildings, most of which belong to the second kingdom (ninth and eighth centuries B.C.). They are all raised on terraces faced with brick and thirty or forty feet high, and crowned with stone parapets. The buildings are placed on the vast platform, arranged in an intricate and apparently irregular manner around an open court. They are, for the most part, long, narrow, corridor-like apartments and halls; the principal apartment being sometimes 150 feet long by only 30 or 40 feet

* Botta et Flaudin, "Monuments de Ninive." Layard, "The Monuments of Nineveh"; "Nineveh and Its Remains: A Popular Account of Discoveries of Nineveh, Fresh Discoveries, etc."; London, 1853. Vaux, "Nineveh and Persepolis." G. Rawlinson, "The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World." Place V., "Ninive et l'Assyrie, avec des Essais de Restauration," par F. Thomas.

wide, inclosed with walls of excessive thickness (Fig. 37). Few traces are to be found of the way in which the apartments were roofed; and there are equally few remains of independent supports, such as columns or pillars. Lately, however, M. Place, who succeeded M. Botta as French consul at Mosul, in the course of his thorough researches at Khorsabad has uncovered the remains of the vaulting, by which it is proved that some of the rooms were roofed with barrel vaults, and others with domes. It is thought that most of this vaulting was done in crude brick. With all this elaboration of structure there seems to

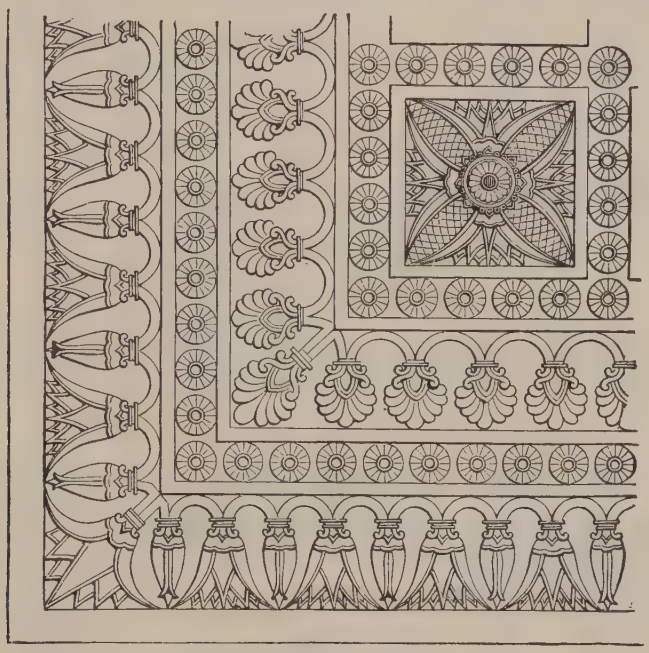


Fig. 38. Ornament at Kujjundjik.

be a want of organic growth of design; for we do not meet with any example of a strictly architectural subdivision of the masses. On the contrary, the Assyrians conceived their wall surfaces as vast tapestries, and covered them accordingly with a number of representations in relief. These sculptures are executed upon thick alabaster slabs, measuring as much as twelve feet square; and these slabs are then fastened on the walls in several rows, one above another.* The space between this sculptured wainscoting and the ceiling was often decorated with glazed and baked tiles of earthenware, ornamented

* Specimens are in the Louvre, the British Museum, and several belong to the New York Historical Society.

with various designs. The floor also was paved with similar tiles; and it is in the ornamentation of these that the decorative fancy of the Assyrians strikes out in a direction of its own (Fig. 38). There

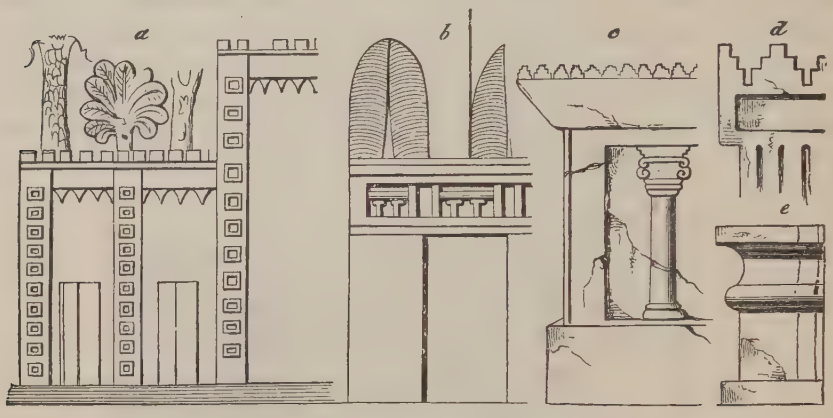


Fig. 39. Details from Assyrian Palaces.

is often a highly elegant and tasteful arrangement of forms, the motive of which was evidently the close imitation of an ancient and highly developed art of weaving. Purely vegetable forms—palm-

Fig. 40. Details from Assyrian Palaces.

leaves, open and closed lotus-blossoms—form the most important element of this decoration. As for the way in which the upper portion of their buildings was constructed, a hint is furnished by certain bas-reliefs that remain, in which we see buildings rising

terrace-like in several stories, each story being furnished with a gallery, opening with small colonnades (Fig. 39, *b*). The columns have a remarkable form of capital, in which two pairs of volutes, the one above the other (cf. Fig. 39, *c*), are the main element. A great increase of effect is produced at the portals, which are guarded at each side by gigantic winged bulls having human heads. The gates themselves were, according to ancient records, formed of brass; which, in connection with other allusions to golden images of gods, altars, and the like, leads us to infer a predilection for the use of brilliant metals, and the technical skill resulting from their frequent employment.

We have no idea of the external appearance of these buildings

Fig. 41. Fortress, from an Assyrian Relief.

except by the conjectural restorations of Chipiez* and others. Rising high above the alluvial plain on lofty terraces, they obtain light and air through openings which M. Place has shown to have been left in the vaulting, often like the lunettes of Italian vaulted buildings of the sixteenth century, but left entirely open, and generally turned toward the north.

Fig. 39, *e*, affords a view of the granite breast-wall of the platform of the palace at Khorsabad, with its deeply fluted cornice. The surfaces of the walls in a suite of apartments of the lower story of this palace are either smooth, or broken by decorated pilasters and hollowed vertical stripes (Fig. 39, *a*, and Fig. 43). The whole is frequently finished with battlements, which are sometimes cut in a

* Perrot and Chipiez, "Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité."

step-like form (Fig. 39, *c, d*). That the flat roofs of the building often contained small pleasure-grounds, with plantations of palms and cedars, may be gathered from many sculptures, such as Fig. 39, *a, b*. We are involuntarily reminded by them of what the ancients tell us of the "hanging gardens" of Semiramis. The columns met with on these reliefs are, as a rule, limited to a small number; for free supports have been nowhere discovered in the large apartments. The base of the columns consists of a circular torus, sometimes resting on the back of the figure of an advancing lion. The capitals are not confined to the volute form, but they sometimes vary with the more slender calyx form, covered with upright leaves. Fig. 40 gives us some examples of Assyrian treatment of ornament, which is seen to be very marked in style. It con-

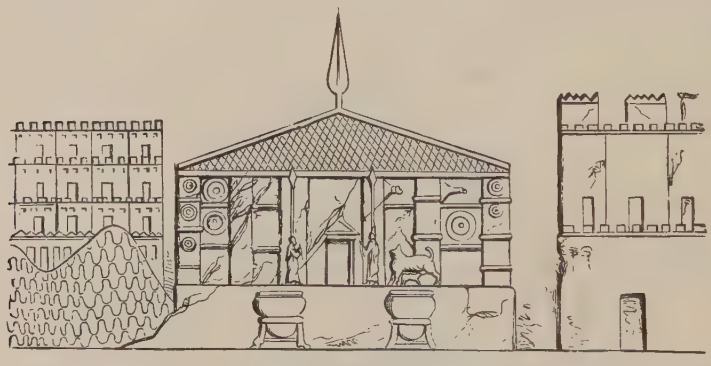


Fig. 42. Representation of an Assyrian Temple.

tains, at *a,* a representation in relief of a tent-like building, the light tent-roof of which is supported on slender and probably wooden posts with volute capitals.

That the arch was already known to the Assyrians is proved both by representations in the reliefs and by remains actually discovered. But this form of construction is not known to have been employed for covering over larger spaces. Brick arches of six feet span have been discovered in the drains beneath the palaces of Nimrud, and these are generally pointed arches. In order to form these vaults, the separate solids are accurately shaped in a wedge-like form. In the reliefs we often meet with arched portals, especially in buildings designed for fortification (Fig. 41). Through the discoveries of the French consul, M. Place, these bas-reliefs have recently been verified by the monuments themselves; for he found at Khorsabad several of the city gates, consisting of round-arched entrances from twelve to fifteen feet wide. The archivolt is ornamented, tapestry-like, with

blue glazed tiles and yellow reliefs, and rests on piers from which project figures of gigantic winged bulls with human heads.

We possess no representation of the temple buildings of the Assyrians; although small, chapel-like shrines, with a porch supported by columns, appear repeatedly on the reliefs.

Temples with gabled roofs were also known to the Assyrians, with façades ornamented with curious, horizontally divided pilasters decorated with suspended shields. The pediment is covered over with a tapestry-like pattern thoroughly in the style of Babylonian-

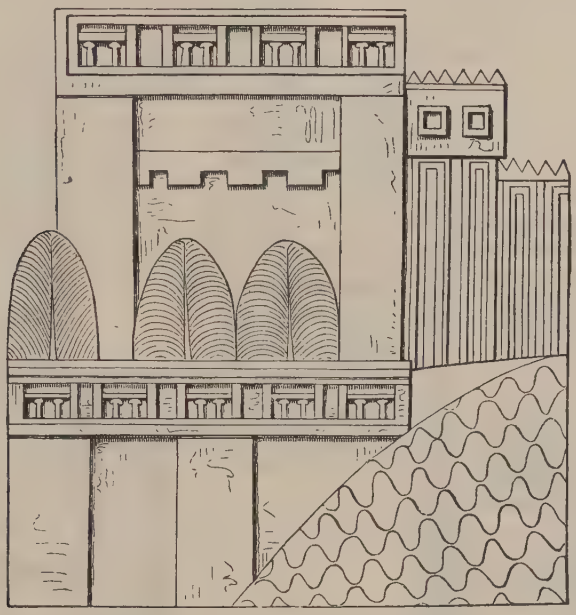


Fig. 43. Relief at Kouyunjik.

Assyrian art (see Fig. 42). The gable is crowned with an ornament in the form of a lance-head. In front of the temple stand two caldrons on feet, which recall to mind the vessels for purification in the temple at Jerusalem.

The main group of buildings at present known are those found under the mound called Nimrud, where many grand edifices, designated as the northwest, southwest, and central palaces, are to be found close together. Farther up the river stands the palace of Kouyunjik, and still farther north that of Khorsabad; these names being the local names of modern villages or of the great shapeless mounds themselves. That whole ranges of buildings must have been standing before the destruction of Nineveh, which took place in the

year 606 B.C., by the united powers of Babylon and Media, is self-evident. The oldest building is the northwest palace of Nimrud, the inscriptions on which bear the royal name of Sardanapalus; not the well-known king of that name, but one of an earlier date. The palace was probably erected in the ninth, if not in the tenth century

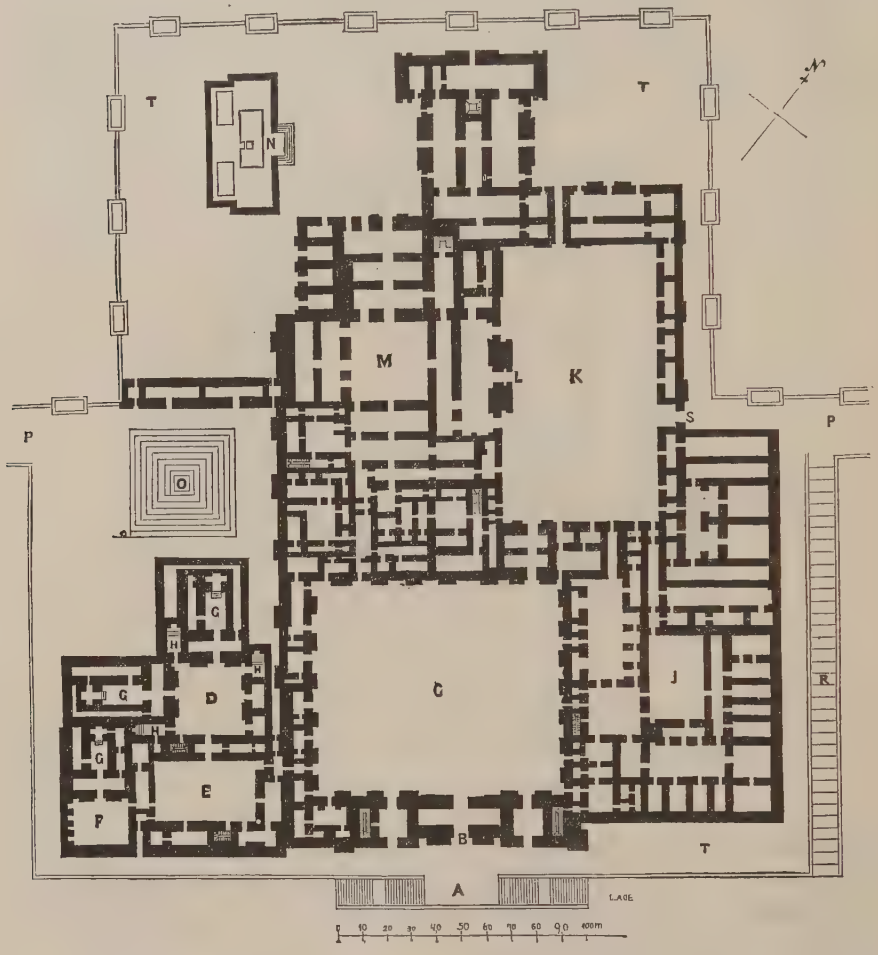


Fig. 44. Plan of the Palace of Khorsabad.

B.C. The central palace was founded by Temenbar, the son of Sardanapalus. In the eighth century a new dynasty began; and King Salmanasar built the palace of Khorsabad; his successor, Sanherib, that of Kouyunjik; and his son Esarhaddon, the southwest palace of Nimrud. In this building epoch, comprising about five hundred years, the aim of Assyrian art seems, both in general and in detail,

to have remained essentially the same, without betraying a germ of higher advance or of organic development; and it is only in the style of the plastic decorations that we perceive certain modifications to have taken place in their mode of work, in spite of a strictly circumscribed circle of ideas.

The complete plan of an Assyrian palace has been for the first time set before us by means of the uncovering of Khorsabad by M. Place (Fig. 44). The vast structure, with its separate rooms, halls, and galleries—about two hundred and ten in number, and grouped

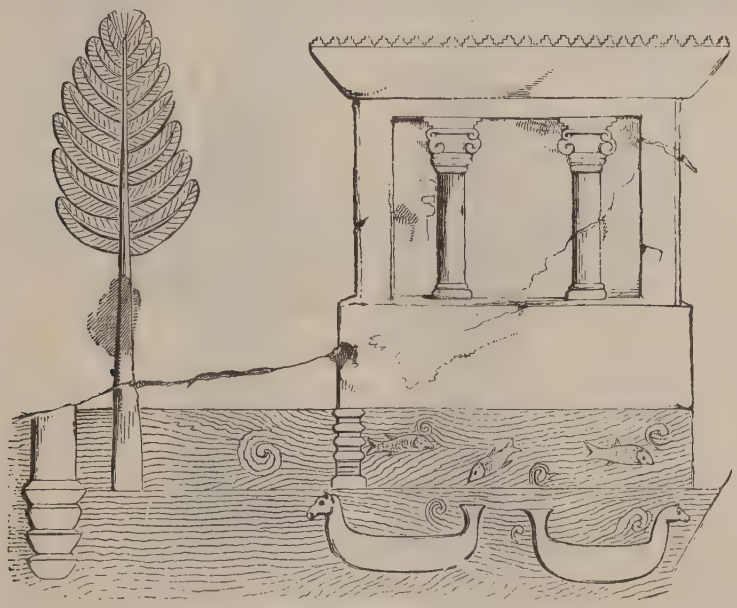


Fig. 45. Pavilion, from the Sculptures at Khorsabad.

around thirty courts—was built upon an artificial terrace, the cubic contents of which are reckoned at a million and a half of meters. We can now clearly trace the plan of the palace proper, with its harem or women's quarter, at once closely connected with it and yet strictly secluded, and with its multitude of out-buildings and offices. The palace was approached by two open flights of steps and a ramp for horsemen and chariots. Through the main portal the great court-yard was entered, which was inclosed on the left by the harem, on the right by the out-buildings, offices, stores, and stables, and in the rear by the palace proper. The latter, with its long, splendid galleries, was reached by passing across the court and thence through a portal which leads to a suite of large rooms. Its stately entrances

are adorned with colossal bulls, and each of the principal rooms has its walls wainscoted with slabs of stone carved in relief; while others—the sleeping rooms, for example—are decorated with wall-painting.

At each of the three portals of the harem were placed two male statues, like guardians as it were. More curious yet was the decoration of the main portal, consisting of two palm-trees sheathed with gilded scales of bronze, which, with the statues and the colored enamel slabs covering the walls of the harem court, must have produced a brilliant effect (Fig. 45). The palm-trees recall to

Fig. 46. Figures of Assyrian Rulers.

mind the golden plane-tree and vine, works of Theodores of Samos, under which the Persian kings used to sit enthroned.

Near the palace, upon a four-square platform, there rose a pyramid in seven diminishing stages, of which only the lower four, each twenty feet in height, remain. The summit of the pyramid probably bore an altar, and perhaps served as an observatory for the astrologers. Another building standing by itself has also been discovered, which may have been either a temple or a hall of audience. Near this huge monument the site of a city has been found, the mighty walls of which were pierced with seven gates—again the sacred number. The gates are arched with semicircular arches, and decorated with bricks enameled in bright colors. The inscriptions state that Sargon (721-702 B.C.) was the builder both of the city and of the palace.

With regard to the sculpture of these nations, rich material lies before us from the different epochs of Assyrian art, especially in the numerous reliefs come to light among the ruins of Nimrud, Khor-

Fig. 47. Bas-Relief. Assyrian Court Officials.

sabad, and Kouyunjik. Numerous examples of the sculptures of Nimrod and Kouyunjik are in London, in the British Museum; and those of Khorsabad in Paris, in the Museum of the Louvre. These remains consist, for the most part, of reliefs; and only with rare

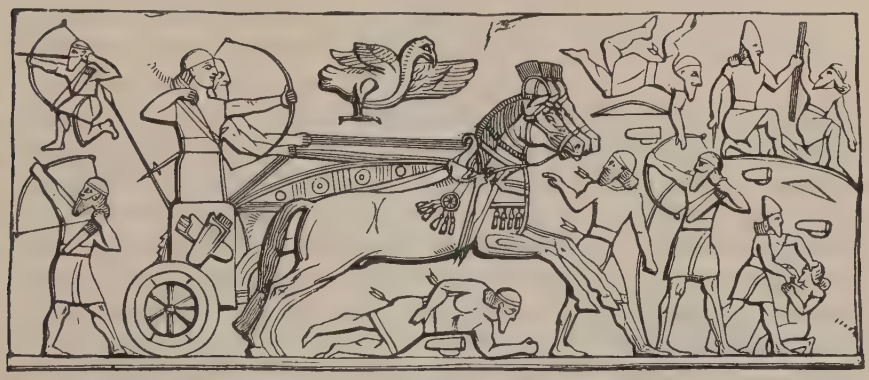


Fig. 48. Relief from Nimrud.

exceptions does sculpture seem to have advanced to statuary. Here, also, as among the Egyptians, the plastic arts are chiefly applied to the delineation of actual life. In harmony with the purpose of the chambers to be decorated, representations of the life and deeds of

of them in a brilliant yellow limestone; and, as is to be seen from many traces left, they were painted in strong colors. It appears, however, that color was not applied with the freedom of the Egyptian work. The brilliant enameled tiles were in full color; but the carved reliefs in yellowish-gray stone were only colored in part.

If no marked progress can be seen during the continuance of the Assyrian Empire, as far as known to us in art—a space of about two centuries—this is largely because of the unchanging nature of the government and of the population. Changes in literature and art are so very slow that when the whole mass of the work of two centuries in any Oriental country is looked at from a modern standpoint, and, therefore, in one plane as it were, without the possibility of separating the stages of growth except by patient study, it seems indeed all one style together. In sculpture, however, the Assyrians could never approach the lifelike force of the Egyptians because

Fig. 51. Portal at Khorsabad.

it was not their custom to study the nude with any persistency. In the Egyptian bas-reliefs is seen a race wearing but little clothing and with the details of the form most carefully studied in the sculpture. Even when figures are draped from head to foot, it is evident that the drapery has been of the thinnest and most translucent stuff, for the forms are shown beneath it with almost complete freedom.

No essential progress is to be remarked in the works of different epochs. As the sphere of representation was established from the beginning, and ever continued unchanged in the national mind, so is it also with the character of their treatment of form. Greater power and rudeness, especially to be seen in the strong marking of the muscles, is all that distinguishes the earlier works—those, for instance, of the northwest palace at Nimrud—from the softer, smoother, but also weaker productions of a later period. Still, in the

later reliefs at Kouyunjik, we perceive an attempt to enrich the simple sphere of representations by variety of life and greater animation in the delineation. In this direction, certainly, we cannot deny that a certain progress may be observed in the plastic art of Assyria, even though it never reached such lofty and serene power in fine art as that of Egypt. It was and remained an admirable method of appliance of decoration. Similar remarks are suggested by the little

Fig. 52. Assyrian Wall-Painting: Enameled Tiles.

that has been discovered of painting. The reliefs, bearing rich ornament in color, would produce an effect much like that of mural painting, and the result is closely similar to that seen in Egyptian art. As in the Assyrian system of architectural wall covering, the artistic mural decoration is chiefly composed of glazed tiles in color. Beyond yellow, blue, green, and black as dominant tones, these enameled tiles do not go. The subjects, quite in the manner of the reliefs, are limited to the representation of single human figures, priests, or monarchs, particularly with the fantastic adornment of a

double pair of wings (Fig. 52), although animals, especially lions, are also found. A setting of rosettes, disposed as a frieze, serves as frame for the picture. At Khorsabad, particularly in the apartments of the harem, and at Nimrud as well, traces of wall-paintings on plaster are preserved, the color scale of which, not being restricted by the processes of enameling, displayed a somewhat richer variety; but all this perished immediately on opening the mound, and it is from the painted enamel of the tiled surface alone that we form a judgment. In all this work, the drawing and the composition preserves the character of the reliefs, by the laws of which, internal as well as external, they are bound. An advance to the true spirit of painting seems forbidden to this art, and it offers only simple drawings in outline, colored, without any shading at all.

*B.—Persia and Media.**

The political destinies as well as the intellectual life, and consequently the art creations, of all the races of Central Asia, as we have before observed, constantly intermingle with each other. Thus in the Medes and Persians we become acquainted with the races who, first subjugated by the Assyrians, rose subsequently to be the inheritors of the power and mental tendencies of their former rulers. It was the Medes, settled in the mountain valleys and fruitful plains of the declivities south of the Caspian Sea, who broke the power of the Assyrians, until they were themselves subdued by the victorious Persians. Both races belonged to the Aryan stock, the so-called Zend people. Their religion, as we gather it from the doctrines of Zoroaster (Zarathushtra or Zardusht), was based upon a dualism of an essentially moral character. The kingdom of light or of Ormudz—that of goodness, purity, and holiness—is placed in opposition to the kingdom of Ahriman, that of darkness or of evil. The spirit of light is symbolically worshiped in the sacred fire; but he is actually glorified in the striving of man after the pure and the noble. These views, which are combined with a simple contemplation of nature, reveal to us the practical bent and morally enlightened character of the national mind. Here, as among the Assyrians and Babylonians, we find a clear system, in which the moral powers that rule our being are sharply and clearly defined, and man is placed with free consciousness between the conflicting powers of good and evil. Corresponding with this disposition of the mind, we find the fashion

* Coste and Flaudin, "Voyage en Perse"; Texier, "Description de l'Arménie, de la Perse," etc.; Brugsch, "Reise durch Persien"; Dieulafoy, M. A., "L'art antique de la Perse, Achéménides, Parthes, Sassanides."

of their artistic works. The inclination to energetic action leads here, also, to preponderating emphasis being given to worldly power and dominion, though certainly not without reference to the divine, both by symbol and inscription. Among the monuments exclusively dedicated to religious aims, the simple stone fire altars on the mountain summits seem most worthy of mention.

As regards time, the Medes take precedence; but as regards the number of existing monuments, the Persians have the superiority; and this all the more, since up to this time no remains of Median art have been discovered. We must endeavor to fill up the gap as far as we

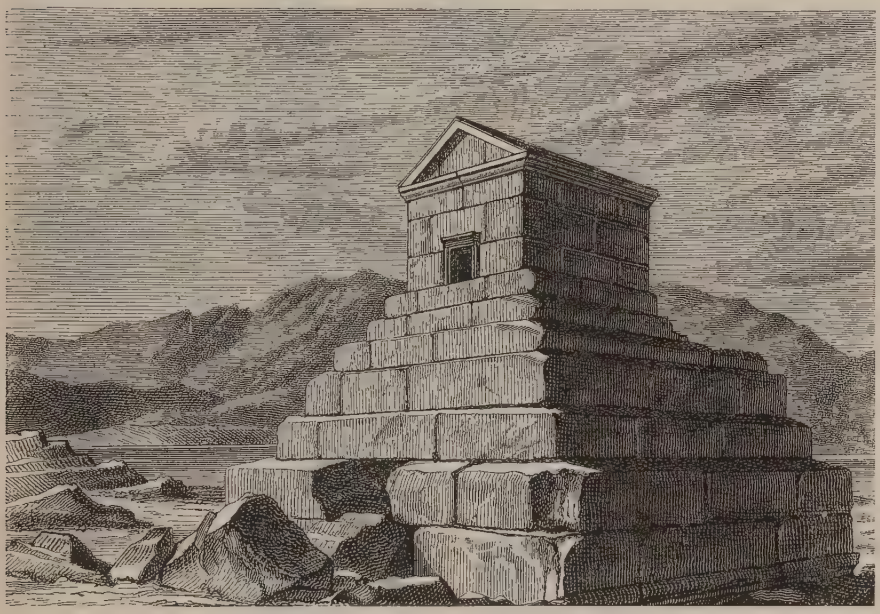


Fig. 53. Tomb of Cyrus.

can by means of the records of the ancients. Thus we learn that the Median palace at Ecbatana rose terrace-like in seven stories, and that the surrounding walls were gorgeous with various colors, and even with gold and silver. Many representations on the reliefs of Nimrud and Khorsabad afford us an idea of this building; and the terrace-like arrangement of structure betrays striking affinity with that discovered in Babylon and Nineveh. The traces of this ancient Ecbatana, which must not be confounded with one of a later date, the present Hamadan, are considered to be proved to be Takt-i-Suleiman, westward from the southern shores of the Caspian Sea.

Under the great Cyrus (559-529 B.C.) the Persians obtained as-

cendency over the effeminate Medes, extended their dominion with wonderful rapidity, and, spreading their conquering hosts over the whole of Central and Western Asia, entered Egypt victoriously under Cambyses, and established one of the most powerful empires of the world—an empire destined, nevertheless, to be shattered by Alexander the Great (330 B.C.). The period of building activity of the Persians, important remains of which have come down to us, em-

Fig. 54. Relief Portrait of Cyrus.

braces about two centuries, and may be considered, both as regards time and character, as the last echo of Central Asiatic art in the lands of Mesopotamia.

The residences of the "great king," as the Greeks called the Persian rulers, were at Susa, the Shúsh of the present day, at the head of the Persian Gulf; where important heaps of ruins have been partly

explored at Ecbatana, among the mountains far north of Susa, whose site is disputed but is generally accepted as at Pasargada, and Persepolis in the heart of Iran, and far to the southeast of Susa, and at Babylon after it was incorporated with the empire. Polybius tells us of the palace at Ecbatana, that the columns and beams were made of cedar and cypress wood, and were covered, like the exterior of the roof, with gold and silver plates. In this we may perceive the distinctive features of all the architecture of Central Asia, such as might have been expected in the lands of the Euphrates. More important still are the monuments that have been preserved in various principal parts of the true Persian mother country, in the regions which lie between the great salt deserts of the interior, and the steep, inhospitable shore of the Persian Gulf, and in the rich sloping and

Fig. 55. Ruins of the Palace of Persepolis.

mountainous terrace land, with the fertile valleys of Shiras, Murghab, and Merdascht.

Among the oldest and the most important of the Persian monuments we may number the remains of the ancient royal residence at Pasargada, in the neighborhood of the present Murghab. Foremost of all, attention is drawn to the remarkable building which, according to the ancients, was known as the Tomb of Cyrus. Popular tradition calls it the grave of the mother of Solomon (Meschhed-i-Mader-i-Suleiman, Fig. 53). We have here an example of the way in which the Persians, when they suddenly passed from their simple patriarchal mountain life to the dominion of a great empire in a high state of civilization, endeavored to combine into a whole in their monumental creations the various forms elsewhere in use. The Tomb of Cyrus, built of blocks of sparking white and highly polished marble, rises

on seven terrace-like steps as a small gable-roofed house, the form of which, as well as the management of the material, might be traced to the already highly developed art of Greek Asia Minor. Even the form of the few details points to such an influence; especially that of the cornice round the roof, as well as of the pillars surrounding the building, and now, for the most part, destroyed. The pyramid in steps, on the other hand, is evidently a typical form familiar to Central Asia, and frequently noticed by us in the lands watered by the Euphrates. The whole structure, including the high bottom step is only thirty-five feet high. Its decoration and all marks of the burial of Cyrus have disappeared, but his portrait is pre-

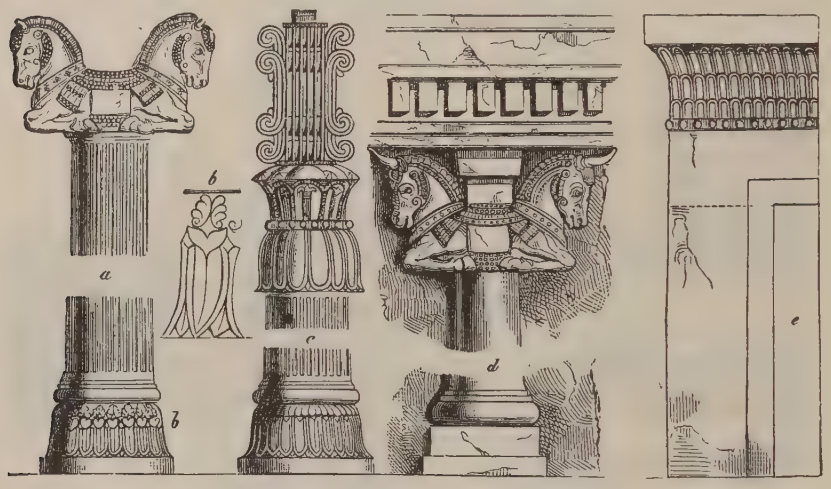


Fig. 56. Details of Persian Architecture.

served, singularly enough, upon one of the piers of the palace which lies in ruins near, and is thus designated by a contemporaneous cuneiform inscription, " I am Cyrus, the king, the Achæmenide." A figure in bas-relief, about sixteen feet high, wears a headdress of nearly the Egyptian fashion, and two mighty pairs of wings, which seem to be a characteristic symbol of the ruler (Fig. 54).

To the later period of the empire's prosperity, under Darius and Xerxes, until 467 B.C., we may assign the magnificent remains which mark the royal residence, called by the Greeks Persepolis (properly, Persopolis, city of the Persians) (Fig. 55), which lie somewhat southward toward Shiras, in the Plain of Merdascht. According to ancient records and the plan of the monuments, the old royal palace, into which Alexander with his own hand hurled the firebrand, seems

to have been the residence of the Persian sovereigns only at certain periods. The main building is called by the people Tchihilminar, i.e. the forty minars (minarets), in allusion to the slender upright shafts, or Takht-i-Djems-hid (the throne of Djems-hid). On the mountain ridge, which commands the vast plain, rises a magnificent structure of terraces, the plateau of which is gained by means of a double marble staircase of more than a hundred gently ascending steps. Splendid processions, which cover the sides of the steps in long series of reliefs, point to the former intention of the mighty structure. Arrived at the platform, which is also floored with slabs of marble, the ruins of a magnificent double portal are reached, with four stone piers, and as many slender marble columns, fifty feet in height, between them. On the front surface of the piers we again

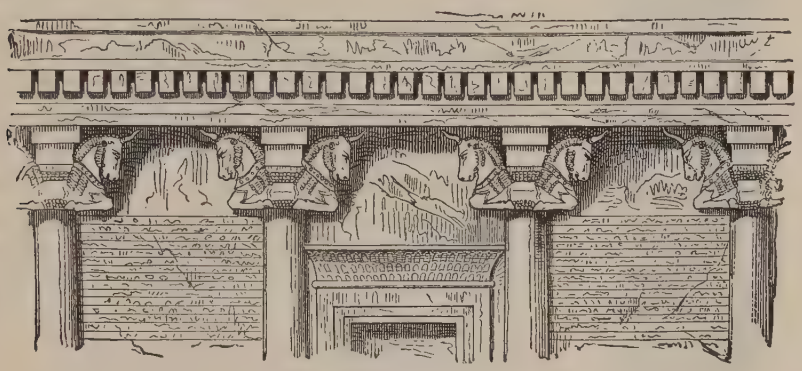


Fig. 57. Rock Façade of Royal Tombs in Persia.

find the colossal winged bulls of Assyrian art, though less impressive than those of Nineveh. A second double staircase leads to the upper terrace, which, almost square, and of great extent, is strewn over with ruined shafts of columns, shattered capitals, and a confused mass of rubbish. On the front part of the terrace, near the principal staircase, rise thirty-six broken marble columns, disposed in a square, surrounded on three sides with porticos of twelve columns in two rows. This whole vast structure seems to have served as a splendid porch to the principal palace. Behind it rise the remains of the former palace on higher terraces, with similar steps. Ruins of the vast apartments, with countless marble columns and noble entrances, and vestiges of a rich system of fountains, cover the entire height. The names of Darius and Xerxes, which are to be found in the numerous cuneiform inscriptions of the ruins, mark the epoch of their origin.

The style of these splendid buildings plainly shows a mixture of

many foreign elements into a new and peculiar whole. The terrace-like, pyramidal design is of Babylonic-Assyrian origin, transformed, however, here into a more cheerful effect, and aiming at breadth and freedom. The introduction of marble columns may be assigned to Greek influence. The form of the columns with their high bases (Fig. 56, *b* and *c*), the slender, elegantly formed shafts with their deep flutings, point to Ionic-Greek models. The capitals alone show, it seems, a design peculiar to Persia. They are either formed of two foreparts of bulls or unicorns (Fig. 56, *a* and *d*), or they consist of an upright and an inverted cup (Fig. 56, *c*), the former decorated with strings of beads, the latter with hanging petals, and the whole crowned with double volutes, placed perpendicularly instead of horizontally—an arrangement which shows a fantastic resemblance to Ionic forms, and thus early foreshadows the elements of a later decorative period. Other forms, again, pointing to Egyptian influences, are to be found in the crowning of the portals (Fig. 56, *e*), the principal of which exhibits the high Egyptian corona, with three rows of upright leaves covered with a heavy slab. No ruins are to be discovered of the walls themselves; this is taken as a proof that the material of which these were built, like that of the Assyrian buildings, consisted of unburnt bricks; but it is also highly probable that large parts of these pavilions remained unclosed except by curtains and low screens of wood. Equally few vestiges are to be found of the ceiling and upper stories. There is, therefore, no doubt that here, as in the palaces of Nineveh, wood was used for the ceilings, richly ornamented, probably, with shining metal. The marble-columned halls, moreover, can only have supported a wooden ceiling, as the columns, sixty feet in height, have a diameter of scarcely four feet, and an intervening space of thirty feet. Even the form of the capitals leads us to infer a slighter construction of the upper building.

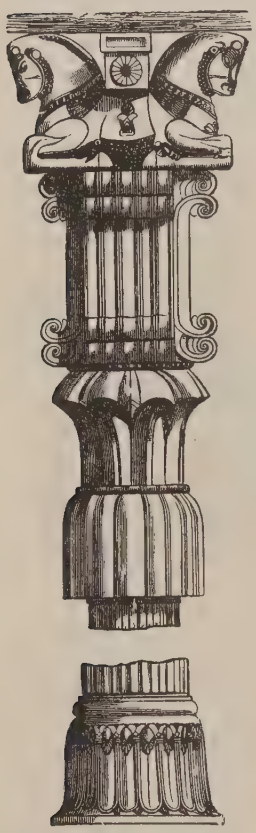


Fig. 58. Column from Susa.

We gain further information regarding Persian architecture from

the great façades of stone which also mark the ancient royal tombs in the neighborhood of Merdascht. While the funeral vaults lie inaccessible in the interior, the outer surface of the steep rock is decorated with façades covered with inscriptions in relief; and the center of these façades is a seeming door, with the characteristic high corona, while the half-pillars of their lower story exhibit capitals of unicorns, as at Tchilminar. Double beam-ends project between the animals, supporting an entablature, which, with its three members and its rows of strongly dentated ornament, recalls to mind the Ionic-Greek style (Fig. 57). Above this lower building is represented a fantastic, throne-like structure, on which stands the figure of the king in relief, sacrificing before a fire altar.

Fig. 59. Relief from Persepolis.

The English travelers Loftus and Williams have uncovered the remains of the great colonnade of a palace at Susa, the modern Shúsh, which is not unlike the one at Persepolis. The columns which they found there (Fig. 58) answer in their form to those of Persepolis, which show the richest, although at the same time the most *baroque,* development of the Persian column; since above the calyx-shaped portion the double volutes are placed, and on these again rest the pairs of bulls which were intended to support the architrave.*

* William Kennett Loftus, while under the command of Sir William Fenwick Williams, made explorations in 1849-52, and afterwards at the head of a separate expedition. The results of both these explorations were published under the title "Travels and Researches in Chaldæa and Susiana, with an Account of Excavations at Wurka, the 'Erech' of Nimrod and Shúsh, 'Shushan the Palace' of Esther, in 1849-52." By William Kennett Loftus, F.G.S., London. James Nisbet and Co., 1857. Illustrations and Maps. The book is dedicated to Sir W. F. Williams; but he had no share in its authorship.

The Persian buildings, like those of Assyria, are rich in sculpture which, in its treatment, also reflects the style of Nineveh in its later, weaker manner; in this respect, therefore, marking the conclusion—the last vibration as it were—of the ancient art of Central Asia. On the other hand, the subject of the representations is new and truly Persian, and gives a good illustration of how the people, when they attempted to express their national ideas in sculpture, were obliged to make use of the forms of art already elsewhere developed. Although the numerous sculptures in relief which cover the sides of

Fig. 60. Struggle between the King and the Unicorn.

the steps of the palace of Persepolis (Fig. 59) also aim at the glorification of the kingly dignity, they do not, like the Assyrian, give a chronicle-like representation of definite historical events, but depict in a general manner the splendor of the royal household: the bands of armed bodyguards; the richly dressed retinue; the solemn trains of deputies from subject races, bringing the product of their land as tribute—bulls, rams, horses, and camels, as well as costly vessels and implements. On one gate pier the king is represented in a richly falling Median garment, with short, curled hair and long, flowing

beard, with the Median cap and long scepter; behind him advance servants with sunshades and fans of peacocks' feathers; and over him hovers the fantastic form of his guardian spirit, the Feroher. Another time we see the king in solemn repose, sitting on his throne with the scepter in his hand, and behind him one of his retinue (Fig. 61). The power of the king is also glorified in a significant and symbolic manner when, with true Oriental calmness, he seizes by the horn the fantastic, unicorn-like winged monster, which attacks him with rapid movement and furious gesture, and which he kills with a well-aimed thrust of his sword (Fig. 60); or when a mighty

Fig. 61. Relief from Persepolis.

lion—probably the symbol of kingly strength—furiously rends asunder the rearing unicorn. Besides the fabulous figure of the unicorn, which strangely forms the corner ornaments in the altar-like structures of the façades of the rock tombs, we also meet, as we have seen on the gate-piers, with gigantic winged bulls with human heads, such as the old palaces of Assyria exhibit. In all these instances we perceive the inclination to a preëminently ideal conception, which, while it substitutes a more calm, ceremonious, and solemn dignity in the place of the lively movement and energetic action shown by the Assyrian sculptures, nevertheless frequently exhibits within its limitations an attractive richness of ideas and a pleasing variety in the representation of the same fundamental form. This is effected also by a style

in many respects freer; though, on the other hand, it is materially inferior to the earlier Assyrian works in freshness of expression, in distinctness of character, and in the more meaning energy with which the forms are handled. The representations of animals alone, especially the battle scenes, unencumbered as they are with the solemn ceremonial of the court, breathe a life full of expression and action, and afford a remarkable contrast to the quiet bearing of the human figures. Only one instance of historical representation on a large scale is known in Persian sculpture; namely, the relief on a high, steep, rocky wall at Bisutun (Baghistan or Behistan of the present day), southwest of Hamadan, in which the victory of Darius over a number of rebels is represented in large reliefs. The colossal figure of the king, accompanied by two armed bodyguards, has his foot placed on an enemy writhing on the ground, and seems looking angrily at a troop of nine men marching forward in a line, who, wearing a different attire, and fastened together by a rope round their necks, with their hands bound behind them, are awaiting their sentence. Above, amid long cuneiform inscriptions, hovers the guardian divinity of the king.

Persian art, therefore, though not without elements peculiar to itself, combines the results of the art efforts of Central Asia into a splendid whole, and presents, more strikingly than any other within the circle of antique life, an early instance of deliberate eclecticism. Nevertheless, although here, as we have seen, a high point of civilization had been reached by these people, and the elements of an independent national life were not wanting, they had no longer that energy that was needed to blend vigorously and radically all that they had borrowed from others into a truly homogeneous whole.

Chapter IV.

THE ART OF WESTERN ASIA.

*A.—Phœnicians and Hebrews.**

THE narrow range of coast by which the Asiatic continent opens westward to the Mediterranean was inhabited as early as 2000 B.C. by the Phœnicians, a people of Semitic origin, who, in their early voyages along the shores of this inland sea, founded colonies and emporiums of trade in Greece and in the adjacent isles, in Sicily, and on the coast of Africa and Spain; and advanced, indeed, beyond the limits of this circle—limits too narrow for their spirit of enterprise—into the Atlantic Ocean as far as the shores of Britain. It was no yearning for conquest and political organization that urged these adventurous spirits to such bold voyages; it was only a desire for trade and gain. This made the Phœnicians the disseminators of the civilization of Western Asia. Their famous cities, Tyre and Sidon, situated midway between the East and the West, were the central points of the commerce of the world, the markets for the rich products of the civilization of the entire Asiatic continent.

Phœnician civilization was essentially mercantile and industrial. We find the men of Sidon early in possession of the secrets of purple dye and the manufacture of glass, and engaged in the casting of metals, as well as in the ingenious working of gold and silver. Many things, especially the arts of weaving and embroidery, they must have learned from the Babylonians; from whom they also borrowed their weights and measures, and communicated them to the nations of the West. All the artistic articles of luxury mentioned in Homer are ascribed, as a rule, to "the men of Sidon." On the other hand, higher artistic works, peculiar to themselves, seem to have been unknown to this truly commercial people. It is true they were famous for their skill in decorative architecture; and even the

* F. C. Movers, "Das Phönizische Alterthum." E. Gerhard, "Ueber die Kunst der Phönizier," in the Papers of the Academy of Science. E. Renan, "Mission en Phénicie"; text and illustrations. De Saulcy, "Voyage autour de la Mer Morte." I. Kenrick, "Phœnicia." Perrot and Chipiez, "Histoire de l'art dans l'Antiquité," vol. iii.

magnificent buildings of the neighboring Hebrews were thought to have been executed by Phœnician architects; still they seem to have had no highly developed style of their own whatever, since the wooden and brazen columns, ceilings paneled with cedar wood, and the covering of the walls with gold, of which we read, may be traced entirely to Babylonian influence, and imply no great system of intelligent construction. The few works which can with proof or with probability be assigned to Phœnician origin, consist, for the most part, of mighty embankments, or dikes, such as those on the Island of Arvad (Aradus),* opposite the Syrian coast, and on some parts of the African coast. It is altogether probable that most of their permanent buildings were rock cut, at least in part. Wherever temple remains are still standing—as in the Island of Malta, the so-called Giganteia, and in the neighboring Island of Gozo;† and, in Cyprus, the remains of the ancient temple to Venus—we find an inartistic primitive rudeness of design, which could be made to suit the Oriental taste only by the application of rich metal ornaments.

Somewhat fuller information on the subject of Phœnician antiquity has been obtained by the late researches of E. Renan; but when we compare the remains which he describes with those left us by the other peoples of antiquity, the impression of inefficient clumsiness which we receive from the examination of the Phœnician monuments cannot be got rid of. Nevertheless, what we find established by these researches—what, indeed, might have been predicted from the geographical position of the Phœnician country—that, alongside of the Mesopotamian influence, a strong Egyptian influence made itself felt—is of importance in the history of culture. The most important ruins in Phœnicia are those at Amrith, the old Marathus. Together with less important temple-cellas, several tombs are especially worthy of notice, in which are found the two forms common to the whole ancient world—the rock-hewn sepulcher and the tumulus—but which show in their construction a character peculiar to themselves. In several of these monuments the Egyptian influence is betrayed in the pyramid form, although, it must be confessed, in a manner more curious than structural. Thus, in one instance, a somewhat high cylinder is placed upon a cubical substructure which itself rests upon

*"The most extensive remains of the town walls are on the west side of the island, where they are still twenty-eight to thirty-eight feet in height, and constructed in a grand Cyclopean style."—Baedeker's "Palestine and Syria," p. 543.

†In Murray's "Handbook for Egypt," pp. xv.-xviii., the reader will find a good account of the ruins near Casal Crendi, in Malta. The ruins in the neighboring island of Gozzo (Gozo), called Torre dei Giganti (the Giant's Tower), are of similar construction to those at Casal Crendi, though on a grander scale. They consist of blocks of stone laid up without mortar. See also Bedford's "Malta," one of the monographs of the Portfolio Series.

a base; and upon this cylinder stands a five-sided pyramid, serving as a terminal. The whole structure may have measured something like thirty feet in height. Another of these monuments may be described as a cubical building placed upon a platform of two steps, and covered with a projecting slab with a hollow molding underneath. This slab serves as a base for another cubical block, which is topped by a rather steep, four-sided pyramid. In these tombs the grave proper is, as a rule, hewn out of the rock, under the surface

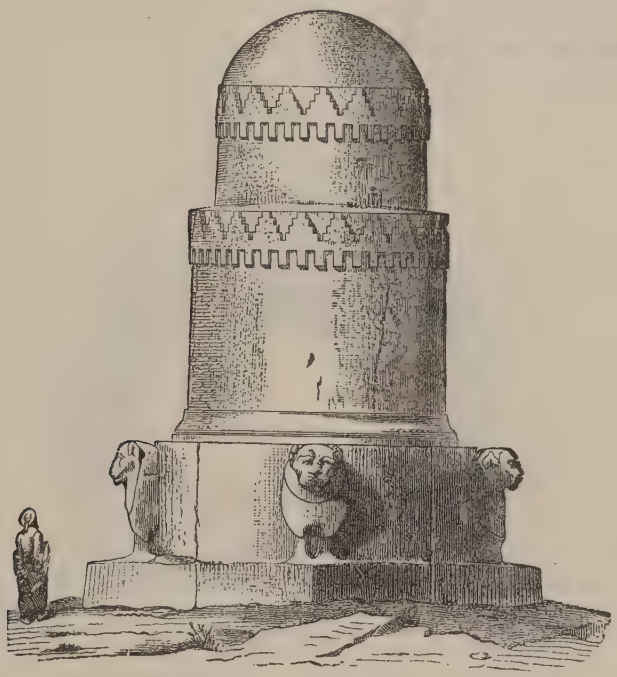


Fig. 62. Tomb at Amrith (restored). From Renan.

of the ground, and consists of a descending passage with large rooms, to which we are conducted by steps cut in the rock. The opening is closed with huge slabs of stone. The Egyptian influence in these works is unmistakable; and in the more important of them that character is betrayed which we recognize as peculiarly Phœnician, in the way of building with cylinders placed one above the other, and lessening as they ascend, and with a dome-shaped top (Fig. 62). The four rude half-figures of lions on the lower part of this building belong to a primitive period of art; while the dentated frieze. and the zigzag or step-formed battlement above it, are elements which meet us everywhere in the monuments of Middle and Western

Asia. In other examples the tombs present such a design as we find in façades cut on the rock of many a hillside tomb in Asia Minor. These rock-cut tombs resemble small chapel-like buildings, crowned with a gable which rests upon small columns and is ornamented with reliefs. Two examples of this sort are to be found at Maschnaka, where the columns have a primitive voluted capital. On a façade at Dschebeil (Jebeil), the old Byblos, on the contrary, the columns are wanting; but the gable, which is somewhat steeper than in the other examples, has for ornament a five-leaved rose.

There still remain to speak of certain temple-cellas at Amrith, which, however, are equally insignificant in their dimensions and in

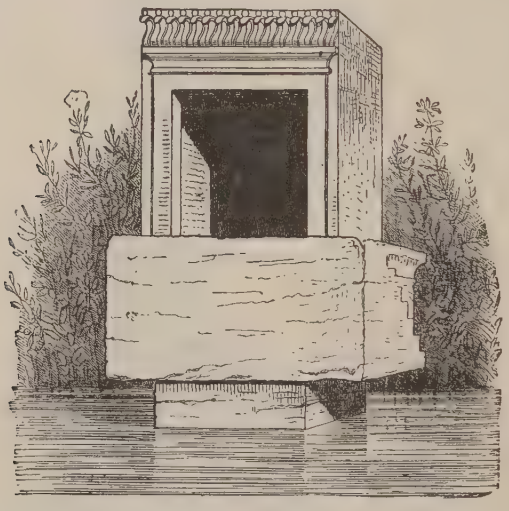


Fig. 63. Temple Cella at Amrith. From Renan.

artistic merit. Like the tombs, they consist of several large blocks, or are entirely cut out of a single stone. The example still known as El Maabed (the temple) consists of three large blocks, the whole resting upon a substructure about sixteen feet high. The building is surrounded by a court, formerly a pond, which also is excavated from the rock. The front of the cella is open; and it is probable that there were originally two bronze columns as supports to the projecting roof-slab. The Egyptian cornice crowns the top. Still more noticeable are the Egyptian details to be seen in two of these cellas standing opposite one another, both having the Egyptian cornice, above which again there is a frieze of asps (Fig. 63).

More rude, and indeed truly repulsive, are the few remains to be found of works of sculpture—idols and other images. The records

of the ancients respecting the image of the god Moloch, which had the form either of a bull or of a bull-headed man, prove that, in the personification of the ideas of Deity by means of the plastic arts, the Phœnicians held conceptions similar to those of the Egyptians and the races of Central Asia. The colossal sarcophagi also, now in Paris, at the Louvre, show that the Phœnicians were always dependent upon the art of the surrounding nations. The form of these objects is throughout Egyptian and mummy-like; and in the one—most probably the oldest—which belonged to King Esmunazar of Sidon, and which was found at Sidon, the features are thoroughly Egyptian in character, only barbarized, flattened, and unnaturally broad. The other remains discovered at Sidon, Byblos, and Tortosa retain the Egyptian form, but give a Greek stamp to the features. On a Phœnician monumental column in the same collection (Musée Napoléon III.) there is a sleeping sphinx with the pshent, the Egyptian royal crown; on another, two-winged lion-like animals with birds' heads are represented stretching out each a claw toward a vase placed between them—a motive which recalls to mind the monuments of Nineveh.

Still more important are the disclosures regarding Phœnician art furnished by explorations in Cyprus. That large island, deeply set in the angle between Syria and Asia Minor, was colonized at an early stage by the Phœnicians, especially on the south coast, and owing to its favorable situation and to its numerous harbors, it became an important center of commerce among the neighboring nations. In addition to this its wealth in copper was soon discovered and exploited by the Phœnicians. Nowhere is the crossing of Egyptian and Assyrian influences so noticeable as in the monuments of this country. We know that Thothmes III., king of Egypt, conquered Cyprus in the fifteenth century B.C.; and that later, in 707 B.C., under Sargon, the founder of Khorsabad, the island became tributary to Assyria. The cultural conditions of the country correspond to these changing political destinies. Later on the Greek element comes to the foreground in numerous colonies on the north and west shore of the island, and Greek art gradually displaced that of the Orient. It can be traced here from its earliest stage of development to the latest Græco-Roman epoch. Since 1866, when Gen. L. P. di Cesnola,* then American consul there, began his explorations, thousands of ancient tombs have been opened, of the earliest Phœnician epoch as well as of later ages; and several sanctuaries have been discovered.

A great number of statues of different sizes and of many styles

* Cyprus, "Its Ancient Cities, Tombs, and Temples," by General Louis Palma di Cesnola; London, 1877.

were brought to Europe and the United States; and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, has the greatest number of these. Some are of Egyptian, some of Oriental type. They show the most diversified tendencies of style, and one can here see, though in coarse and inferior examples, how Greek art was developed from that of the Orient. Many of the statues have the restraint of attitude peculiar to Oriental art; they stand with tightly closed feet, the arms clinging firmly to the body, unless the right hand is holding an attribute, or,

Fig. 64. Statue of the Assyrian Type.

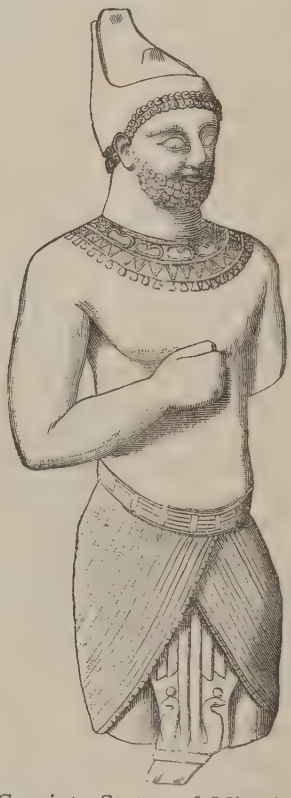


Fig. 65. Cypriote Statue of Mixed Assyrian and Egyptian Type. From Golgoi.

wrapped in the cloak, is resting on the breast. The Assyrian type (Fig. 64) is revealed in the heavy Semitic cast of features, the full, daintily curled beard, the long, heavy garment, as unmistakably as is the Egyptian in the more delicate forms, and the usually beardless face and close-fitting dress, sometimes consisting only of an apron. Occasionally, both types appear mingled in the same figure, as in Fig. 65, where the drapery, the apron with the Uræus serpent, and the

rich neck-ornaments bespeak Egyptian custom, while the bearded face and the curving cap are Assyrian. The fashioning of these works is not elaborate; on the reverse it often appears to have been neglected, from which we may conclude that they were placed against a wall or pier. Numerous traces of color point to their having originally been painted. They do not convey to us the notion of a high artistic sense or taste in the builders. Among the most remarkable finds is to be counted a colossal bearded head, which seems to have belonged to a statue of about twenty-eight feet in height, also the heroic statue of a Heracles with a club, and of a priest, who holds in his hand a beaker, and a dove as the bird consecrated to Venus.*

Among the most important finds are the numerous painted clay

Fig. 66. Vases from Alambra. (Cesnola Collection.)

vases in a style of very high antiquity, coming from the ancient tombs of Dali, Alambra, and Larnaka. In these vessels, of which a number has been transferred to the Berlin Museum, we meet with that most ancient manner of decoration which grounds its purely linear motives principally upon models taken from the art of weaving, and secondarily upon those of metal-work, and which again affords the starting-point for the oldest vase-painting of the Greeks.

The most ancient vessels are those which, in utter disregard of the primitive round form, suggesting a similar treatment in the ornament, are entirely covered with straight-lined ornaments, such as zigzags, rhomboids, chessboard designs, like patterns on a carpet, a vertical arrangement of the lines being occasionally indulged in. For

* Copious publication of these sculptures by Joh. Doell, the Cesnola Collection, with seventeen lithographic plates, in the records of the Petersburg Academy, XIX. 4. St. Petersburg, 1873.

the most part, these vessels are of a pale-red clay painted with dark-brown designs, or of a black glaze with ornaments in lighter colors. There are other vases which show a better understanding of what the laws of the potter's art demand, such as those represented in Figs. 66 and 67, where spirals and concentric circles form the fundamental elements, although even here chessboard ornaments and zigzags are not wanting. Side by side with these purely linear ornaments there

Fig. 67. Vases from Dali. (Cesnola Collection.)

also occur plant forms, animal and human figures, but drawn so awkwardly that one can see how long the potters of Cyprus clung by preference to the simpler forms. The admission of lotus-flowers, rosettes, and of those peculiar architectural plant-like configurations which are found in Egyptian and Assyrian art (Fig. 68), proves again that Phœnician art lay under the intermingled influences of two civilizations. No less curious are numerous vessels whose apertures are characterized by a human head, or which are molded entirely in the shape of an animal, either bird, fish, or quadruped, betraying

more advanced phase in the development of the sense of form. To these numerous and valuable antiquities must be added a relatively considerable harvest in products of the metal-worker's art. Not only implements and weapons of copper and bronze, but particularly a great quantity of personal ornaments and vessels of gold and silver have been found in Cyprus; and although many of them are certainly of foreign origin, others seem to have the marks of a Cypriote style.

In such a consideration of style some larger dishes and bowls are of high significance, since in their delineation that Egyptian-Assyrian intermixture of style which characterizes Phœnician workmanship stands out most prominently. There is, for instance, a silver-gilt bowl in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and stated to have been found at Curium, which represents upon its center the combat of a four-winged man with a lion. This figure, with the tutelary deity hovering above it, reminds one of something Assyrian as well as of the sculptures of Persepolis, notably the relief-sculpture of Cyrus (Fig. 54). The scenes in relief, surrounding the central representation in a smaller and a larger circle, show definite traces of Egyptian and Assyrian variations of style, ornaments, and costumes freely adapted and intermingled. Not less interesting is the fragment of a silver patera from Amathus, showing winged sphinxes, scarabs, and those human figures with wings upon their arms peculiar to Egyptian art. In the outer circle scenes of peace and war are represented, especially the siege and storming of a fortress, in which not only Egyptian and Assyrian, but unmistakably also ancient Greek, costumes are intermingled. Another silver bowl is daintily ornamented all around with conventionalized lotus-blossoms. Below are seen four representations of a bark with different scenes, between them all sorts of animal forms—horses, cattle, and water-fowls, some flying, some swimming; finally, in the center, human beings, fishes, horses, and cattle are swimming on a surface decorated with water-lilies. Varied as are these artistic objects, they nevertheless confirm in their essential features our conception of the lack of independence in the culture of this nation of traders, who did not get beyond an eclectic

Fig. 68. Vase from Larnaka.

employment and blending of art forms of the neighboring nations, first of the Egyptians and Assyrians, then of the Greeks.

Still less independent life is to be found in the art of the Hebrews. Entirely dependent on the Phœnicians, as we have seen, in architecture, they were ready to send to Tyre and Sidon when they needed artists and skilled builders. We know that the gold plates which covered the interior of Solomon's Temple were richly adorned with representations of flowers and palm-trees, and also with those of cherubim. Moreover, two cherubim of pure gold were placed upon the Ark of the Lord in which the Tables of the Law were preserved; and two, much larger, covered with gold, spread out their wings across the whole width of the inner sanctuary of the Temple. Even in the forms of these cherubs, which are represented in the Holy Scriptures as human but with wings, we perceive undoubtedly Persian ideas, and are involuntarily reminded of the relief of Cyrus (Fig. 54).

Fig. 69. Coin with Representation of the Temple of Venus (Astarte) at Paphos.

The internal arrangement of the Temple of Jerusalem, which has given occasion to much learned dispute, may be left to archæological discussion. As regards its artistic form, we cannot presume to have arrived at distinct ideas respecting its construction, or the impression it produced. The division into forecourts, the Holy Place, and the Holy of Holies, awakens, indeed, a general reminiscence of Egyptian temples; but neither their extent, nor the multiplicity of their rooms, nor the repeated use of the colonnade is to be traced in the description of the Temple of Solomon. The two famous brazen pillars of Jachin and Boaz, with which the skilled worker, Hiram of Tyre, adorned the porch, might furnish points by which to judge of the style, if their description in the books of the Old Testament were not wrapped in such obscurity that it is hopeless to attempt to compare it with any known pillar form of Oriental antiquity. They possess the greatest affinity, perhaps, with the pillars of Persepolis; while the proportions of shaft and capital accord more with those of Egyptian architecture. That the placing of such pillars at the temple-porch was usual among the Phœnicians is proved by some Cyprian coins (Fig. 69) representing the famous Temple of Venus (Astarte) at Paphos. We there see on each side of the porch an isolated pillar, suggesting a resemblance to the pillars at the Temple of Jerusalem. It is thought that the building was, in its general plan, slight and low; rather rich than massive. No other building of

the ancient Hebrews is known at all, and it is to be observed that all the buildings of Jerusalem and its neighborhood, even the tombs in the valleys, are of the time of the successors of Alexander the Great, that is, of the fourth century B.C., or of the Roman ascendency; with no traces of an independent local style.

*B.—The Races of Asia Minor.**

Jutting out toward the West from the mighty continent of Asia is a peninsula-like territory, which, inclosed by the Black, the Ægean, and the Mediterranean Sea, stretches out with its richly indented coast toward European Greece. This favorable coast, with its many harbors, and bordered by numerous fruitful islands, is as much

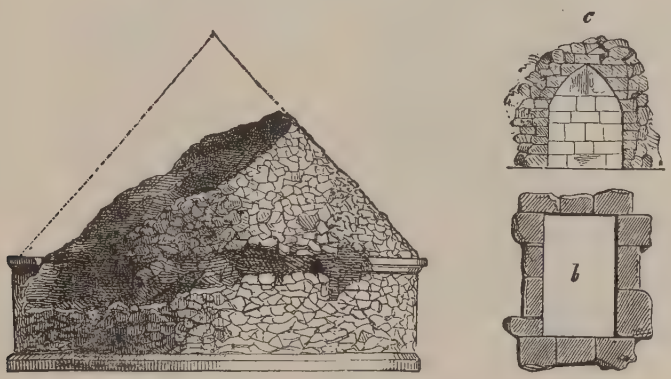


Fig. 70. Tomb of Tantalus in Lydia.
b, Plan of Interior Cell; *c*, Section of Cell, Showing Manner of Roofing.

in harmony with the West as the inland, divided by intersecting mountain chains; and, with its luxuriant lowlands and many smaller valleys, is in contrast to the cultivated territories of the East, with their larger and more compact masses. The interior alone is a high, unfruitful mountain plateau, from which the coast-lands descend in wooded slopes and meadow-land. The delightful climate softened by the sea and the mountains, the hospitable coast with its many inlets, early held forth strong allurements to colonization; so that, far back in time, Semitic, Aryan, Thracian, and Greek tribes had settled along the coast and on the islands, and had early reached a certain stage of civilization. The diversified topography of the

* Texier, "Description de l'Asie Mineure." Ramsay, W. M., in "Journal of Hellenic Studies," vol. iii. Perrot and Chipiez, "Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité," vols. iv. and v.

interior was favorable to the growth of a large number of small tribes, which, although allied in origin, habits, language, and religion, yet developed in different ways. Thus we find even in Homer an indefinite number of races crowded together on a territory in no wise extensive: we find the Alizonians with their wealth of silver, the Chalybians skilled in the preparation of ores, the combat-loving Mysians, the Dardanians and Trojans, the horse-breaking Maonians, the Lycians, Phrygians, and others.

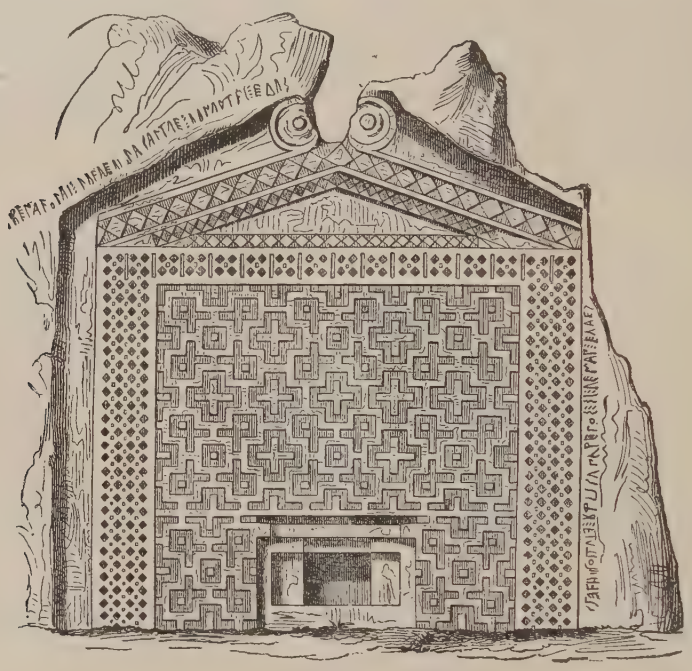


Fig. 71. Tomb of Midas.

Among these numerous races, a few chief tribes soon became prominent, and led the van in the development of civilization. We must for a time leave unnoticed the colonies of Greeks settled on the western coasts, in order that we may consider them later with their European brethren. Of the indigenous races of Asia Minor, we must especially notice the Phrygians, Lydians, and Lycians. The Phrygians inhabited the central woody highlands of the country, bounded on the west by the Lydians, who were settled in the territory watered by the winding Meander; the Lycians had established themselves on the southern coast. Among these races the Lydians had risen to increasing power and to more signal importance since the reign of

their king, Gyges (about 700 B.C.), who carried on victorious contests with the neighboring States. Through his successors, Ardys, Sadyattes, and Alyattes, they gained dominion over the whole of Asia Minor; and under Crœsus they even brought the Greek colonies under subjection. About 550, however, the Lydian power came to an end, when Cyrus, advancing in his victorious march, took the splendid capital Sardis, and incorporated the country with the great Persian empire.

The monuments which belong to the early ages of Asia Minor consist chiefly of tombs, which are to be found in considerable number and varied structure, from the simple form of the tumulus to the more complicated and individual building. The earliest and most primitive of these works are to be met with in Lydia, for the most part in the form of tomb-mounds, consisting of a cone, often of considerable dimensions, placed upon a circular substructure. In the center of the building a quadrangular vault is hewn out of the solid rock; and the roof is formed by gradually projecting the stones of the opposite sides until they meet over the middle. On the north coast of the Gulf of Smyrna a great number of such tumuli are preserved; the largest among them is the so-called Tomb of Tantalus, the lower diameter of which is about two hundred feet (Fig. 70). Similar tomb-mounds, some of them also of great extent, are to be found in the neighborhood of ancient Sardis, among them three of prominent importance, which are supposed to be the tombs of the kings Alyattes, Gyges, and Ardys.

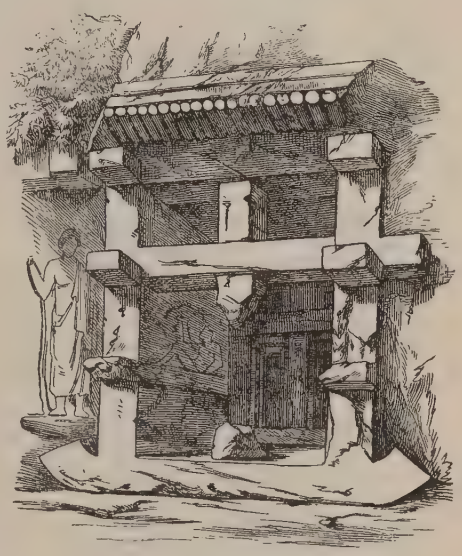


Fig. 72. Rock Tomb at Myra.

In contrast to these large, primitive, isolated buildings, the monuments of Phrygia are found to be essentially different. They consist of rock-cut sepulchers with artistically sculptured façades. If, in the plan of these structures, we find an analogy with the rock-fronted sepulchers of the Persians, this analogy by no means extends to the artistic execution; on the contrary, the Phrygian monuments

exhibit in every respect a mode of treatment peculiar to themselves, and cannot be brought into comparison with other works. The façades, which are of considerable size, have the general form, sometimes of a square front topped with a cornice, sometimes of a gabled front. These latter consist of a quadrangular panel, the top of which rises in a low pediment. But there is no suggestion in any part of this design of a definite architectural form or arrangement.

Fig. 73. Rock-Cut Lycian Tomb.

These remarkable façades might be compared to great tapestries stretched in a vast frame. The frames are decorated with rhomboidal ornaments, while a species of meander pattern covers the whole surface of the interior. The gable, also, is usually bordered with a rhomboidal pattern. No part in the whole façade stands out with strong effect of shadow; no powerful profile asserts the rights of masonry. Tapestries and textile fabrics with light wooden framework are evidently the models on which they were constructed. Below, in the center, is an opening by which the sepulcher is entered. The only characteristic architectural feature is the volute, with a pair of which ornaments the point of the gable is crowned. This form, which we also meet with in Persepolis and Nimrud, we may therefore reasonably regard as peculiarly belonging to Western Asia. Conspicuous among these monuments, both for size and age, is the so-called Tomb of Midas at Dogan-lu, about thirty-six feet broad by forty feet high, with ancient Phrygian inscriptions (Fig. 71).

Besides these peculiar monuments, others also occur, which show an advance toward plastic decoration, and in a striking degree call to mind the lion gate at Mycenæ. The façades are finished off with a gable, whose cornices are denticulated and rest upon columns,

crowned occasionally with a reed-like capital. Above the entrance there is a discharging arch, occupied by two lions in high relief, usually of colossal size. There is here unmistakably an inner relationship to that very ancient Greek monument.

At Arslan, a pediment is filled with two lions facing a central pillar, but these are not rearing up nor fighting. The rear wall of

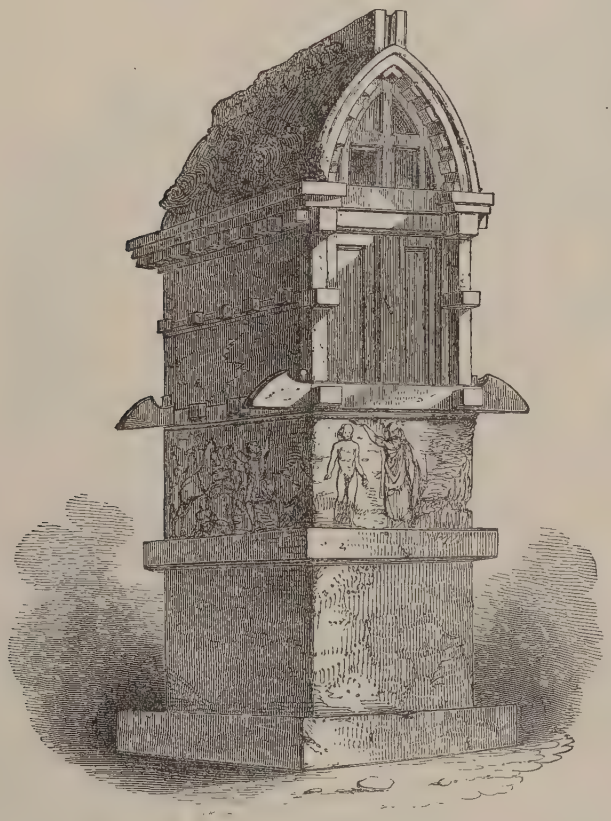


Fig. 74. Lycian Tomb (British Museum).

the interior is filled by a nude human figure, and two lions on their hind legs, near each side. A tomb discovered by Mr. Ramsay had a very large bas-relief showing a kind of trophy of arms, on either side of which is a warrior with spear balanced and leveled as if about to be thrown.

Another form, again, and a new stage of development, is exhibited in the monuments of Lycia. Here, too, the rock-cut form is used by preference, though in a very different manner. Either the tomb

is chiseled out of the mass as an independent monolith—the native rock being cut away around it (Fig. 74)—and, in the form of a sar-

Fig. 75. Rock-Cut Tombs at Myra.

cophagus represents a wooden construction with all the marks of intentional imitation; or the sepulcher—as is frequently the case—is hollowed in the rock, upon the exterior of which a façade is chiseled,

exhibiting still more decidedly the appearance of a wooden building (Fig. 73). A complete representation of sills curved upward, of posts, studs, and beams, shows a close and careful imitation of timber construction; so that one might imagine this a log-house turned to stone (Fig. 72). The upper part is formed either horizontally, or, as in the Phrygian tombs, with a gently rising gabled roof: yet not, as is the case with these, in expressionless, unbroken flatness, but with a strongly projecting cornice, characteristically decorated with an imi-

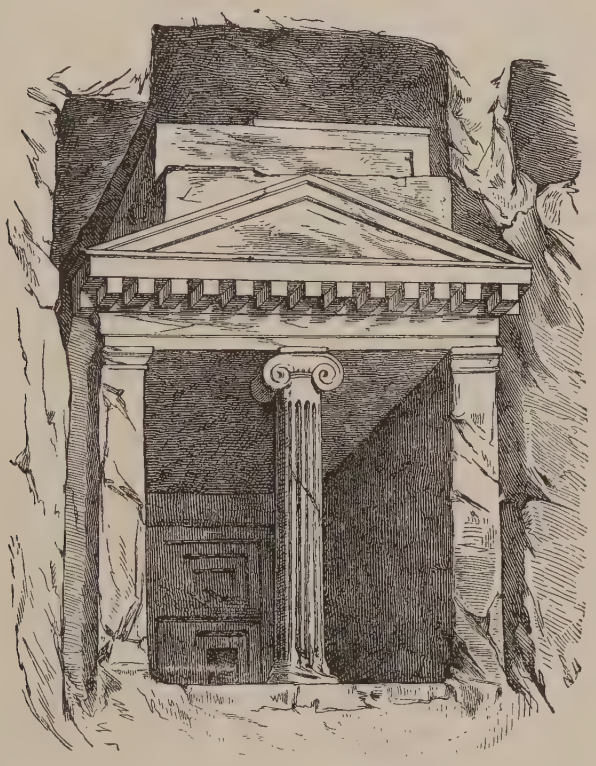


Fig. 76. Tomb at Kyaneä-Jaghu.

tated row of cross-pieces of timber. The principal places in which such monuments are discovered are Phellus, Antiphellus, Xanthus, Telmissus, Myra, and others. Sometimes the whole face of the mountain is covered with these remarkable constructions; so that, in such a necropolis, tomb follows tomb, one rising above another, all crowded together in the closest neighborhood (Fig. 75).

Besides these tombs, there are many others in Lycia in which, while the rock façade is the fundamental architectural motive of the

monument, it is treated in a manner essentially different, and evidently influenced by Greek models. Here the Græco-Ionic column is used, and a distinctly Greek form is given to the upper parts, the entablature, and the gable roof. This is done in two ways: either the façade is chiseled on the rock in strong relief, after the usual manner; or a portico-like entrance is formed with detached columns. As a rule, there are two columns—though occasionally only one—placed between two strong angle-piers. The forms are decidedly Hellenic-Ionic: the capital with the volutes; the base with the circular projecting and receding moldings; the tapering column, chiefly without fluting; the entablature in two parts, crowned with a dentated cornice; and the gable, finished at the point and ends with a rude, simple acroterium. Monuments such as these are to be found at Telmissus, Antiphellus, Myra, Kyaneä-Jaghu, and other places (Fig. 76). Besides these decided Hellenic forms, there are reminiscences of Persian architecture to be found in various works, such as on a façade at Limyra: the strongly effective crowning of the door by a fluting decorated with leaves. Lastly, in a monument at Xanthus, now in the British Museum in London, there is a completely finished detached building. It consists of a temple-cella in the Ionic style, resting on a square basement. At first it was supposed to be the Tomb of Harpagus; it has now from its sculptured ornaments received the name of the Nereïd Monument. Its origin may be dated about 370 B.C. The wonderful inclosing wall of the Temenos at Gjolbashi had a continuous frieze of elaborate sculpture, now in Vienna. These works are, however, wholly Greek in inspiration.

As regards the date of the monuments of Asia Minor, we may expect further information from the decipherment of the inscriptions: in the mean while, the character of the reliefs sculptured on them must be the standard by which to determine their age. The earliest works are undoubtedly those primitive tomb-mounds of Lydia, which may reach as far back as the period of Gyges and Alyattes (seventh century B.C.). After them, as belonging to the sixth century, follow the Phrygian monuments with their naïve and playful style; while the Lycian tombs, with their imitation of a wooden structure, or of decidedly Hellenic forms, belong to the fifth, and even to the third century.

On the other hand, the rock-cut tombs of Paphlagonia,* but recently discovered, belong without doubt among the most ancient monuments. They are distinguished by being provided with open

* Cf. G. Hirschfeld in the *Proceedings* of the Academy of Science, Berlin, 1885. Also Perrot and Chipiez, "Histoire de l'Art," v., p. 196.

porticos resting on columns, either one, two, or three in number, which taper considerably, are of massive proportions, and have primitive volute-capitals which might be looked upon as prototypes of the Ionic order. In one case at Iskelib, where four tombs have been preserved, clumsy reclining lions form the capital. The cushion-shaped bases are equally bulky and ponderous. The façades are generally set in a profiled frame, above which rises a flat gable. These are, perhaps, the earliest examples of this form, which is evidently fashioned after the timber-architecture of the mountain regions. It seems still more peculiar that in several instances, as in Hambarkaya, two lions are represented in the pediment embracing symmetrically a stele-shaped object, occupying the center. A magnificent effect is produced by three lions reclining in front of the columns; they are carved from the rock, and call to mind Assyrian models. Occasionally the place of the columns is taken by a pillar of equally rough workmanship, as on a tomb at Kastamuni, where two pillars form the porch, while the pediment is occupied by two winged quadrupeds surrounding what, to all appearances, is a female figure in the center. Somewhat farther south, near Aladja, there is still another very impressive monument, from which, however, the gable is missing. It is conspicuous for its portico resting upon three clumsy columns. The vestibules and the tomb-chambers are exceedingly roomy; the ceilings of the latter are mainly formed by flattened arches or gable roofs. In the center of the gables there is a short prop, which again is derived from the timber construction. Thus, these structures, considerably antedating all Mesopotamian influences, are among the earliest examples of an imitation in masonry of wooden houses.

The independent sculpture of Asia Minor, when not bearing traces of Hellenic inspiration, has hitherto come to our knowledge only in scanty, isolated remains, and although much light has been thrown on it recently by the investigations of modern scholars, the deficiencies in the knowledge of the country are still so great that a connected description is not to be thought of. But this much seems established, that in the most widely separated portions of that region many monuments have survived bearing the stamp of a very high antiquity. They are, for the most part, rock-carved reliefs, rough and plain, indeed, often crude, in treatment, and bear witness to the presence of an independent, though not highly developed sense of form. In the course of time this is blended with influences of Mesopotamian, sometimes also of Egyptian, art without entirely obliterating its original character. These works of art, taken together with certain sculptural objects in North-

ern Syria, have been designated as the works of the Hittites, whom we meet in the Old Testament as the descendants of Heth, a son of Canaan, and upon Egyptian and Assyrian monuments as the people of Cheta and Chatti, respectively. There is positive proof that they were bound to pay tribute to Thothmes III., in the fifteenth century. But under the nineteenth dynasty they rose to the permanent rule of Syria, and their king assumed the title of "Great Prince of the Cheta." During the reign of Ramses II. they became involved in protracted wars with the Egyptians, and they are described to us in the famous epic of the Pentaur, the oldest epic in the world. It is possible that at that time their power extended as far as Asia Minor. Upon the conclusion of peace, Ramses married the daughter of the Cheta prince, and both nations remained peaceful allies for many years. Under Ramses III., however, the Cheta, with other Asiatic tribes, invaded Egypt, but were repulsed, pursued across the borders into their own territory, and "their miserable king was captured alive." Megiddo, Kadesh on the Orontes, and Karchemish on the Euphrates are named as their principal cities. In spite of this overwhelming defeat, they continued to figure upon Assyrian monuments for a considerable period after, and only about the end of the eighth century they were so completely overthrown by Sargon that henceforth their name does not appear in history.*

In the period of their national power, closely approximating one thousand years, they found sufficient inducement for the creation of monuments, and left behind a number of works which in part are to be found in Northern Syria, but also repeatedly in Eastern and Central Asia Minor.† They followed the example of the people of Mesopotamia in covering their palaces with stone slabs adorned with reliefs. The distinguishing features of these sculptures are to be found chiefly in the national dress, consisting in the case of warriors of a short tunic and a high, cone-shaped helmet, the most conspicuous part, however, being the pointed shoes. Even if one were to ascribe to the Hittites all the monuments, here taken into account, they would after all prove to be a race possessing but moderate artistic aptitude, which in the long run could not escape the mighty influences of the prodigious art of the Assyrians, and which, through this influence, fell to the level of a motley variety of styles instead of rising to a consistent course of development.

Among the most important monuments in Asia Minor must

*W. Wright, "The Empire of the Hittites, with Decipherment of Hittite inscriptions," by A. H. Sayce; London, 1886.

† For a complete survey, see Perrot, "Histoire de l'Art," iv., pp. 483-812. Cf Hirschfeld, in *Proceedings of the Academy of Sciences;* Berlin, 1886. Also K Humann and O. Puchstein, "Reisen in Klein Asien und Nord Syrien"; Berlin, 1890.

be reckoned the palace ruins of Uejük in Cappadocia, which unquestionably also rank with the oldest.* There we behold a portal with gigantic figures of sphinxes; friezes with a procession of priests, one of whom is leading several victims; again, some musicians, a sacred rite, various figures of animals, among them a lion seizing a ram; finally, the curious symbol of the double eagle. Far more important, more extensive, and withal more perfect, are the monuments of the neighboring Boghaz-Köi, where the foundation-walls of a palace and of extended fortifications still exist, surmised to be the remains of Pteria. There a throne is to be seen with huge and very solid lion forms, and a main gate adorned with lion heads. The ground-plan of the palace again recalls Assyrian models. Most noteworthy, however, are the large reliefs on a rock-hewn sanctuary in the neighborhood of Yasili-Kaya, showing the meeting of two processions of male and female figures, probably representing a wedding celebration. The women wear long garments and headgears resembling mural crowns, the men short tunics and high, conical helmets, and all wear pointed shoes. The principal figures in front stand either on leopards (as in some Mesopotamian monuments) or on a double eagle (as at Uejük); the male leader stands on the bent necks of two human figures. The winged disk of the sun also appears, with which Assyrian art has made us familiar, while two goblin-like beings are holding aloft a large crescent. Altogether fantastic is a colossal figure whose shoulders are formed by two lions' heads, while two lions turned downward embrace the rest of the body. These fantastic elements are blended, in the arrangement and treatment of the whole, with certain ceremonious conceptions in a truly Oriental manner. Casts of these curious works are to be seen in the Berlin Museum. Kindred works, for the most part rock-carved reliefs, are found in Phrygia at Giaur-Kalesi, where the remains of old fortifications may be seen, with two large figures of warriors wearing the high conical helmet, short tunic, and pointed shoes. Of a similar nature is the rock-relief of Karabeli, near the village of Nymphi, which likewise represents a striding warrior, a bow in one hand, a spear in the other. On a wall at Kalaba we may see a striding lion in Assyrian style, and at Eflatum in Lycaonia an odd-looking group of twelve figures with arms raised on high, such as may be seen also on Assyrian chairs. Here again winged sun-disks remind one of Mesopotamia. Of a widely different kind is a rock-relief at Ibris, showing a colossal figure more than twenty feet high, with bearded face of wholly Semitic cast, holding ears of corn and grapes, clothed with a short tunic and pointed shoes, and, beside

* Cf. Texier, Perrot, Hirschfeld, Humann-Puchstein.

it, a figure half as large, with the same Semitic type of the bearded head, wearing a diadem and a long Assyrian garment.

Passing to the monuments of North Syria, Marash is the first to be considered. On a relief of primitive crudeness two women are seen partaking of a meal; on another we witness a religious act; while a basalt-stele of primitive ungainliness shows a woman seated with a child on her lap. On the city wall the relief of a lion in a more advanced style indicates Assyrian influence, as does also the head in relief of a flute-player, now in the Berlin Museum. Mesopotamian art is also suggested by the winged lion rampant at Sindjirli, and the hunting scene, covering a considerable series of relief-slabs, likewise in Berlin. The transition from rock-sculpture to slab-reliefs once more signalizes Mesopotamian influences. Also on the relief at Karchemish, representing a reclining lion bearing two men, Assyrian workmanship is called to mind by the wings on one of them and the long, fringed coat. In all these instances we come across the pointed shoes; they are, however, lacking in the relief of a lion-hunt from Saktshe-Gösü, now in the Berlin Museum, which so completely resembles Assyrian work, translated into a provincial mode of expression, that it must be assigned to the closing epoch of that art (about 700 B.C.). Of the peculiar hieroglyphics of this people, the most conspicuous monument is to be seen at Djerablus. In that work the Hittites remain true to their national style, and in face of the Assyrian cuneiform characters and the hieroglyphics of Egypt, adhere to their own system.

Thus the ancient art of each different race which possessed Asia Minor shows the influence of the same causes, the effects of which have exercised a deciding influence upon the political destiny of the country. Lacking a fixed centralizing power, the various elements have been scattered; and the less an energetic predisposition to the higher development of art was innate in the different races, the more easily must these races have yielded to the influence of the powerful neighboring nations, which had such a decided effect also upon their political condition.

A few later monuments may be referred to here which belong to the last century before the Christian era and owe their origin to the dynasty of Kommagene.* They are tombs in which the ancient Oriental form of the tumulus of Asia Minor is most curiously blended with the forms of Greek art and the religious conceptions of the Persians. Their importance is enhanced by the fact that the date of

* Cf. Humann and Puchstein. Sir Charles Fellows, "Journal of an Excursion into Asia Minor," 1839; "Xanthian Marbles," 1843; "Account of an Ionic Trophy Monument," 1848.

several of them is fixed by comprehensive votive inscriptions in Greek. One of the smaller and earlier is the tomb of Kara-Kush, a tumulus flanked by pillars standing in pairs and bearing figures of eagles and bulls, while on a relief close by a man and a woman are seen shaking hands. The inscription designates it as the tomb of Isias, mother of King Mithridates, and of his sister and her little daughter. The second tomb, at Sesonk, also consists of a tumulus, surrounded on three sides by a similar arrangement of columns in pairs. Here, as at Kara-Kush, the style of the columns is crudely Doric. This construction is displayed on the grandest scale in the imposing monument which was erected upon the summit of Nemrud Dagh, about 7000 feet high, by Antiochus I. of Kommagene, as is attested by detailed inscriptions. This is a mighty tumulus about 160 feet in height and about 525 feet in diameter, encompassed on three sides, east, west, and north, by the most imposing and extensive terraces. Of these the first two are adorned with colossal statues of Antiochus and of the gods he worshiped, who sit enthroned in solemn state and attained a height of twenty-six feet. The forms of lions and eagles appear on either side of them; especially conspicuous is the huge lion bearing the horoscope of Antiochus, the stars being chiseled on his figure. The statues are raised of ponderous stones and then treated in a style betraying the influence of the later Hellenic art in its provincial adaptation. In addition to these colossal creations we meet with a number of large reliefs, representing ancestors of the reigning house, and of Antiochus as he is greeted by Zeus, Heracles, and Kommagene. A similar relief, showing Antiochus greeted by Heracles, may be seen at Selik near Samosata. Finally, notice must be taken of the rock-carved relief at Gerger, the ancient Arsameia, representing a striding warrior's figure, about thirteen feet high, with a scepter or lance and the sacrificial knife, and on his head a high, conical tiara. A Greek inscription designates this work as a foundation of Antiochus, who, it seems, erected a monument here to the memory of his grandfather. All these creations bear witness that art in those regions remained imbued to the end with the character of an eclecticism, resulting from an intermingling of various styles.

Chapter V.

THE ART OF EASTERN ASIA.

*A.—India.**

I. LAND AND PEOPLE.

FROM the Himalaya, the highest mountain range in the world, covering with its vast glaciers an extent of country equal to the length of Scandinavia, there slopes down in grand terraces a land which, projecting southward in a compact mass, stretches its tapering point far into the Indian Ocean. This great peninsula—which, from its northern boundary to its most southern headland, Cape Comorin, occupies an extent as great as that from the shores of the Baltic to the most southern cape of Greece—is predestined by its natural position for an exclusive civilization. Separated from the northern countries by the rocky walls of the Himalaya, and inclosed toward west and east by the mighty streams of the Indus and Brahmaputra, the immense territory of Hither India is compressed into a continental mass, only divided by a rich network of rivers. Among these, the most important is the sacred stream of the Ganges, which, with its tributary the Jumna, rushes down from the ice-fields of the Himalaya, and, flowing in one united stream from Allahabad, empties its waters by a hundred mouths into the Bay of Bengal.

As everywhere in the earliest history of mankind a higher development of civilization has followed the course of mighty streams, so is it also here. The ancient glory of the Hindoo empire first flourished in the land inclosed by the two sacred rivers, Ganges and Jumna: here, even in the twelfth century B.C., stood the magnificent capitals of the Brahminical rulers, Hastinapur, Indraprastha, and Madura,

* Langlès, "Monuments anciens et modernes de l'Hindoustan." Cunningham, A., "The Bhilsa Topes," Daniell, "Excavations of Ellora." Fergusson, James, "History of Indian and Eastern Architecture." Griffin, Sir Lepel, "Famous Monuments of Central India." Bon, G. le, "Les Monuments de l'Inde."

and, farther down the Ganges, Palibothra—great cities, whose size, wealth, and magnificence were extolled in the old Indian epics. Nor ought this to excite our wonder, since in the earliest ages the nature of the land produced a civilization of rare abundance and splendor. No country in the world displays such luxuriant productiveness, combining in the north, in Hindostan Proper, the phenomena of all the zones, from the eternal ice and scanty vegetation of the glacier-world to the exuberant undergrowth and majestic palms of the tropics. Under the glowing tropical sun the moist soil becomes fertile beyond imagination, producing for man, in lavish abundance, all that he needs for life, but also subduing the mind with the overwhelming force of its fecundity.

It could not be otherwise than that the exuberancy of Eastern nature should have captivated the mind of man, stirring up his imagination, filling it with brilliant pictures, and fostering in him a love of contemplation and luxurious ease. With this were blended in the Indian character a deep delight in the study of the secrets of nature, an enthusiastic devotion to the native soil, and a leaning to subtle speculation. The old poems of the people, with their high poetic charm, exhibit the first of these traits; indeed, the tender enthusiasm for nature exhibited in Kalidasa's "Sakoontala" betrays a deep sympathy unknown to the other nations of antiquity. But just as nature in India is filled with rude changes and sudden transitions, so is it also with the moral world. Side by side with gentle enthusiasm we meet with unbridled excess; tender love of nature is contrasted with hardness of feeling, which finds striking expression in the caste divisions of the people. This state of things was evidently the result of great historical revolutions, probably connected with the conquest of the land by Caucasian tribes penetrating eastward in ancient times. Not merely the unmistakable difference of races, the strict separation of the subordinate from the ruling castes of priest and soldier, but also the contempt, strengthened by religious maxims, under which the former groaned, imply the relation of a subjugated people to their conquerors. The Caucasian origin of the latter is partly proved by their physical structure, and partly by their language, the Sanscrit; this family forms the most eastern branch of the great Indo-Germanic race, extending over the whole of Southern and Central Europe. The Hindoos, however, afford another illustration of the general truth, that the original character of a people acquires fixed traits in consequence of the peculiarities of climate and the unceasing correlation between nature and the mind; for so powerful has been the influence of nature upon them, that they have never attained that healthy national pride which must exist

before a people can have a history; and, however deep may have been the experiences which they have undergone, these have never lifted them beyond the limits of that purely sensuous existence, modified only by a contemplative and mystical religion, which has grown out of the unchanging and permanent conditions of the nature that surrounds them. But, instead of an impulse to practical activity, there early appears a powerful bent toward the investigation of the spiritual life, to thought, as well as to speculation. Thus their development was exclusively limited to religious matters. In contrast to the polytheistic belief of Brahminism, which, with its spiritless formula, its mechanical works of charity, and depressing creed of an everlasting migration of souls, had corrupted to the utmost the national mind of the Hindoo people, there arose in Buddhism a purer, more human, and more comforting system of ideas. Buddha's appearance occurs between 600 and 540 B.C.; and with him there began in India a more elevated and more deeply excited mental life. About 250 B.C., Buddhism, under King Asoka, obtained the supremacy over Brahminism; which again, after the lapse of some centuries, conquered in its turn, and drove back the doctrines of Buddha to China, Japan, and the great eastern isles of the Malays, where three hundred millions still adhere to this faith.

With the victorious advance of Buddhism, monumental art-creations seem to have begun in India. So far as inquiry has yet ascertained, there is nothing to confirm the belief that so long prevailed as to the extreme antiquity of the existing Indian monuments. The splendid descriptions of palaces and temples in the old epics, the "Mahabharata" and the "Ramayana," which are cited in proof of the great antiquity of Indian architecture, may be considered as interpolations made at a much later period of culture; or, when they are of the original work, they point to slight and temporary structures, gorgeous with color and polished metal, and adorned with stuffs. Indian architectural art seems, therefore, to have really begun with the rise of Buddhism, and, from the very first, to have displayed a style of its own in its magnificent monuments. This style was subsequently adopted by Brahminism, and, aided by more luxurious wealth and more brilliant imagination, produced wonderful results. Even when India in its weakness submitted to the powerful inroads of the Mohammedans, when the old Brahminical cities vanished to make room for the new capitals of the conquerors, still the Hindoo people retained with their ancient religion their native style of architecture; and later, in modern times, this architecture experienced a revival which, in uncouth fancifulness and bombastic overloading, was in no wise behind that of the earlier ages.

2. THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE INDIANS.

The extensive territory of India, the superficial area of which is equal to that of the whole of Europe with the exception of Russia, is covered throughout its various districts—in Hindostan proper as well as in the peninsula of the Deccan, in the rocky mountains of the Ghauts as well as on the coasts of Coromandel, in the highlands of Central India as well as in Ceylon and other islands, in Afghanistan as well as in Cashmere—with an astonishing number of monuments, the common type of which, though with manifold change of form, points to the two great Indian systems of religion. The chief buildings in this inexhaustible world of monuments of the early ages are those which were devoted exclusively to religious purposes, and prove anew how entirely Indian life was confined within this circle of ideas. The earliest known works are some mighty columns which King Asoka erected in honor of Buddhism about 250 B.C., in the Ganges district, near Allahabad, Delhi, and other places. They are all of the same construction, above forty feet high, rising in a tapering form from a base of more than ten feet in circumference, and terminating in a curved capital with hanging leaves (Fig. 77), on which the figure of a lion rests as a symbol of Buddha. The form of the capital, and still more the flower-decoration round the neck of the column (Fig. 78), point most remarkably to a West Asiatic—that is, the Babylonic-Assyrian—influence, which might be traced to Alexander's march of conquest, and establishes to all appearance the surprising fact that the Indian monumental style began with forms borrowed from other nations. If this, however, be the case, still in the earlier Indian civilization, of which undoubtedly we have no certain knowledge, distinct national forms of art must have been already developed, and these Buddhism presently developed into monumental importance.

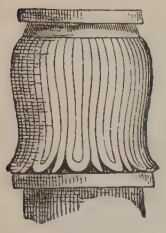


Fig. 77. Capital of the Column at Bhitari.

Fig. 78. From the Column of Allahabad.

The ceremonies of this religious system required especially two principal forms of monumental designs —that of the stupa or tope, and that of the vihara. The stupas are ceremonial tomb-mounds, in which were preserved the relics of Buddha and those of his foremost disciples and adherents; and are often of enormous size. A striking harmony with the conditions of surrounding nature is shown

in the forms of these buildings. The tope is nothing but a tumulus, the most primitive form of monument we know of. For the most

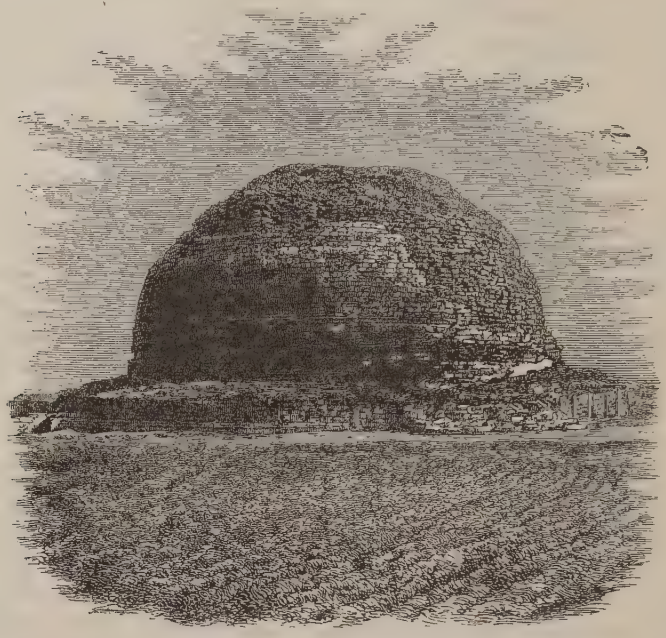


Fig. 79. View of Manikyala.

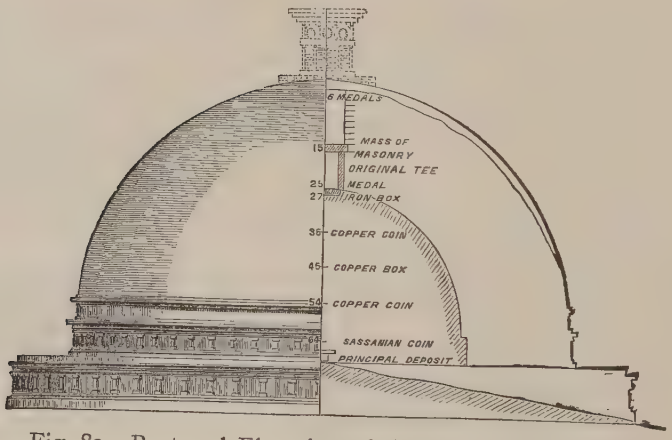


Fig. 80. Restored Elevation of the Tope at Manikyala.

part, it consists of a tower-like structure upon a terrace-like substructure, often scarcely to be distinguished from a natural hill (Figs. 79 and 80). These mounds, which are of very different sizes, are, as a

rule, built of solid brickwork laid in mud, coated on the outside with dressed stone or surrounded by a high stone retaining wall; and, in the more elaborate examples, developing into stepped pyramids

Fig. 81. Thuparámaya-Dagoba.

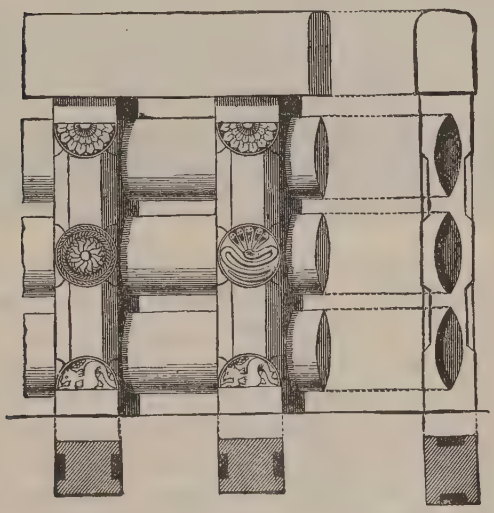


Fig. 82. Rail No. 2 Tope, Sanchi.

of picturesque mass and informal type, supporting an enormous central upright shaft. They all contain small chambers in which the relics were preserved. Hence they also bear the name *dagoba,*

i.e., the hiding-place of the body; or, as it is otherwise explained, the name of dagoba is from *datu,* " a relic," and *garbhan,* " a receptacle," a shrine. Frequently the motive of a higher architectural design is to be found in this original form; the terraces gain in greater circumference and height; the circular building is furnished with cornices and ornamental work; and the whole is often surrounded with slender columns, to which is added a stone inclosure with stately portals. King Asoka is said to have built no less than eighty-four thousand topes and similar buildings in his empire, and to have distributed among these the relics of Buddha—a statement which,

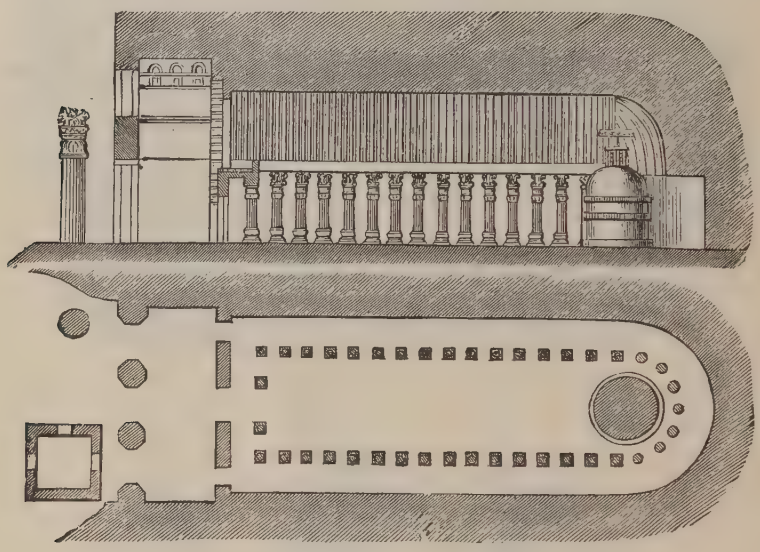


Fig. 83. Cave of Karli. Ground-Plan and Section.

with no doubt some legendary exaggeration, points to the fact of great activity in building. More definite are the reports respecting the buildings erected by King Dushtagamani in Ceylon, about 150 B.C. The Mahastupa—i.e., the great stupa, founded by him, and which is believed to be identical with the existing building known as the Ruanwelli-Dagoba—reaches even now, in spite of its partial destruction, to a height of 140 feet, based upon a mighty granite terrace of 500 feet broad. Especially expressive in form is the so-called Thuparámaya-Dagoba (Fig. 81), in the neighborhood of the ancient capital Anurajapura; it is only 45 feet high, but is surrounded with many circles of slender, reed-like pillars. Smaller in plan are the topes of the Central Indian group at Bhilsa, altogether consisting of about thirty monuments of various size, among the most important of

which are the two topes of Sanchi. The larger, about 56 feet high, with a base diameter of 120 feet, rises cupola-like in several offsets, surrounded by a stone inclosure with four handsome sculptured portals. This inclosure is formed of stone posts; the upper part of the portals is constructed with curiously rounded stone beams (Fig. 82); and the portals themselves are evidently imitations of wooden construction. In this monument the primitive tumulus appears developed in various decorated forms; nevertheless, the capitals of the slender

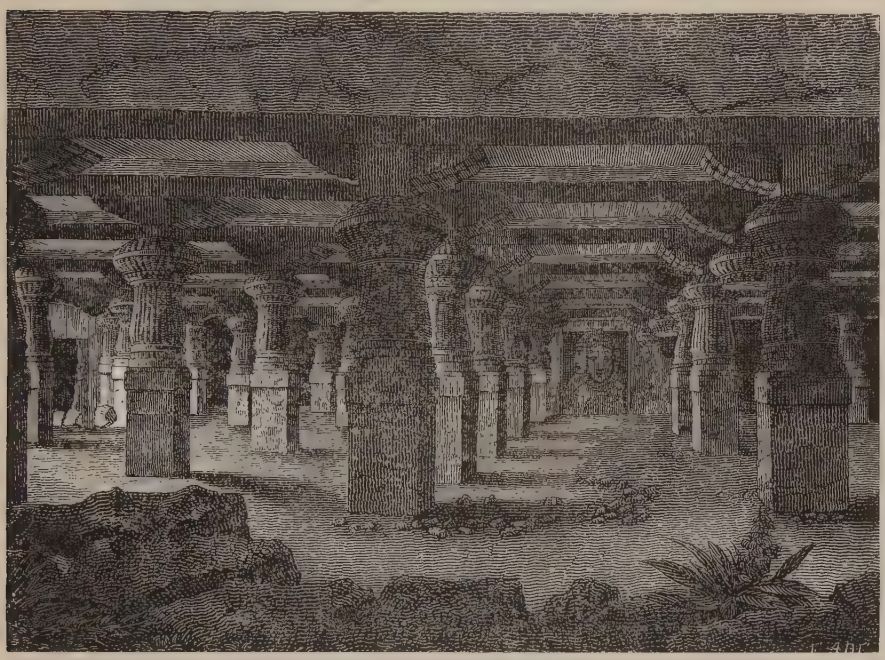


Fig. 84. Cave of Elephanta.

columns which mark the entrance to the principal portals suggest, in their similarity with the triumphal columns of Açoka, the early epoch of Buddhist art.

The vihâras are of an essentially different character. As Buddha had set the example of a secluded hermit-life, his followers repaired to the mountains for pious contemplation, and chose for their dwellings the hollows of the rock. These caves were soon artificially enlarged into those vast excavations in which the wondrous charm of Indian architecture principally lies. Besides these vihâras, with their monastic, cell-like caves, there were other structures of a similar kind, the so-called chaitjas, which, with an almost regularly recurring plan, appear to have been temples. The rock, in most of

these, is hewn out into a long, rectangular cave, terminating in a semicircle at the end opposite to the entrance. Two rows of pillars, or columns, connected by an architrave, serve to support the tunnel-vaulted roof of the broad central nave, in the apparent construction of which carpenters' work has evidently served as the model. At the semicircular end of the building, which strikingly resembles the plan of the Christian basilicas, there rises a dagoba, exhibiting in a niche the colossal image of the deified Buddha. For the rest, as a

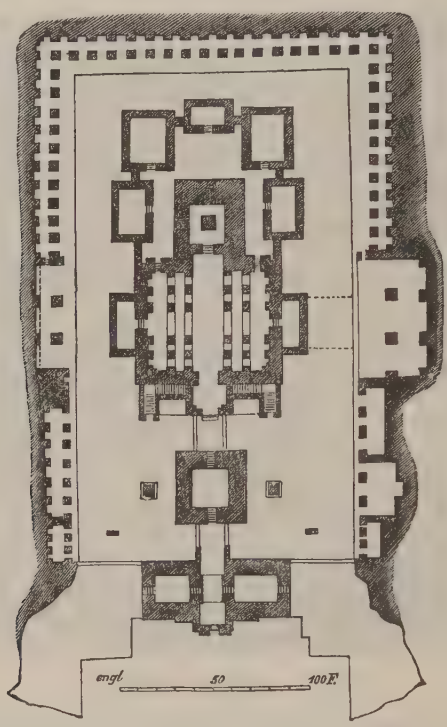


Fig. 85. Ground Plan of the Kailasa Cave of Ellora.

rule, these buildings, in harmony with the spirit of Buddhism, disdain all rich decoration. Among the caves of this kind, that of Karli may be mentioned as one of the earliest (Fig. 83). Others are to be found on the Island Salsette, at Baug, in Central India, and in many other places, mingled with Brahminical works.

Brahminism, indeed, soon vied with Buddhism in the excavation of these temple-caves, and endeavored, by variety in the combination of courts and by exuberant and fanciful decoration, to surpass the Buddhist caves. Splendid monuments of this kind are to be found

in the Island Elephanta, near Bombay; the interior of the principal cave is shown in Fig. 84. The most magnificent works, however, are to be seen in the neighborhood of Ellora, where the mighty masses of the granite mountains have been hewn out in a semicircle a mile in circumference. The temples here often extend in two stories, one over the other; indeed, the superincumbent rock is sometimes removed, so that open temple courts are formed in the interior of the mountains; and in the center of these the principal shrine, with its chapels and its cella, is left standing like a monolithic mass of rock skillfully hewn out. The most splendid monument is the Kailasa Cave at Ellora (Fig. 85), conspicuous both for its extent and for its lavish abundance of sculptured ornament. The whole surface is covered, in fantastic irregularity, with the strange creations of Brahminical symbolism: forms of men and animals in wild complexity and disorder; Atlas-like figures apparently supporting the entablature; lions, elephants, and curiously fashioned composite beings—the whole of this motley life being elaborated with the untired industry of a patient chisel. The architectural members proper also, especially the columns which have to bear the weight of the rocky ceiling, assume the most capricious and varied forms by the fantastic taste of Indian art. As the whole cave system, owing to the direct appropriation of the natural rock, is, in all its forms, dependent upon local conditions, so we also find an absolute arbitrariness in the details. Certain characteristic features in the design of the pillars, however, recur tolerably often; such as a quadrangular base, with a swelling column curved in outline rising above it, and ending in a projecting capital of an extremely bulging form. The pillars are connected by strong architraves; and a console-like member, in imitation of wood, is generally placed between the capital and the entablature (Figs. 86 and 87).

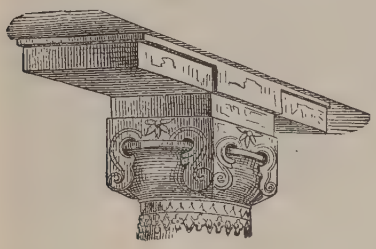


Fig. 86. Capital at Ellora.

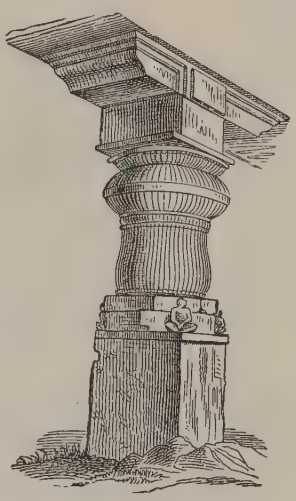


Fig. 87. Pillar at Ellora.

In the Buddhist caves the designs of the pillars are simpler, with a general leaning to an octagonal form.

Besides these buildings, which in countless number and wonderful splendor are spread over the mountains of the Deccan and the numerous islands, Brahminism has also produced a multitude of no less magnificent detached buildings. We refer to the temple structures, the so-called pagodas—extensive groups of buildings, surrounded with vast walls interspersed with stately gates and towers, generally containing several courts with greater and lesser temples, chapels, and other shrines, pools for sacred ablutions, colonnades, galleries, and immense courts for pilgrims (Tchultris). In all these buildings

Fig. 88. Pagoda of Mahamalaipur.

the form of the tope again asserts itself as especially congenial to the national mind; so that gates, towers, and other prominent parts are fashioned in this style. Increased effect is sought to be given to these complex buildings by means of vast extent and bulk: the different parts often rise to a considerable height and in a pyramidal form, several stories with convex-curved roofs being placed one above another, diminishing in size as they ascend, the whole ending in a cupola-like point. Magnificent buildings of this kind are especially to be met with in the southern districts of the Deccan; as, for instance, the mighty Pagoda of Chillambrum, with its four splendid portals; the Pagoda of Mahamalaipur, on the coast of Coromandel (Fig. 88); the famous Pagoda of Juggernaut, built in the year 1198 A.D.;

ELEPHANTA

TEMPLES OF ELEPHANTA, BOMBAY HARBOR, INDIA

and others. The purely Buddhist temples have often pagodas of surprising beauty and richness of decoration. (See Fig. 89.)

A separate group is formed by the buildings of the Jainas, a sect between Brahminism and Buddhism, whose splendid but more recent monuments are especially to be met with in Mysore and Guzerat. Extensive courts with arched walls and numerous chapels, and espe-

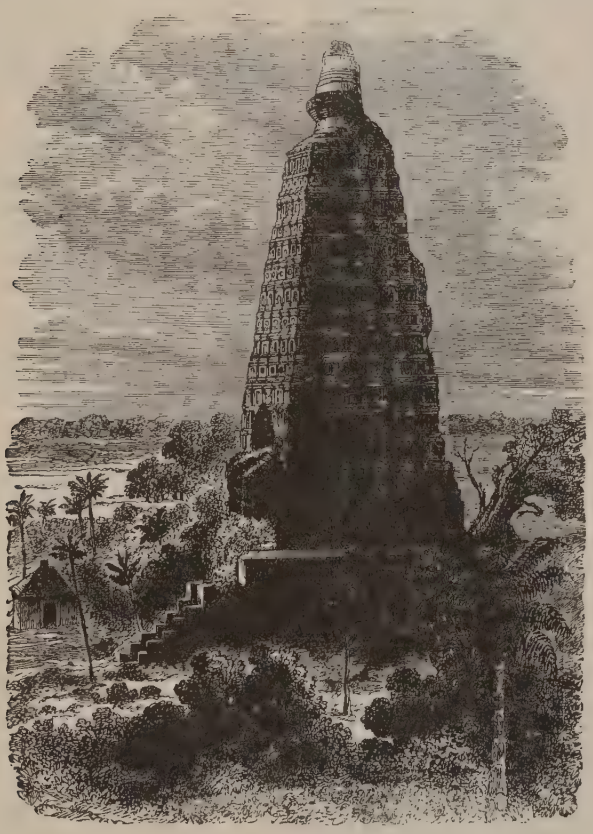


Fig. 89. Temple at Buddha Gaya with Bo-Tree.

cially the constant introduction of cupola-like vaulted roofs, distinguish these buildings, which are conspicuous for their fantastic ornamentation. Many splendid temples rise on Mt. Abu; others are situated at Chandravati; and there is a particularly extensive and magnificent one at Sadree. In all these isolated works there is abundance of rich fantastic ornament; and, although their proportions are more slender, there is the same capriciousness in the treatment of the architectural parts as in the details. Thus in all the varieties of Indian

architecture, extending, as these buildings do, over hundreds of years, the character remains the same. Instead of simple definite forms there is a chaos of wild lines and figures, in nothing inferior to the intoxicating luxuriance, the mighty power of production, and the overwhelming variety of the life of nature in India, and almost eclipsing the wonders of that nature by wonders still more bold.

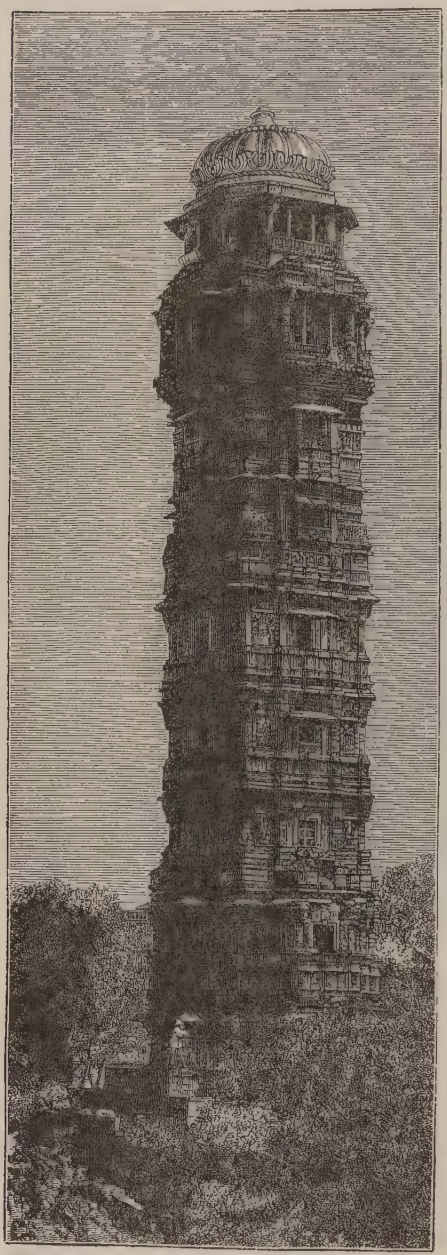


Fig. 90. Tower of Victory Erected by Khumbo Rana at Chittore.

Religious ideas were not less influential in the development of sculpture among the Hindoos than they were in architecture. Buddhism, enjoining as it did a more severe and simple doctrine in contrast to the polytheism of Brahminism, was originally, in conformity with this ascetic bias, averse to sculptured representations; the only exception allowed being that of the figure of Buddha, enthroned in the shrine of the temple cella, or hewn by itself in a rocky niche, such as the statue of Buddha, 120 feet in height, in the rocky wall at Bamiyan, in the extreme west of India. In these figures the expression of deep reflection and profound contemplation is rendered with grave simplicity. It is remarkable, moreover, that the oldest monuments of Buddhism exhibit an attempt at historical sculpture. Thus, for instance, on the portal of the great Tope of Sanchi, there are representations in relief of battles and sieges, betraying a certain degree of lifelike char-

acter and naïve freshness of conception in a chronicle-like style of representation. Historical feeling, however, was so little natural to the Hindoo, that these scanty attempts—witnesses as they are to the victorious progress of the Buddhists, and of a mental life, in consequence, elevated and influenced by outward circumstances—appear somewhat isolated. Brahminism, with its fantastic worship and its strangely extravagant ideas, so entirely swayed the national mind that even Buddhism soon lost its original purity, and mingled with its doctrines the various fanciful creations of Brahminical worship. As, however, the gods of the Hindoos are blended vaguely and variously into one another, from the old national chief divinity, Brahma, who, in conjunction with Siva and Vishnu, formed the

Fig. 91. Relief from Mahamalaipur.

Hindoo Trinity (Trimurti), down through the thirteen lesser divinities and the countless demons and gods of the Indian Olympus, so also sculpture proceeds with uncertain steps in giving shape to these intangible creations. The mysterious and mystical effect of the temple-cave was to be increased by sculptured representations of no less solemn a character. The feeling of the people, however, did not create these sacred images from distinct conceptions, nor from purely human notions, but from dreamy, fantastic ideas, and from mystical speculations. Art is here not merely the handmaid of religion, but the handmaid of a worship which knows no other way to express its ideas of God except by symbols of a monstrous kind. When, therefore, the forms of the gods, or the history of their adventures, were to be portrayed, when mysterious awe of the unap-

proachable was to be manifested, none but material symbolic accessories—a crowd of members, heads, arms, and legs, or fantastic combinations of animal and human bodies—were had recourse to, to aid the vague attempt at expression.

These representations are, for the most part, carved in strong projecting relief on the outside of the topes and pagodas, or in the interior upon the pillars or cornices, and in niches in the wall. The personages of the Brahminical mythology, of the mythical heroic legends, are here combined with free, fantastic creations; there are everywhere symbolic allusions, profound allegories, effusions of a rich, exuberant imagination, but rarely a simple representation of the common events of every-day life, and never, it seems, of historical events. The style of these sculptures, which exhibits certain changes, it is true, in the course of centuries—advancing from severe formalism to greater freedom of action, and at length to wild exaggeration — displays, notwithstanding, a uniform character throughout the whole period. A higher law of artistic arrangement, a clear and simple composition, is not looked for when a chaotic world of unbridled fancy presents itself for plastic representation. In sculptures abounding in figures, there is, therefore, for the most part, that motley confusion which marks the Indian turn of mind; and the more lively and animated the events to be depicted, the greater the confusion. We find it thus in the sculptures of Mahamalaipur, where peculiarly dramatic scenes are exhibited in extensive reliefs (Fig. 91). Whenever, on the other hand, a state of calm existence is to be depicted in smaller spaces and more simple groups, there Indian art often displays a tenderly attractive grace, a delicate sense of nature, and a *naïveté* of feeling, which remind us of the most beautiful passages of the "Sakoontala." Most especially does Indian sculpture succeed in the expression of womanly grace; and even in the conception of male figures there is a touch of this womanly softness. Certainly, almost without exception, there is a lack of energetic life, of a firm contexture of bone and muscle; they are beings rather created for dreamy brooding and soft enjoyment than for the

Fig. 92. Relief of Kailasa at Ellora.

vigorous grasping of life in thought and action. In harmony with this, we find full, swelling, luxurious softness in the lines and forms, and easy carelessness of attitude. Striking examples of this tendency are to be seen, especially in the Kailasa at Ellora (Fig. 92), in the principal cave at Elephanta, and in other places.

Painting also appeared at an early period in extensive wall-decorations, as in the caves of Ajunta and Baug, where great processions with elephants, and the figure of Buddha, battle scenes and hunts, are represented in lively colors—red, blue, white, and brown. The figures of the animals especially are freely executed, and with a life-like adherence to nature. At a later period, Indian art turned its chief attention to miniature painting; and works of this kind are often to be met with in European libraries and collections. The old symbolic range of ideas open to Indian art here shows itself to be exhausted, and to exist only in the cold form of tradition. Wherever, on the other hand, representations from actual life, especially scenes of an idyllic kind, appear, the conventional mode of execution is broken through by a sweet poetic feeling, full of great tenderness and grace.

*B.—Lands Near India.**

I. CASHMERE.

So mighty a system of civilization as the Indian must necessarily exercise lasting influence on surrounding nations; and we find, therefore, that, together with the religious ideas of the Hindoos, their art also extended north and south, over the continent and the great groups of adjacent islands. Still there is sufficient freedom of taste to cause various remodelings of form at different points; and, in effecting these, many national conditions and outward influences occur.

One remarkable branch of Indian art is to be found in the extreme northwest, in the mountainous country of Cashmere, famous for its fertility and beauty, shut in as it is between two chains of snowy heights. The numerous monuments of the country belong to the period of the highest prosperity and diffusion of the Brahminical worship. The sacred buildings are, for the most part, de-

* Burke and Cole, "Illustrations of Ancient Buildings in Cashmere"; "Travels in the Himalayan Provinces and in Ladakh and Kashmir," London (Murray), 1841; "Travels in Kashmir, Ladak, etc.," London (Colburn), 1842; "Travels in Kashmir and the Punjab," London, 1845; "Illustrations of the Ancient Buildings in Kashmir," London, 1869. Pouvourville, A. de, "L'Art Indo-Chinois." Hart, Mrs. Ernest, "Picturesque Burma, Past and Present." Raffles, Sir Thomas Stamford, "History of Java."

tached temples, stately in design, with extensive courts surrounded by walls. As in India proper, the form of the edifice in its main parts is based on that of the tope, though not without decided modifications, which show a peculiarly different turn of mind. The principal elements consist, on the one hand, of a distinct imitation of wooden construction, and, on the other, of late Hellenic forms, probably introduced through the Bactro-Scythian lands. While the latter is evident in the formation of the socles, bases, and moldings, and in the tasteless employment of the system of antique columns and beams, the former is to be traced in the general form and in the fundamental design of the structure. The sacred buildings, either of greater or smaller dimensions, rise upon a quadrangular, socle-like substructure, the walls being composed of a rather confused system of columns, steep gables, and niches. The whole is terminated by a roof rising pyramid-wise in several offsets; and the straight lines of this roof, in contrast to the full, swelling form of the monuments of Hindostan, call to mind most decidedly the effect of wooden constructions. A temple such as this is to be seen at Payach (Fig. 93), one of the smaller buildings, but interesting from its characteristic design. A larger temple, with adjoining buildings, court, and walls, is to be found at Martand; and several, partly destroyed, at Avantipur. Sculpture has also been employed upon these monuments, but without attaining to any special importance.

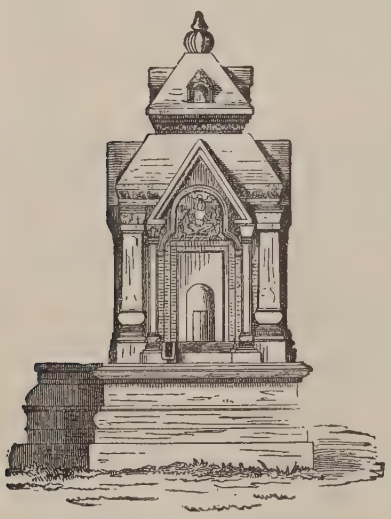


Fig. 93. Temple at Payach.

2. NEPAL, JAVA, AND PEGU.

The other lands of this extensive region of civilization are chiefly, or even exclusively, under the influence of Buddhist ideas. Among them we may name, in the first place, the mountainous country of Nepal, lying in the north of Hindostan, and stretching away close under the loftiest snow-peaks of the Himalayas. Here the original Buddhist dagoba is developed into a vast detached building, combining, amid much fantastic decoration, the rich and varied forms

of Indian architecture, with bold, tower-like slenderness. Especially the temple, which here is designated exclusively Chaitja, presents a striking example of this form, with its richly decorated substructure, wall-niches, and slender-pointed cupolas. Still more toy-like, and inclining toward the Chinese style of architecture, are the cloister-like vihâras. The most conspicuous monument of this class seems to be the great temple of the capital Kathmandu. The sculptures with which these monuments are richly decorated exhibit a mannered imitation of the Buddhist sculptures of Hindostan. The Nepalese

Fig. 94. Temple at Boro Budor.

evince especial skill up to the present day in the working of various metals.

In the monuments of the Island of Java, which belong to the later period of Indian art, Buddhist and Brahminical forms are frequently combined into a grand and richly developed whole, which, with all its fantastic ornament, attains to an imposing dignity of effect. The circular form of the dagoba is frequently employed to crown the mass of the exterior, the walls of which are subdivided by means of a rich system of niches. Among a great number of splendid buildings, the Temple of Boro Budor is preëminent for magnificence and extent (Fig. 94). The principal temple is a mighty structure 526 feet wide, rising terrace-like in six stories to a height of 116 feet, each offset having niches containing sitting statues of

Buddha and an arched roof, and the whole being crowned with a number of cupolas, in the center of which an immense dagoba towers above all. Sculpture also, in Java, follows in its peculiarly rich detail the model of the Indian, in common with which it exhibits a fondness for fantastic device and an especially graceful treatment of form. The sphere of representation is composed of Buddhist and Brahminical elements; and the material employed is not only stone, but metal, which is worked with skill by the Javanese artisan.

A third group, again following more exclusively Buddhist traditions, is formed by the monuments of Pegu, the region watered by the Irrawaddy in Farther India. Here, too, we find the dagoba again as the primitive form, but, for the most part, massive in structure, and of mighty dimensions. Yet here a new variation appears, in an octagonal building, tapering into a slender point, rising from a broad substructure. Splendid colors and rich gold ornament, besides colossal bronze statues, for the molding of which Peguan art was distinguished, increase the fantastic grandeur of these buildings. The best-known monuments are the Temples of Rangun, Pegu, and Kommodu, the latter being about 300 feet high.

3. CHINA AND JAPAN.*

Chinese art, so far as it was employed for religious objects, likewise received its impulse from Buddhism, which began to spread through the vast empire about the year 50 A.D., and gradually acquired exclusive sway. As, however, the character of this soberly intelligent, and practically wise people, with their preponderating attention to worldly aims and gains, is diametrically opposite to the religious, mystical, and poetic mind of the Indians, we find the forms of art considerably modified, the evidence of deep symbolism and grand seriousness effaced, and in its place an effort after well-arranged elegance and varied ornament. Here, too, only still more decidedly than in other Indian architecture, there is a preponderance of wooden construction; or the idea of it is, at any rate, perceptible everywhere.

In the Chinese temples there is an unmistakable adherence to the dagoba form, although radically modified (Fig. 95). Most of the

* Anderson, W., "Pictorial Arts of Japan, with Remarks upon the Pictorial Arts of the Chinese and Koreans." Conder, Josiah, "Landscape Gardening in Japan." Daly, "Les Temples Japonais," in *Revue de l'Architecture*, 1886-7. Conder, Josiah, "Domestic Architecture in Japan"; "Further Notes on Japanese Architecture," *Transactions R. I. B. A.*, 1886-7. Gratton, "Notes upon the Architecture of China," in *R. I. B. A. Journal*, 1894-5. McClatchie, "The Feudal Mansions of Yedo," vol. vii., part iii., *Asiatic Transactions*. Morse, "Japanese Homes and Their Surroundings."

small buildings diminish in size at every story; so that each succeeding story recedes behind the concave roof of the one below. A gallery of brightly varnished wooden pillars, often filled up with gilt trellis-work, surrounds the lower floor. Fantastically twisted carved work, especially the figure of the fabled dragon, ornaments the projecting rafters; and the never-failing multitude of little bells, suspended at every point, complete the childishly playful character of these buildings. The slender tower also, so great a favorite with the Chinese—the so-called Tha, which rises in many stories to a tapering point, always the same in plan and decoration, may be regarded as an offspring, though a remote one, of the Indian tope. The most famous of these towers was the porcelain tower at Nanking, which rose to above 200 feet high in nine stories, and which was destroyed in the Taiping Rebellion of 1850 (Fig. 96). The walls were sheathed externally with bricks and tiles of varied form and color; and this brilliancy of permanent color and the rich gilding were the characteristic features of this building, as they are of most others of a similar design (Fig. 97).

Noteworthy are the triumphal gateways, called Pae-Lu, peculiar to the Chinese, and erected by imperial order in honor of especially deserving citizens. They are placed in the public streets, forming either a single or threefold passageway, resembling in so far the Roman triumphal arches. Their model and construction are based upon plain timber-work: two—or, in the case of richer structures, four—wooden posts, for which occasionally stone pillars or bronze columns are substituted, being erected and bound together on the top by several lintel bands (Fig. 98). On these is inscribed in golden characters the name of him to whom the honorary monument is dedicated. The crowning was formed by far-projecting, concave roofs, decorated with dragons and other fantastic carvings peculiar to Chinese art. The relationship between these singular structures and the Indian portal-frames—as is shown, for instance, in the Tope of Sanchi—cannot be denied.

A more serious feeling is exhibited in those buildings of the Chinese which are adapted to useful purposes, most of which belong to their early epoch of civilization: the extensive canals, the bold bridges, and above all the famous "Chinese Wall," which extended about 400 miles, with a height and breadth of 52 feet, fortified by numerous towers of defense, and which was built about 200 B.C. for the protection of the northern frontier of the Empire.

The subject of Chinese architecture, however, has not been thoroughly studied. Monuments exist of which we know little, and others are known to have existed of which the remains are not iden-

tified. The beautiful buildings of Japan, known to have been largely studied from Chinese models, lead us to expect much from a fuller study of the buildings of the older and greater empire.

Domestic buildings also are built in a very practical way, with well-burned bricks so arranged in the wall that relatively large cells or air-spaces are reserved guarding the interior against damp. Still, by far the most interesting work of the Chinese is in the way of framed structures of wood, and of those large bamboos which from time immemorial have been in use in the warmer regions, and are planted and preserved throughout the Empire. The system of framing is very different from that used in Europe. Further allusion is made to this under the head of Japan. Japan also has taken over from the older civilization the heavy curved roof, which counts for so much in the artistic design of the buildings.

Fig. 95. Chinese Temple.

The decorative art of the Chinese is singularly rich in color. They excel all other peoples in their skill and versatility in pottery of all sorts; and also in the use of strong and positive color in flower patterns, diaper, and the like. Hence the decorative effect of an interior is often of extreme variety, and of a rich delicacy—carved wood, embossed lacquer and metal, inlays of ivory and colored substances, silk, embroidery, and painting all combined in a singularly perfect harmony. It is to be observed that there existed as early as the twelfth century of our era a great school of artistic painting, in which landscape and figure design were combined in a very imaginative way. Specimens of this ancient art are rare, and command enormous prices in Europe and the United States; and it appears that with the Manchu conquest in 1644, and the complete subjugation of the Chinese to Tartar conquerors of inferior civilization, this with the other great arts of China began to decay rapidly. The sense of design in flower painting, and of perfect craftsmanship in porcelain, enamel, textiles and embroidery, has, however, lasted to our own times.

The arts of Japan are recognized by the Japanese as being originated partly in China, partly in Corea. The buildings which are the most reverenced, and which are known to date from the seventh century of our era, are ascribed to Corean artists. These are the temples and other buildings which make up the monastery of Horiuji near Nara. But the monastery of Yakushiji in the same part of the country, and hardly later in date, is thought to have been built by Japanese architects. These buildings, like all the pagodas or

Fig. 96. Porcelain Tower, Nankin.

tower-like buildings, and also the lower and broader buildings of the temples, are of timber, the construction being simple and logical, and adapted, as experience proves, to the longest duration. It is commonly said that the prevalence of earthquakes in Japan has caused this adherence to the almost exclusive use of timber for their more elaborate buildings. Stone masonry is used chiefly for fortress walls and similar low and massive structures; and as the Japanese have no quarries of good stratified stone easily

extracted in square blocks, they use the igneous rock of the country in the forms that it takes naturally or readily, and there has developed from this a curious polygonal structure similar to that of the so-called Cyclopean or Pelasgic work of the prehistoric races of the Mediterranean.

In all Japanese buildings, as in those of China, the roof is of

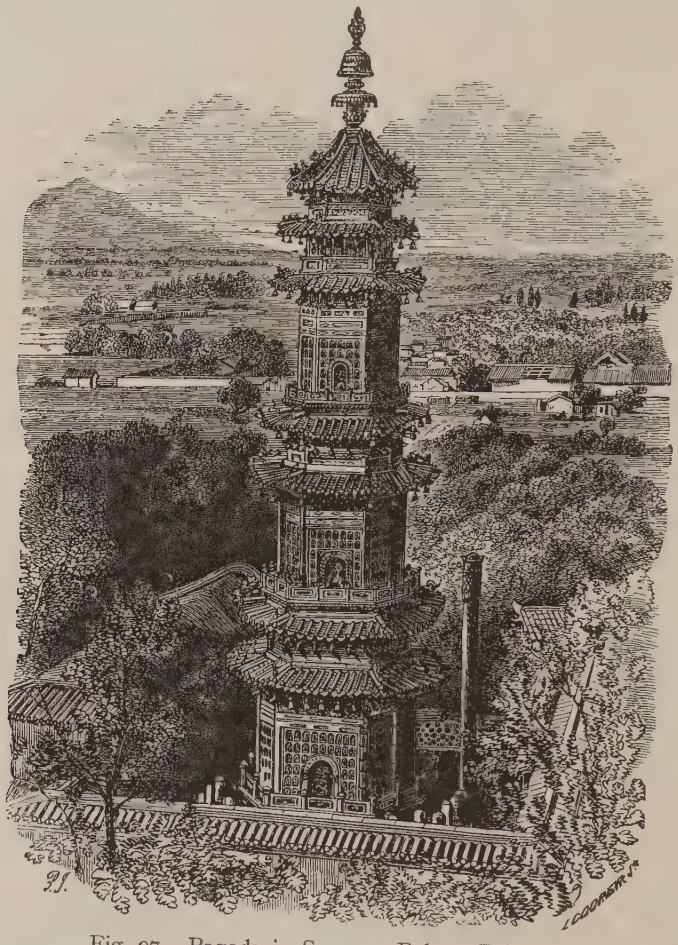


Fig. 97. Pagoda in Summer Palace, Pekin.

extraordinary importance. It is in fact what the wall is to Europe —the chief center of thought and artistic consideration. As the European architect lays out his windows and doors, or arranges for the partial substitution of a row of columns or piers for a massive wall, so the Japanese studies the proportions of his roof, its

pitch, its relative height, its relative projection, the exact curves of the eaves, and the texture, the modeling, and the color of the roof-covering itself. The vertical repetition of many roofs, those of verandas or balconies repeating the curves and the colors of the main roof, is characteristic of Japanese architecture even more decidedly than we have found it in China. Thus, the pagoda of Horiuji has four accessory roofs—that is, roofs projecting like those of verandas from the upright sides of the building—and a final roof at top which is crowned by a lofty tee. These roofs being nearly of the same horizontal dimensions, repeat one another, and emphasize notably the tower-like character of the mass. Foreigners

Fig. 98. Chinese Pae-Lu.

who have studied the changing styles of Japan find the native students right in their discrimination betwen the earlier and later styles. Thus, the arts of the Tokugawa dynasty, beginning in 1600, are admittedly inferior in refinement to those of earlier times, however rich and sumptuous the decoration of the later time may be; and the roofs of a sixteenth-century temple are seen to be less perfect in composition than those a thousand years earlier.

Domestic architecture in Japan is an affair of frame buildings with broad, overhanging roofs and very little permanent side wall. Sliding screens, usually of tough and fibrous paper strained upon wooden frames, form the outer walls as well as the partitions for at least half the extent of the building, and therefore the architectural character is apt to be that of a heavy roof supported on separate pillars

of comparatively slender and unarchitectural appearance. Extreme neatness of finish and a delicate use of the natural grain of the wood, with a very reserved and moderate use of slight decoration in color, are characteristic of these domestic buildings, even when belonging to the wealthy; but a few instances are known of buildings built expressly for ceremonial, in which the interior is as rich in carving and in color as one of the exquisite cabinets or boxes which are brought from Japan and sold in Europe at enormous prices. Such a room is that of the memorial building at Nikko, erected in memory of the founder of the Tokagawa dynasty, Ieyasu. The color-sense of the Japanese has always been different from that of the Chinese, for whereas the last-named great people retained more than others the secret of the combination of strong red, blue, dark green, light green, white, and yellow, the Japanese have always

Fig. 99. Chinese Painting.

shown a marked tendency to design in different tints of gray and different combinations of golden brown with dull red. The decorators of both countries use pure or brilliant gold in a reserved fashion as a useful means of harmonizing other colors; but with the Chinese it is commonly in small surfaces, narrow lines, and the like, whereas the Japanese use it in wrought and embossed patterns with extraordinary effect—the gold, even when uncolored and left with its natural metallic brilliancy, never seeming garish because of the elaborate light and shade produced by the modulation of the surface. This decorative sense the Japanese carry into the smallest objects of daily life, and utensils of low price are made beautiful partly by a certain spirited diversity of form incompatible with the European way of manufacturing such utensils in large quantities, and coming directly from the handwork applied to the vessels, pot-

tery, wood, and metal; and partly from an infallible sense of color-harmony of a more grave and unobtrusive sort. The box or tray used by a poor family will seem to our Western eyes as tasteful, and as impossible for us to equal in its own way, as the costly lacquer inlaid with pearl and with incrusted patterns in wrought metal which comes from the palace of a provincial noble.

In the loftiest forms of fine art the Japanese have never equaled the Greeks and the direct successors of the Greeks in Europe, in so far as the treatment of the human figure is concerned. On this account their sculpture, although of immense decorative importance and of ceaseless interest to Western students, cannot be said to rank with even the sculpture of modern Europe in its less successful developments. In painting, however, the Japanese schools —strongly traditional, based upon a constantly renewed observation of nature, and yet restrained by the severest laws of design— have produced an overwhelming effect upon European students since the first complete opportunities were offered for the study of these arts, about 1865. The paintings of Japan are usually mounted on silk and paper, and kept rolled until wanted for display, when the roll is hung against the wall; but a few even of the large ones are stretched on mounts; and the smaller paintings, and the extraordinarily clever and brilliant sketches in color and in black and white, are commonly mounted in beautiful albums, in which the pure and carefully laid color seems to be proof against the injuries of time. The greatest artists of Japan have lent themselves also to reproduced and easily multiplied work in the way of woodcuts and the like, some of which are painted in outline in cheap popular publications, while others are printed in diverse colors according to a process not indeed unknown in Europe, but hardly practiced there except for a brief moment in the eighteenth century. This process is, in the main, that of painting the block or plate by hand with all the colors that are to be used in one print, and then taking the print before the colors dry. This operation is repeated for every separate print, and therefore no two prints are exactly alike. The difference between this and the ordinary color-printing of modern Europe with a separate block or stone for each color is obviously very great.

The Japanese people seem to possess a special gift for drawing and painting, and they produce excellent things in the representation of given forms of nature. The feeling which European students confess to, on first beginning the examination of this art, is that the inferior or simpler creatures—insects, fish, and birds— are perfect in their representation, whereas the larger beasts are less

well drawn, and man least of all. This inferiority of realistic merit in the higher forms comes of the traditional and strongly decorative significance of the whole system of design. The true characteristics of a bird or a fish can be reproduced in a drawing which is of primarily decorative purpose; whereas the human form, when conventionalized to the admitted standard of design, is to Europe insupportably strange; and this not because the figure is necessarily ill drawn, but because the conventions of Europe and of the East differ so widely. Even a wholly realistic drawing, as of people at work in the fields, is remarkably different in Japanese work of the eighteenth century and in contemporary work of France or Germany; and of the two, the Japanese work of this particular epoch comes nearer to the actual facts of life. But as the European system of perspective, and the European idea of what to give and what to omit, differ from the kindred ideas in Japan, so does the work itself seem strange to those who are accustomed to the other set of conventions.

SECOND BOOK.

GREEK ART.

Chapter I.

GREEK ART.

1. *Land and People.**

IN the vast regions of the East we have found forms of civilization growing up along the course of mighty rivers, which have struck us as strange from their enduring stability and unchangeableness. The first step we take on entering the European continent brings us into a new world, full of activity and fresh historic life, in which we at once are sensible of a home-like feeling. The Greeks are the first to afford to the European the picture of personal inner development and of progressive national life. While these Oriental nations, in their unfamiliar civilization and ways of thought are only of interest to the student of history among Europeans, the Greeks, on the other hand, reached what is for us an absolute height of culture, presenting a model worthy of admiration for all ages, and an inexhaustible fountain-head for all higher effort. Although thoroughly national, their whole mental life was so elevated, so filled with universal human significance, that it furnishes an indestructible basis for the development of all future ages; and in the everlasting struggle of the beautiful and the true with their antagonistic principles, Greece, like an Athene Promachos, has victoriously preceded all champions of these nobler qualities. But when we consider that the Greek race was only a branch of that great family of Asia from which the Indians and Persians were descended, and that this consanguinity is unanswerably proved by the testimony of language, the question suggests itself, why it was that this par-

* Boetticher, Karl, "Die Tektonik der Hellenen." Durm, "Die Baukunst der Griechen," from "Handbuch der Architektur." Penrose, F. C., "An Investigation of the Principles of Athenian Architecture." Pennethorne, John, "The Geometry and Optics of Ancient Architecture." Perrot and Chipiez, "Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité"; vols. vi. and viii. Collignon, Maxime, "Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque." Furtwängler, Adolf, "Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture" (translated from the German of "Meisterwerke," etc.; New York, 1895). Mitchell, A., "History of Ancient Sculpture." Overbeck, "Geschichte der Griechischen Plastik." Choisy, "Histoire de l'Architecture." Brunn, H., "Geschichte der Griechischen Künstler." Lübke, W., "The History of Sculpture" (Bunnett's translation, London, 1872).

ticular branch, which we know under the name of the Greek, should have so far surpassed all other nations of similar origin in all that most interests the European world. In order to understand this, it will be necessary to study carefully the nature of the country.

Separated from the northern regions by mighty chains of mountains, the territory of the Hellenes, the most southern point of Europe, stretches out toward the African and Asiatic continents, closely connected with the latter by the numerous islands of the Ægean Sea. Small as the land is in extent, it nevertheless displays a variety of surface and of coast-line such as is possessed by scarcely any other country in the world. Traversed by numerous mountains, which ramify in various directions, and project far into the sea with their headlands, the country consists of a great number of independent territories, separated from each other by these lofty ridges, and opening to the sea by broad and deep inlets. This infinitely rich individualizing of the surface at once suggests that here, if anywhere, scope was afforded for an analogous development of human existence. Nature, too, was here softened to the mildness of a southern climate, moderated by sea and mountain air; and the soil, far from tropical luxuriance, stony and barren in certain portions, heaped its fruits into the lap of man only as the reward of his laborious toil. Bearing all these influences in mind, we shall comprehend how a people dwelling for centuries in such a region would gradually develop such a character as we find in the Greeks. When, far back in time, the ancestors of the Hellenes, crossing, as is probable, the Straits of the Bosporus, spread over the land, they brought with them the civilization of the East, as it then existed, in language, manners, and religion. But having once reached the new theatre of their activity, the peculiar nature of the country asserted itself in them, and, after a long series of progressive stages of development, helped them to attain that height where they appear before us as a new people, thoroughly independent and peculiar.

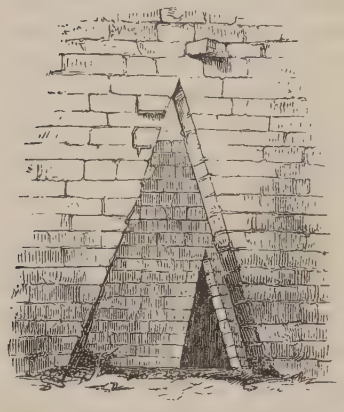


Fig. 100. Doorway at Missolonghi. (From Fergusson.)

This correlation between civilization and topography, which is unmistakably proved as the result of all archæological investigation, has been frequently overlooked; and thus the most various and

erroneous hypotheses have been advanced with regard to art. It has been thought necessary either to deny all connection between the Greeks and the East, or—and this especially recently—to regard the Greeks as servile imitators, at any rate as disciples, of the Egyptians and Asiatics, since from superficial examination a number of Greek forms of art seemed to be directly traceable to Egypt or to Asia Minor. So certainly, however, as the Greeks have independently developed the genius of their language from the common basis of the primeval stock; so certainly as, in their religious ideas,

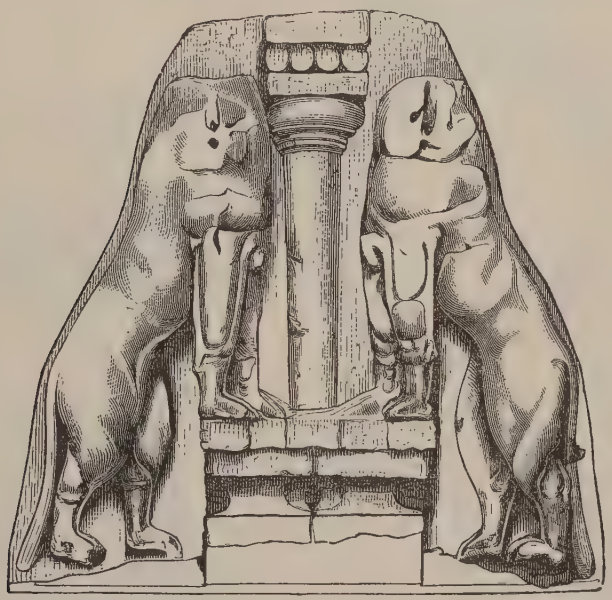


Fig. 101. The Lion-Relief from the Gate at Mycenæ.

the wild and fantastic conceptions of Deity prevalent in the East have been transformed to such clear and distinct notions that the original fundamental idea common to all only gleams faintly through them; just so certainly, in their forms of art—so far, at least, as our historical knowledge can penetrate—each characteristic trait is genuinely Hellenic. Only in certain forms belonging to the Greek archaic period do we trace the influence of Oriental art, transmitted to the ancestors of the Hellenes by the trading Phœnicians. This is the case with the capitals of the columns and with certain ornamental details of the Ionic style, which seem to come from Babylonic-Assyrian models. We find this also especially in the earliest Greek paintings on vases, where the mannered style of animal forms and

the fantastic figures harmonize most with the works of Babylon and Assyria.

The earliest epoch of Grecian history exhibits, therefore, a flourishing condition of culture, which plainly has its coloring from

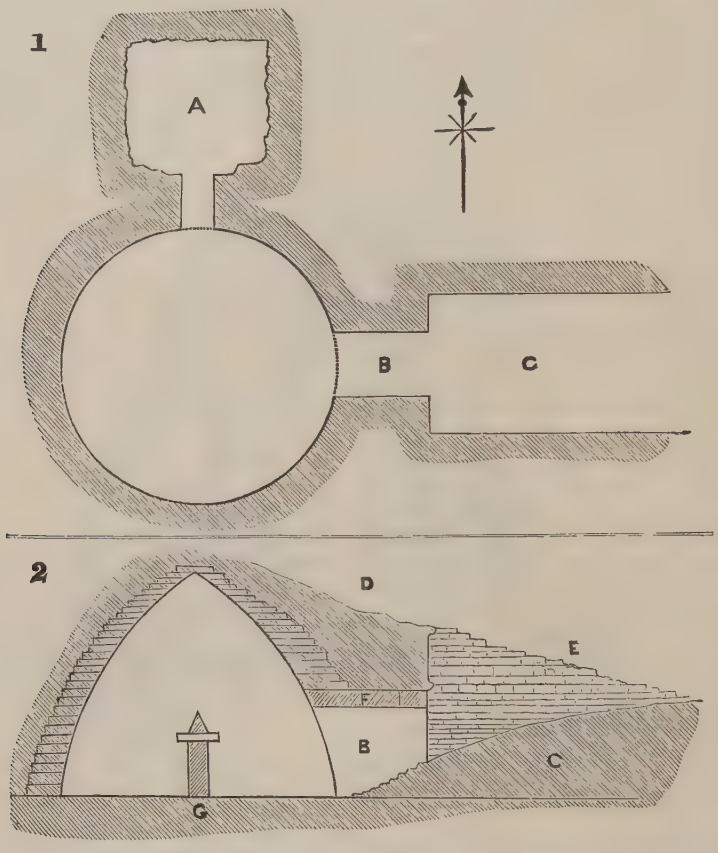


Fig. 102. Plan and Section of the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenæ.
1. Plan of the Treasury of Atreus: A, rock-cut chamber; B, doorway; C, approach.
2. Section of the above; B, doorway; C, approach filled up with earth; D, slope of the ground; E, wall on north side of approach; F, lintel stone; G, door to rock-cut chamber.

the East, although with distinct modifications. We find the country in the possession of a certain number of families, who exercise their dominion in a patriarchal manner. Yet the people do not seem subject to them with Oriental subservience; but a council of elders is convened for deliberation and decision. Warlike undertakings, such as the Argonautic expedition and the war against Troy point to the Oriental world; and even the peaceful relations of civ-

ilized life suggest a close connection with the East. When Homer mentions costly and splendid materials, excellent woven stuffs, or ingenious metal-work, these always proceed from Phœnician or Sidonian men; and whatever evident traces of that period have come down to us reveal to us the prevalence of a taste for Oriental form. Even the later Greeks, who were separated by a mighty revolution from that earlier state of things, appear to have regarded the works of that period as somewhat foreign to themselves, and were wont to designate them as "Pelasgian." But however numerous may have been the conjectures and disputes of learned investigators as to the origin and importance of the old inhabitants of Greece, the Pelasgians, so much seems to be certain, that the form of culture designated by their name spread uniformly in Greece, Italy, and in the islands of the Mediterranean Sea.* We shall refer to it again in our examination of early Italian art.

Fig. 103. Fragment of Pillar in front of Tomb of Atreus at Mycenæ.

The artistic works which have been preserved in Greece exhibit that taste for the huge and monumental which belongs to all primitive epochs of art. For the most part, they are the remains of fortresses belonging to that heroic age, rising threateningly over the plain upon precipitous and rocky heights, and which inclose kingly residences. The walls, which are of immense thickness, are formed of huge, irregular polygonal blocks, carefully fitted together, formerly supposed to be built without the use of mortar, yet with an extremely firm bonding of the stone, aided, as we now know, by filling the crevices with mud or some mixed mortar. Later additions to the height of the walls are sometimes of more regularly dressed stone. Many remains of this kind are to be found at Argos,

* See the article "Pelasgic Architecture," by Professor Frothingham, in the "Dictionary of Architecture and Building"; Macmillan Co., New York, 1901.

Tiryns, Mycenæ, and other places. Passages and galleries opening toward the outside are frequently connected with them, roofed over by means of the primitive device of projecting layers of stone (Fig. 100).

Thus, in the southern and eastern walls of Tiryns, where a series of chambers intended for storerooms and connected with galleries are reserved in otherwise solid walls, these walls measure about thirty-six feet in thickness.* It is noteworthy that the same disposition recurs in the walls of the Byrsa at Carthage, except that this is more carefully and regularly built. Something similar is to be observed in an archaic fragment near Missolonghi. In these cases the chambers and passages are roofed by successively projecting courses of stone, each acting as a corbel course. This kind of roofing is employed on an immense scale at entrances, as at Amphissa and Phigalia; while at other gates the sloping side-walls are con-

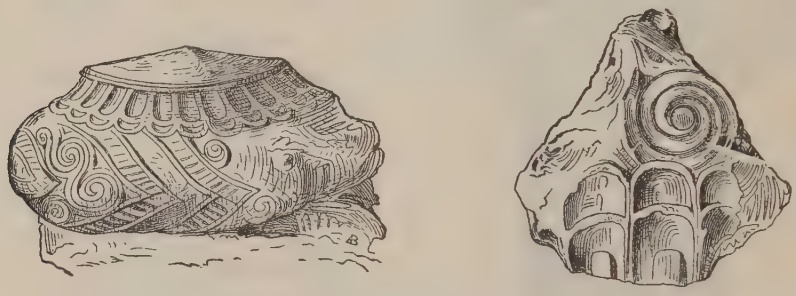


Fig. 104. Details from the Treasure-House of Atreus.

nected by a huge stone beam (lintel) above which, however, a triangular opening is left for the relief of the lintel, which would otherwise break under the pressure.

The most important instance of this kind is the principal gate of the Acropolis at Mycenæ, important for the famous sculpture placed above the principal lintel (Fig. 101). The triangular opening over the doorway, which serves as a discharging arch, is filled by an immense slab of limestone ten feet high. Against the centre of this slab, upon a pedestal, stands a pillar somewhat smaller at the bottom than at the top; and on both sides, in strong relief, stand two lions erect, with their forefeet resting on the pedestal. The heads, unfortunately destroyed, were probably turned sidewise and facing outward, and may have been of metal.

The style of these earliest known European sculptures approaches most nearly to that of the old Assyrian works: the natural forms are

* Cf. Schliemann's "Tiryns"; Leipzig, 1836.

not unskillfully grasped in their essential elements; and with this is combined a strict regard to the architectural design, especially shown in an ingenious adaptation to the space to be filled. The forms of the column and its base seem also to suggest the influence of Asia Minor (Fig. 103).

This relationship appears still more distinctly in another famous monument of Greece, likewise belonging to the old capital Mycenæ —the building generally styled the Treasury of Atreus, but which is probably a burial vault (Fig. 102). It is a circular subterranean apartment, about forty-eight feet in diameter, and as many in height, the stones of which the walls are built being placed in such a manner

Fig. 105. Ground-plan of Palace at Tiryns. (From Schliemann's "Excavations," S marks the shafts sunk in 1876,

that the section shows the form of a pointed arch. The stones that form this bee-hive shaped chamber are all in horizontal courses. They act, not as the voissoirs or wedged-shaped solids of a true vault, but as courses of corbelling; and the curved shape is entirely for effect, having nothing to do with the construction. A cubical apartment hewn out of the rock (Fig. 102), and possibly intended for a burial vault, opens out of the north side; while in the larger apartment the rich treasures of the ruling family were perhaps preserved. The lower parts of this room appear to have been covered with metal plates. If we connect with this the descriptions of the royal palaces in which Homer loves to indulge, where the walls,

thresholds, doors, and pillars glittered with brass and precious metals, the resemblance to the customs and art of Asia Minor becomes still more evident. The peculiar remains of architectural decoration also, and the fragments of two engaged columns found near the entrance to the treasury, would likewise seem, from the weak form of their members and their want of sharpness, as well as from the playful character of their ornamentation, to betray an Oriental influence (Figs. 103 and 104). The spiral and undulatory decoration of these fragments at once reminds us of the ornaments on the earliest bronze vessels which are found among the Celtic races.

Fig. 106. Alabaster Frieze from Tiryns. (From Schliemann.)

Similar in its disposition of parts is a second bee-hive tomb, which was first excavated by Madame Schliemann, near the Lion-gate, and which seems more ancient than, and is inferior in size to, that more famous one. More important, however, is a large bee-hive tomb, generally indicated as the treasure vault of Minyas at Orchomenos.* Here also we find many traces of the surface having been decorated with metal-work, and in the adjoining rectangular rock-chamber there is a ceiling whose splendid plastic decoration, with its rosettes, spirals, and conventionalized flowers, is suggestive of those carpet-like decorations of Assyria and Egypt. Many similar ornamental motives are found in Egypt, particularly in the painted ceilings of the Theban tombs. Several other bee-hive tombs near Mycenæ are still unexcavated. Simpler though analogous dispositions are evident in a bee-hive tomb, recently excavated at Menidi in Attica, which has yielded a harvest in objects of colored glass and

* H. Schliemann, "Orchomenos"; Leipzig, 1881.

of ivory, strongly indicative of Oriental influences. Similar observations apply to a rock-hewn tomb at Sparta in Attica.

An important complement to our conception of the artistic style of heroic times was recently contributed by the self-sacrificing efforts of Schliemann in his excavations on the sites of Troy (1870-82), Mycenæ (1876-ff), and Tiryns (1881-ff), and which were crowned with brilliant success. The enthusiastic devotion, the unceasing perseverance, and the keen instinct of this most meritorious explorer have brought to light a world of objects of the artistic handicrafts

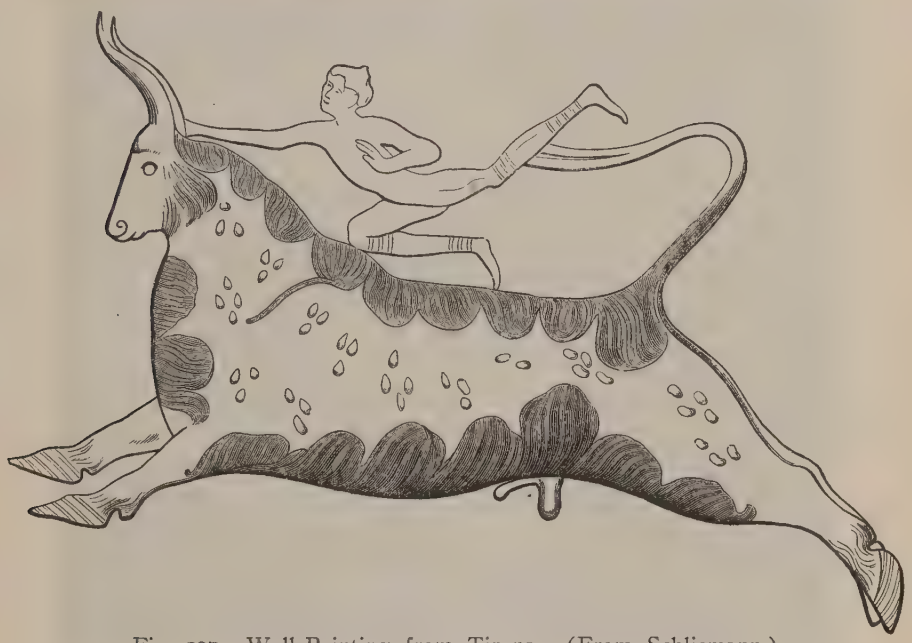


Fig. 107. Wall-Painting from Tiryns. (From Schliemann.)

which are well adapted to complete the picture of civilization in that mythical antiquity glorified in the epics of Homer. The substructures brought to light and the antiquities* discovered at Hissarlik indicate the existence of a prehistoric colonization which one may connect with the Homeric Ilium, or Troy, all the more unhesitatingly, as the license of the poet, who does not proceed like a sober historian or geographer, is taken into account. Upon the rock-foundations of the hill were laid bare gigantic walls built of great stone blocks, a double gate, a tower, and the remains of a palace-like structure.

* Cf. H. Schliemann, "Trojan Antiquities," and his "Atlas of Trojan Antiquities," particularly "Ilios," and his later work "Troja." A summary by C. Schuchhardt, "Schliemann's Ausgrabungen, etc," Leipzig, 1890, treats the matter fully.

Especially important are here two collateral buildings, in close proximity to one another, which were at first thought to be temples, their plan being indeed identical with that of the early Greek temples. There is now, however, no longer any doubt as to the larger edifice having contained the men's, the smaller one—somewhat farther back—the women's apartment, of the palace.

Of greater consequence are the structures brought to light by the excavations on the acropolis at Tiryns, because in them we are made

Fig. 108. Gold Mask from the Fourth Tomb at Mycenæ.

familiar, for the first time, with the ground plan of a ruler's residence in that remote antiquity (Fig. 105). The acropolis constitutes an elongated plateau about 980 by 328 feet, stretching from north to south. The most southern portion, the upper citadel, contained the palace, which was entirely surrounded by massive walls with galleries and chambers (A, B, C, D, E, P, Q, R). Upon the east side at △ a ramp leads up to the main entrance, so that the unprotected right side of the shield-bearing assailant was exposed to the missiles of the defenders.

Farther on, one entered the gate of the citadel and then reached

the propylæum (H), disposed on a grand scale and opening upon both sides into a pillared hall. We are now in the forecourt (F), where the stables and the storage-room for chariots were probably situated. A second propylæum (K), similar to but smaller than the first, leads into the main court (L), which was surrounded by hypostyle halls, and upon the front side of which at (I) is still to be found the altar dedicated to Zeus. Opposite this altar rises the impressive hall for the men, with an entrance hall and portico. In the center the round substructure of the hearth is still visible. Toward the west, amid a confusion of smaller rooms, is the square bath-room, the floor of which is formed by a single large slab of limestone. East of the men's apartment is that for the women (O), smaller than the former, and having only a vestibule without columns. In front of it is an inner court (N), partly encircled by porticos and connected at the southeast with a second court. Strictly isolated by a system of narrow corridors, but still connected with the propylæum by means of a passageway this establishment also is in thorough keeping with the still half-Oriental customs of the times. A comparison with Assyrian work reveals unmistakably a progress to greater freedom in the conception of the ground-plan. The rooms adjoining on the eastern side may have contained the conjugal sleeping-chamber (Thalamos) and the treasury (S).

Fig. 109. Golden Diadem from the Third Tomb at Mycenæ.

The foundation-walls were here of quarried stones, just as they were at Troy, while the upper ones were of brick and plastered on the inside. The door-sills made of limestone blocks are all intact and just as they were thousands of years ago, when crossed by the Homeric heroes. Likewise most of the round stone plinths upon which the columns rested are still in their original positions. On the other hand, the columns themselves and the antæ and the door-posts were evidently made of wood, as at Troy. The floors of the rooms and the courts were of plaster, intermixed with small stones. Their

Fig. 110. Gold Buttons from the First Tomb at Mycenæ.

ceilings were made of logs and planks covered outside with a layer of clay. No trace is to be found of any roof-tiles. One of the most important results of these excavations was the establishment of the fact that the plan of the later Greek temple was derived from the ground-plan of the men's apartment in the palaces of the Heroic Age. We may also surmise that the columns were modeled after the design exhibited on the Lion-gate at Mycenæ, which we shall have to acknowledge to be the prototype of the Doric capital.

Even more remarkable is the decoration, the "Kyanos frieze," found in the entrance-hall of the men's apartment. That mentioned by Homer (Odyss. vii. 86 *sqq.*) in his description of the palace of Alkinoos is explained by the frieze here, which corresponds most wonderfully with the words of the poet. It is an alabaster frieze (Fig.

106), with sumptuously designed double half-rosettes, hemmed by a spiral band, with vertical friezes of smaller rosettes between, disposed in the manner of triglyphs. The eyes of the rosettes and spirals, as well as the small rectangular buttons which are placed on either side of the rosettes, are filled in with blue glass (Kyanos). Besides this splendid specimen, remains of a very ancient wall decoration have come down to us, consisting mainly of linear combinations, among them a faithful imitation of the well-known ceiling of Orchomenos. But even at this early date figure painting finds its place, as is shown in the remarkable representation of an infuriated bull running at full speed, with a youth upon his back performing gymnastic feats (Fig. 107).

Fig. 111. Gold disk with Butterfly. (Mycenæ.)

As these discoveries are of great value in determining the true history of Greek architecture, so the objects of the minor arts, found in great numbers, especially at Troy and Mycenæ, afford important glimpses regarding the culture of that primitive period. In the first place, the great quantities of vases, stone and bronze implements, and gold ornaments unearthed at Hissarlik belong to that epoch which is generally designated as the Bronze Age. Among the vases those especially are noteworthy which are decorated with human faces around the spout, and which resemble those found in great numbers in Cyprus and elsewhere. The character of the decoration on all these objects is limited to such linear motives as circles, zigzags, crosses, and broad and narrow bands, which constitute the essential elements of ornamentation in all climes and countries.

Still more abundant was the harvest resulting from Schliemann's excavations at Mycenæ.* Irrespective of the more thorough disclosures falling to the share of the Lion-gate and the Treasury of Atreus, he astonished the world by the excavation of five large pit-tombs, imbedded in the rock-foundations of the acropolis of My-

* Cf. Dr. H. Schliemann, "Mycenæ"; "Report upon my Investigations and Discoveries at Mycenæ and Tiryns" (Leipzig, 1878), from which the accompanying illustrations are taken.

cenæ, in which he found no less than sixteen dead bodies, several gold masks, and a countless number of gold and silver ornaments, receptacles, and implements, bronze and copper vessels, and the like. At a later date a sixth grave was unearthed, without the walls of the acropolis. This verifies in a surprising manner the report of Pausanius, who states that within the walls were to be found the graves of Atreus as well as Agamemnon, and his companions slain with him. The part of the citadel where these graves were discovered is a circle of about one hundred feet in diameter, inclosed by rows of stone seats, which Schliemann, no doubt correctly, identified as the agora. First among the remains discovered there are numerous idols in terra-cotta, and many painted vases whose decorations exhibit those most ancient linear elements which are found in Cyprus and Troy, as well as in many other places. We find a mixture of straight-lined and circular motives, zig-zags, crosses, and rhomboid patterns occurring, besides circles, rosettes, stars, spirals, and kindred wave-lines. Intermingled with these are human figures, as yet, of course, exceedingly awkward in drawing and arrangement.*

Fig. 112. Gold disk with Cuttlefish. (Mycenæ.)

The most important finds, however, are the great quantities of beautiful metal-ware of infinite variety. Not only were bronze and copper vessels, weapons, and implements found, but above all many treasures of gold whose value by weight alone amounted to five thousand English sovereigns. The most remarkable of all, perhaps, are the five golden masks with which, it seems, the faces of the famous persons were covered, and which by no means display the general conventional type of face, but betray the attempt at individual portraiture (Fig. 108). Moreover, golden coats of mail, gorgeous diadems (Fig. 109), and over twelve hundred of the most multiform gold disks, which were no doubt woven into the clothing, adorned these bodies, entombed in princely splendor. A great number of large and small buttons, disks, or knobs, which in their variety

* Cf. regarding these various ornamental motives, Milchöfer, "Die Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland"; Leipzic, 1883.

display the system of ornamentation prevailing here with the utmost clearness, must be particularly noticed. Fig. 110 shows a selection of these objects embossed with circles, spirals, rosettes, stars, and analogous combinations, partly also with zigzags. The incredible number of thin gold plates follow, in the main, a similar line of ornamentation, but there are also leaves and blossoms of flowers, particularly imitations of the morning-glory. The forms of the butterfly (Fig. 111) and cuttlefish (Fig. 112) also occur repeatedly. Throughout, then, we find predominant the earliest decorative principle, which in every primitive performance of humanity may be traced, like a common primeval language. Fig. 113 represents a golden wine-ewer ornamented in a similar manner. The majority of these works are embossed, but some pieces are cast, and many molds for casting have also been discovered. These reveal another principle of ornamentation which may be definitely traced back to the Orient. In the main we meet with animal forms, especially those fantastic, fabulous beings, like sphinxes, griffins, hippocamps; then, again, we find lions and leopards, as well as stags, swans, butterflies, cuttlefishes, and others. A few female figures with pigeons upon their heads and arms, evidently representing Astarte, must also be mentioned. All these forms show a typical mode of treatment suggestive of Assyrian art. There are also small models in gold of a temple to Astarte. Particularly beautiful is a large head of a cow in silver, with golden horns and a golden rosette upon its forehead, probably of Phœnician workmanship. Finally, there are several gems and gold rings, engraved with figure-scenes, especially of hunts and battles, treated in an uncommonly animated manner, presumably also of foreign origin, kindred to those ancient jewels the so-called "Island gems," indigenous, perhaps, to Crete. Adding to this the 15 large silver vessels, 22 heavy golden vases, goblets, cups, and cans, gems of rock-crystal, onyx, agate, articles of ivory and alabaster, necklaces

Fig. 113. Golden Wine-Ewer. (Mycenæ.)

of amber, 150 bronze swords, 32 bronze vessels, 28 golden diadems, 3 breastplates, and a belt of the same metal, many finger-rings, bracelets, earrings, necklaces—all of gold—which were found here, we can appreciate the profusion of this most important discovery. The great quantity of gold ornaments, as well as the style of the decoration, betrays the agency of that Oriental taste for art which marks the early epoch of Greek culture and has been reëchoed in the descriptions of Homer. In other places, similar works have been found; as, for example, in a bee-hive grave at Vafio, near Amyclæ, where objects in Mycenæan style, notably two golden goblets embossed with figures of bulls, were unearthed.

At what period this peculiar mode of art was developed in Greece can scarcely be accurately determined. By means of Egyptian monuments it has recently been proved, however, that the prime of Mycenæan culture comprised the epoch from the fifteenth to the twelfth century before Christ. Presumably its higher development was coeval with the last half of the second millenium. With tolerable certainty, the end of this earlier period of civilization may be dated about the year 1000. At this time that remarkable revolution occurred which completely overturned all the relations of Greece, and laid the foundation of that spiritual life, that literature and philosophy, and that pure and beautiful art which henceforth we designate as the Greek. The impetus to this revolution was given by the powerful race of the Dorians, who broke over Hellas from the northern mountains, conquered the Peloponnesus, and founded a Doric confederation there. The Ionians, likewise, are distinguished among the Greek races for a high degree of culture; and it is the contrast between these two races, so radically diverse, though dwelling on a common national soil, that gives to Greek life its wonderful depth, its richness, and its perfection of form. In opposition to the reserved, self-dependent Dorians, fond of war, and tenaciously adhering to tradition in laws and customs, we find the versatile Ionians, a people of many gifts, endowed with a marked susceptibility to impressions of every kind. In eager emulation these two races developed their peculiar natures, extended their influence and power, and, by means of their numerous colonies, spread Greek culture over Asia Minor and the islands, over Southern Italy (Græcia Magna) and Sicily. Even on the distant shores of Southern France a Greek colony arose at the beginning of this epoch in Massilia (the Marseilles of the present day). It is in this very difference, in this double nature of Greek life, that the contrast to the East consists; and still more strong does this contrast appear when, in the course of the development of the Greeks, we perceive the long inexhaustible depth and power of their progres

sive civilization. It is obvious that all this was only possible on the soil of a free State; and in this respect it was the republican constitutions of Greece, differently organized as they were in the different races, tending either to fixed aristocratic permanence, as in the Dorians, or to decided democratic progress, as in the Ionic Athenians—it was these free constitutions which formed a basis for the high mental development of the Hellenes, and which, in the golden time of their prosperity, came forth victorious as the higher principle from the struggle with Asiatic despotism.

2. *Greek Architecture.*

A.—THE SYSTEM.*

While among the nations of the East, ruled as they were by despots, the art of architecture was chiefly displayed in the palaces of the kings; while even in Pelasgic times, among the ancestors of the Greeks, so far, at least, as we can gather from Homer's descriptions and from the existing remains, it found its principal employment in erecting the royal castles; with the founding of the Greek republics such purely personal service was no longer called for, and the highest ideas alone, the interests of the whole body politic, were considered as having a right to artistic embodiment. Hence, in the *temple* alone the art of architecture found a field for its development; and other public buildings, serving the general good, borrowed their artistic character from the temple structure. In the palmy days of Greece no care was bestowed upon the design and decoration of private dwellings.

The temple rose upon a substructure of several steps in a sacred court, which was surrounded by high walls. It was strongly inclosed and distinctly organized as a plastic work. While the Oriental nations sought to give expression to their vague yearnings after the sublime in the massive character and bewildering size of their buildings, the Greeks attained the impression of dignity and solemn elevation by moderate extent, simple purity, and harmonious proportion of the parts. While in the one we are constantly reminded of the expression of dumb, slavish masses, doing the work of the few men of thought and feeling; of lifeless formulas of design and of a religion tending to asceticism; in the other, we find the lofty grace of an un-

* See: C. Bötticher, "Die Tekontik der Hellenen"; 2 vols., Potsdam, 1844. Viollet-le-Duc, "Entretiens sur l'Architecture"; vol. i. Durm, Dr. J., "Die Baukunst der Griechen" in "Handbuch der Architektur"; Darmstadt, 1880. Semper, G., "Styl: oder praktische Aesthetik"; Munich, 1879.

fettered mind, the conscious feeling of human dignity, and the cheerful sense of a worship of clear daylight divinities, all expressed in the entire form of their glorious marble temples. The ground-plan (Fig. 114) is, with few variations, always the same,—a simple, plain, and well arranged design. The building is a rectangle, about twice as long as it is wide, and at the eastern end has a porch of entrance, very commonly a deep vestibule with two columns set between square antæ, or pilaster-like terminations of the side walls. A somewhat more elaborate plan provides a similar porch at the western end; and then the näos or inclosed chamber is commonly divided by a partition. Small temples were uniformly of this character. The next step in elaboration was to put up an outer portico, commonly of four columns, at one end or at each end. The form has a still further enrich-

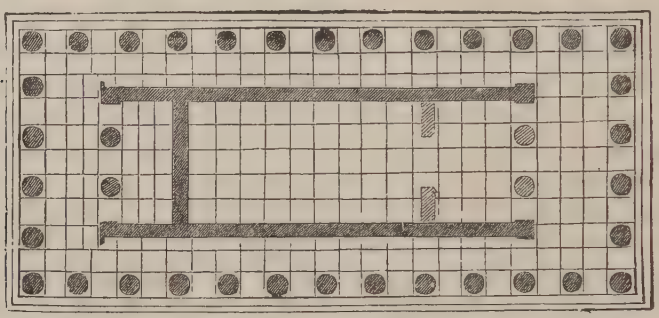


Fig. 114. Ground-Plan of the Temple of Theseus at Athens.

ment by a colonnade all round, and over this the marble gabled end rests on a simply constructed and richly ornamented entablature.

Two different species of temple may be pointed out, which, while in general retaining this primitive form, varied according to the purpose for which they were designed. The true temples for worship inclosed the sacred image of the god, and were only regarded as his place of abode. In front of the entrance was the altar of burnt-offering, on which sacrifices were offered to the god in the presence of the assembled people, the doors of the temple remaining open; while only those who desired to place offerings on the small altar within, or who brought votive gifts to the temple, could enter the temple itself. Before this could be done, however, it was necessary to be sprinkled with holy water from the vessel in the forecourt. The other species of temple was the agonal (αγων, an assembly met to see games), which contained a splendid image of the god, and within which, probably, took place the coronation of the victor in the public games which

were consecrated to the god of that particular temple. As a moderate space sufficed for either of these purposes, moderate dimensions were established for the ground-plan. This plan consisted of a vestibule (pronäos), a cella (näos), with a second chamber or vestibule in the rear (posticum), to which, occasionally, the opisthodome was added for special use. When, however, a more spacious building was necessary, two rows of columns were placed in the interior, supporting an upper gallery with another row of columns, above (Fig. 115). A central space was sometimes left without a roof, in order to supply the

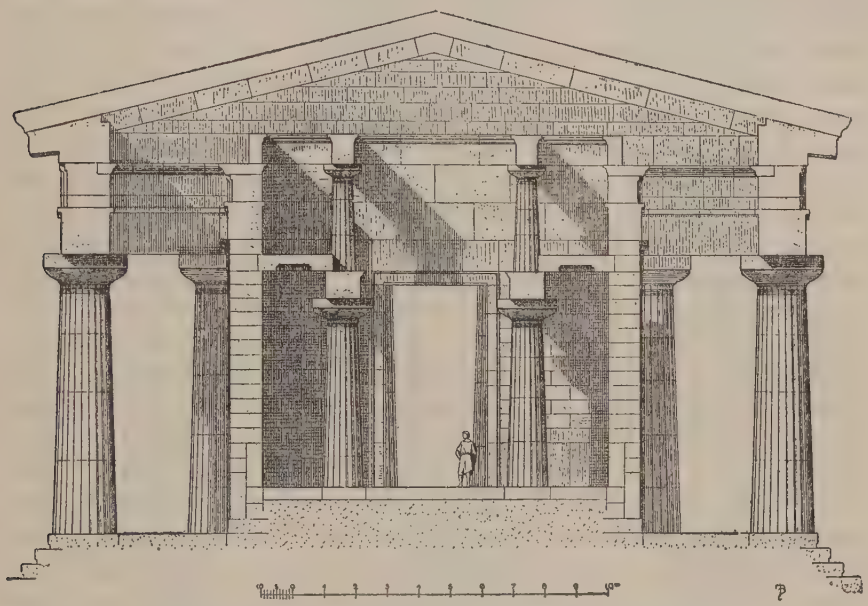


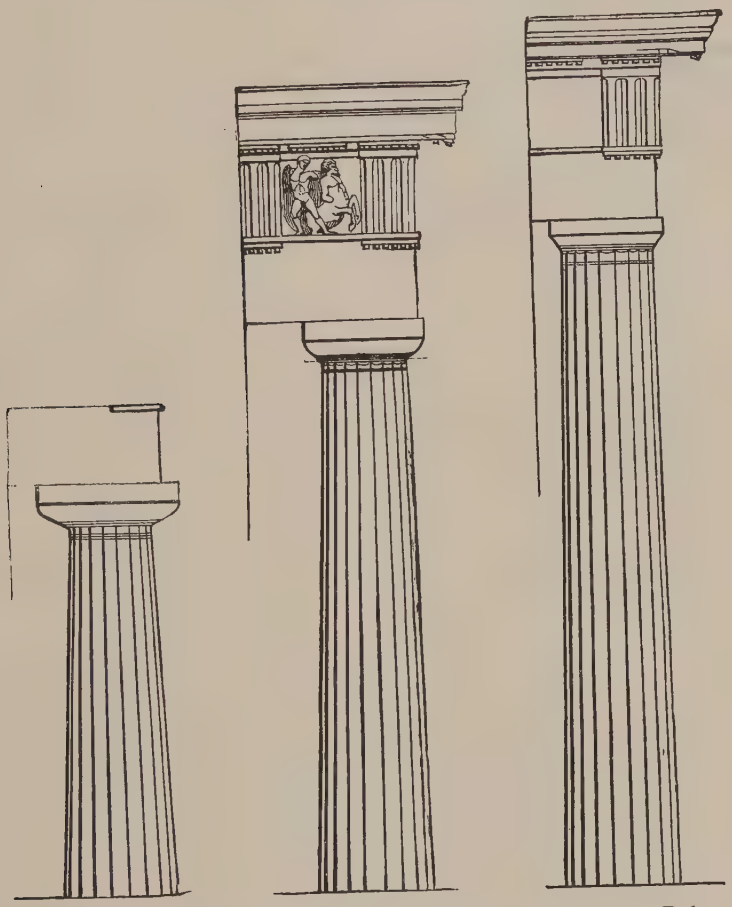
Fig. 115. Section of the Great Temple at Pæstum.

temple with light; so that this portion of the building was open to the sky. Such temples were called hypæthral temples. It is not known, however, how the hypæthral opening was managed. The whole theory of the common use of such an appliance rests upon a passage in Vitruvius which is hardly understood. It is far more probable that in the great majority of temples the nave received no daylight except through the doorway.

The temples are described according to the character of the external colonnade. A temple surrounded on all four sides by pillars is called peripteral; one having a portico only at the front is called prostyle; one with a portico both at the front and the back is called amphiprostyle; and one, the portico of which is formed with pillars

between the projecting side walls (antæ) of the building, is said to have a portico *in antis*. If there were two complete colonnades surrounding the whole building, it was called dipteral; if the inner of the two rows is omitted so that the outer row stands at double the usual distance from the side walls of the cella, we have what is called pseudo-dipteral (false dipteral); if, instead of a colonnade of independent pillars, there are only half-columns against the side-walls of the cella, the building is called pseudo-peripteral. The colonnade which, to a greater or less extent, surrounded the building, served several purposes; it acted as a support to the roof of the portico, it gave room, and it afforded access. The shaft with its numerous channels or flutes springing erect, with an elastic swelling of its profile diminishing toward the top, expressed in the most lively manner, no mere passive endurance, but an energetic, active support. The capital, or head of the column, showed vividly the conflict between support and burden. So at least it may appear to moderns, who may ascribe to the artist a meaning of which he may not have been conscious. The Greek spirit may be thought to have concerned itself rather with extreme subtilty of form and proportion—even the swelling form (entasis) of the shaft being so slight and so refined that the eye hardly detects it. Above the capitals the blocks of the architrave (epistyle), stretching from the center of one column to that of the next, united them with its broad band, on which rested the frieze with its sculptured designs. Above the frieze, again, projected the main cornice, which on the inside supported the beams of the roof. At the ends of the oblong building, and bordered by a molded member, the profile of which repeated those of the cornice and roof-gutter, there rose the pediment, which was often adorned by means of groups of statues filling the triangular space; and, lastly, on the front upper edge of the pediment there stood small pedestals supporting sculptured figures, or an ornament of conventional design, a modification of the familiar anthemion, often called palmette or honeysuckle ornament. These ornamental erections upon the sloping top of the pediment are called acroteria. Along the cornice on the sides of the building, and on the outer side of the gutter, lions' heads, placed at intervals, served as gargoyles or spouts, and ejected the rain-water from their mouths. The cornice was crowned with the tiles, which, set upright, closed the ends of the ridges in the roof tiling; and these tiles, shaped like the honeysuckle ornament, tended to become a conventional ornament apart from their original destination. In all the noblest works of a later time the covering of the roof, like the rest of the building, was executed in stone or marble, and a graceful ornament ran along its ridge.

What distinguishes this Greek stone construction from that of all the other peoples we have been considering is the careful disposition of the different members, of the roof, and of the pediment. But Greek architecture did not rest satisfied with this superiority in construction alone. There were devised a series of art-forms which



Temple at Corinth. Parthenon at Athens. Temple at Delos.

Fig. 116. Doric Order.

fully, and with the utmost precision, indicated the nature and constructive value of the several parts; and in these essential character and form so thoroughly complement each other as to produce a perfect artistic organism. The construction was, indeed, of the utmost simplicity; but it became the foundation of a wholly satisfying and complete architecture, which remained unchanged in essence through four centuries. So rich, however, was the genius of this incompara-

ble people, that in their architectural forms there appear two conceptions thoroughly independent of each other, though resting on a common basis, which, known as the Doric and Ionic styles, correspond most closely with the character of these two principal races. As, however, in Attica the Ionic and Doric elements of civilization were harmoniously intermingled, in like manner Ionic architecture acquires a special modification in the Attic form of the style; and, lastly, the Corinthian style appears as an after-fruit of graceful luxuriance developed from the Ionic style of which it is a modification.

Passing on to the examination of this rich artistic life, we must begin with the *Doric style* (Fig. 116).

Perfect coherence and simple, clear logicalness characterize the Doric building in its construction and form.* The Dorians give no foot to each separate column; the upper plinth forming the edge of the stereobate, or platform, which as the top of the substructure serves as a common base for the whole colonnade. Short and strong, the shaft usually reaches only a height of about five and a half times the diameter of its base; but it has an apparent slenderness and relative height given it by the channels, which, sixteen or twenty in number, are shallow and divided from one another by sharp edges. The interval between the pillars is, on an average one and a half times the diameter. These proportions vary, however, as is shown in Fig. 116, where the normal measure may be seen in the central illustration (Parthenon); while the archaic temple fragment at Corinth is only four, that at Delos, dating from the later period, as much as six diameters in height. A series of small, narrow grooves separate the shaft from the capital, these being partly incised in the bell of the capital itself, partly in the shaft, allowing the lower member of the capital, the so-called echinus, to rise with a first strongly projecting, and then receding, outline. The echinus carries a square plinth (abacus), which affords a sufficient base for the architrave, and completes the transition from the round, vertical, supporting form to the rectangular, horizontal, and reposing parts. The architrave then follows, resting upon the abaci; its face, in the earliest example, being on a line with the shafts at their highest point. The horizontal position of the architrave changed in the course of time. It was composed of separate blocks of large size, terminated above by a rectangular molding cut in the solid, and having the apearance of a thin, projecting slab. On the underside of the latter, over the center of each column, and over the center of the space between them, a small rectangular molding, like a short block, is cut; and from the under side of each of these, six

*Cf. P. F. Krell, "Geschichte des Dorischen Styls" (with an Atlas of twenty-four plates); Stuttgart, 1870.

little peg-like ornaments (guttæ) seem to hang. These are intended to designate the places at which short, rectangular blocks rise above the architrave to support the cornice; these blocks have two complete flutings on the flat surface, and two half-flutings at the angles, and are called triglyphs — that is, three-cut or three-grooved. The spaces between the triglyphs are called metopes; they were originally open, but were subsequently always filled with stone slabs, which were generally ornamented with reliefs. The name metope was then transferred from the open space to the solid block. These metopes and triglyphs form the frieze.

This fixed division of the frieze, and the strict relation of its different parts to the position of the pillars, gave to Doric architecture its coherence in plan and construction. We at once perceive from the design that it was originally calculated for the simple primitive form of the temple, with its pillared front; for wherever peripteral buildings were erected, a difficulty must have arisen with the corner pillar, if the triglyph, according to rule, were to be placed on the center of each pillar. Hence in this case it was moved close up to the angle (Fig. 116); and the inequality was made to appear less than it really was by the system of diminishing the distance between the columns at the angles and those next them on either side. The main purpose of this close setting of the columns near the corner was evidently to give greater appearance of solidity at the point where the columns would be seen against the sky and not backed up by the naos wall. Above the frieze was the cornice, the highest member of the entablature. This projected considerably; and from its under surface small blocks, the so-called mutules, appeared to hang as if freely suspended. These were placed in rhythmical relation to the metopes and triglyphs, each of these members having a mutule over it (Fig. 116). On the lower surface of each mutule were carved certain ornaments similar in form to the guttæ on the abacus-like molding that crowned the architrave. These drops were arranged in three rows, six in each row. In each of the two narrow fronts, from the extremities of the true, the horizontal, cornice, a second cornice, identical with it in all respects, except that it wanted the mutules and their drops, rose obliquely, and inclosed the triangular tympanum or flat surface of the pediment (Figs. 124, 127). This triangular space was filled with slabs of stone, in early work sometimes painted on the flat or carved in relief, but in the richer work of later times forming a background for the sculptured groups, from which it received a decoration corresponding with the intention of the building. Along the sides of the building, upon the cornice, was placed the gutter, made

either of marble or terra-cotta, and having for its profile that graceful curve to which the name of cyma, or wave, was given. To these features we must add the antæ, that is to say, the ends of the side-walls on either side the entrance to the cella, which, from being furnished with capitals, seemed to be related to the true columns, while from their rectilinear form and narrow architrave with its painted band of ornament (Fig. 117) they might be reckoned a part of the surrounding wall. We have now enumerated the essential elements of the Doric building. We have still to mention, however, the very curious devices used to increase the delicacy of the architectural effect. The Greek builders avoided absolutely straight lines except in minor details. The long line of the stylobate was cambered or curved upward convexly toward the middle; the curve being quite easily distinguished by one who looks along the stylobate, while not perceptible to a person standing nearly opposite. These curves were repeated in the entablature. The shafts of the columns, besides having the curved entasis, were set out of plumb; so that the corner columns of a peristyle had a decided inward slope from bottom to top. The purpose of these and similar departures from strict formality was evidently a result of greater charm than in a building of strictly vertical and horizontal right lines.

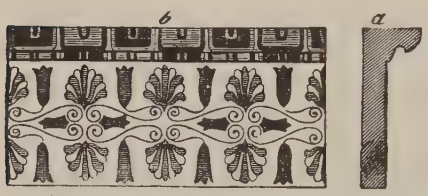


Fig. 117. Ornament on the Capitals of the Antæ-Pilasters of the Theseum, Athens.

As to the material of the Doric temple, it is of soft stone in Sicily (Girgenti, Selimonte), and in South Italy (Pæstum or Pesto). The surface of these columns, antæ, architraves, etc., was then covered with a thin coating of stucco which was afterwards painted. When in Greece proper, and especially in Athens, hard white marble was used for the structure, the painting was still retained. It was in strong, bright colors, and covered a large part of the exterior of every Doric temple; the bells and abaci of the capitals and other prominent parts receiving elaborate patterns* (Fig. 118). The sculpture was also elaborately painted, and great pains were taken to relieve it upon a background of contrasted color. In the famous frieze of the Parthenon some details were left entirely to the paint-

*J. W. Mauch, "Die Achitektonischen Ordnungen der Griechen und Römer." Charles Chipiez, "Histoire Critique des Origines et de la Formation des Ordres Grecques. Hittorff, "Le Temple d'Empedocle," etc. "Baukunst der Griechen," in *Handbuch der Architektur,* Pt. ii., vol. i. (by Dr. Josef Durm); second edition, 1892; Pennethorne, "The Geometry and Optics of Ancient Architecture."

brush. It appears probable that the unpainted surfaces were stained yellow or buff, perhaps with the use of wax melted by the application of heat on the spot (encaustic).

The Ionic style is essentially different from the Doric both in its main forms and details. Its softer and more womanly forms contrast with the strong, manly, and even austere forms of the Doric. That severe logic by which the principles of construction had become, as it were, hardened in the Doric system, gave way here to a freer and more animated treatment. The separate members enjoy a greater independence, which is made manifest by an abundance of significant details; and, instead of the severe Doric simplicity, we have the sweet but capricious play of the most graceful forms. Even in the column we readily perceive the essential point of difference between the Ionic and the Doric styles. The independence of the column is indicated by the fact that it stands upon a base of its own (Fig. 119). The base consists of circular members, moldings, arranged horizontally around the generally cylindrical block which forms it. The profile of these members shows two narrow flutings connected with each other, as well as with the plinth and the upper part, by finely reeded moldings. The upper part consists of a strongly projecting molding, from which the shaft rises with a slight contraction. The shaft is far more slender than that of the Doric order, being from eight and a half to nine and a half times its greatest diameter; and, in harmony with this, the interval between the columns is increased to two diameters, giving to the whole an appearance of greater lightness and slenderness. The number of the flutings amounts to twenty-four. They are separated from each other by a narrow fillet, a portion of the periphery of the column; not by a sharp edge, as in the Doric. At the same time they are hollowed deeper, and are more nearly round; they also terminate both above and below in a circular form.

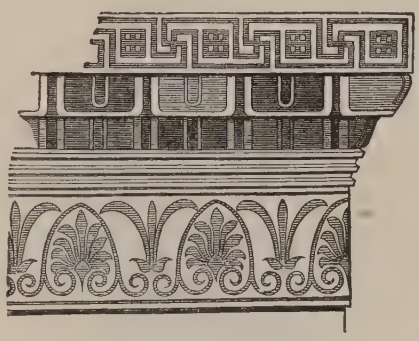


Fig. 118. Painted Capital of Doric Anta.

The most original part of the whole is the form of the capital. It is true, that, like the Doric, it has an echinus, only rounder in profile, and less projecting, characterized by the so-called egg-and-tongue ornament, and united to the shaft by a narrow band carved in beads.

But over the echinus, instead of the simple abacus, a member, somewhat resembling a cushion, is placed, projecting on both sides, and ending on each side with a strongly marked volute. The ribbed edges of these volutes curl round the hollowed surfaces of their flutings, and end in the center with an eye which is often ornamented with a rosette; while, on each side, the angle between the volute and the cushion is filled up with a graceful ornament, which we may imagine was formed from the flower of the honeysuckle. This description of the capital, however, applies only to the front and back; on the other two sides we see only the ends of the cushion-like member, which is wound around in the center by a band, and allows the echinus, with its string of beads, to be seen below it. The capital is terminated above by a thin, square plinth, the edge of which has a curved profile, and is ornamented with a pattern of leaves. Any description of this capital, graceful and beautiful as it is original, must fail to do it justice; and it is especially in dealing with a design so remarkable as this that we discover how difficult it is, by mere reason alone, to hope to apprehend the creations of Greek art. As we frequently meet with the volute, the chief feature of the Ionic capital, in the art of Asia Minor, where it occurs in a comparatively awkward form at a very early date, we shall not, perhaps, appear too venturesome if we find in it a motive common to the whole art of that country, but which, however, was brought to perfection only by the Attic Greeks, and received from them alone a worthy and appropriate application. It certainly cannot have been accidental that the Ionic Greek architecture should have

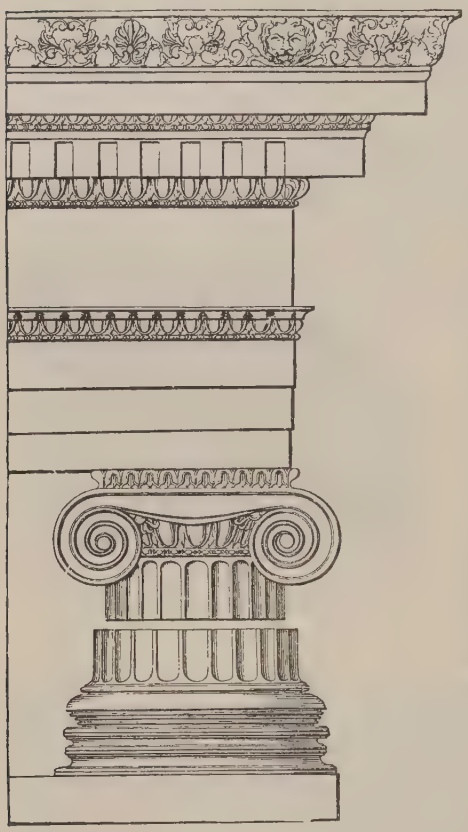


Fig. 119. Ionic Order. From the Temple Pallas Athene, at Priene (Caria).

found its complete development in the continent of Asia Minor; but in the lines of the capital, curving downward, a passive yielding to the weight of the entablature is expressed, which distinguishes it in a marked manner from the strong Doric style.

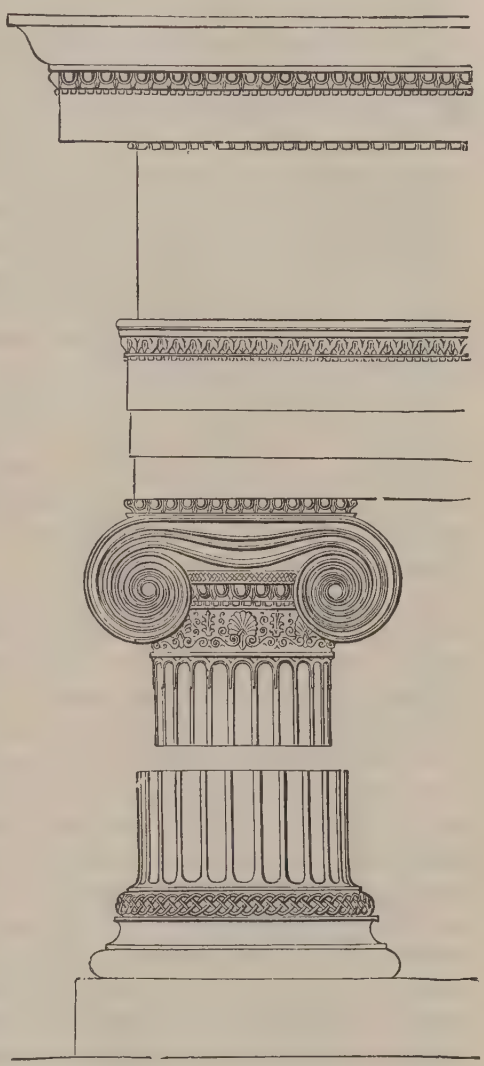


Fig. 120. Attic-Ionic Style. (From the Erectheum at Athens.)

An equal richness and variety meet us in the forms of all the other members. Thus the architrave exhibits nothing of the heavy, undivided massiveness of the Doric; but, although consisting in its whole height of one single stone, it is so cut (Figs. 119 and 120) as, when aided by the effect of shadow, to appear to be composed of three (or sometimes of two) layers, projecting one over the other. It is terminated at the top by a molding ornamented with beads and foliage, which crowning member is added to indicate the complete independence of this part likewise. Still greater difference is seen in the frieze; for instead of the marked division by means of the triglyphs and metopes, we find a broad band of blocks of stone often filled with represenations in relief of men and animals, to judge by its name of zoöphorus (*life* or *figure bearer*). Above it, the plinth of the cornice, as in the Doric order, projects, casting a strong shadow; but the Doric mutules are here changed into a series of cube-like blocks, the so-called dentils, placed at short intervals apart, having somewhat the same appearance of

free suspension as the mutules. The pediment and the roof are, in the main, like the Doric, only the gutter has a waving sectional outline—that curve which is technically termed the *ogee* (Fig. 119).

Having drawn attention to that difficulty in treating the angle-triglyph of the frieze which makes itself felt as a weak point in the Doric system, we ought just as little to conceal the weak point in the Ionic order. This appears in the form of the capital; it is not fitted for every position, like the Doric capital, which is alike on all sides; but it is suited only for the simple portico of one row of columns. In a peripteral design—the colonnade surrounding the cella on all four sides—the capital of the corner pillar must, according to rule, turn its face to the front; and therefore a side-view would present an insufferable dissonance with the capitals of the side, which would fall out sidewise from the heart of the building. This was remedied, as far as possible, by the expedient of giving to the capital of the angle-column two faces on two adjoining sides; so that the volutes of these two faces meet at the angle in a strong, projecting curve, not, perhaps, symmetrical with the other angles. From such ingenious expedients we may consider it established, as regards both the Ionic and the Doric styles, that the peripteral form was not adopted until a more recent period.

In Attica, in consequence of the prevailing Doric influence, the Ionic style underwent a modification which has been appropriately named Attic (Fig. 120). In the first place, the base of the column is deprived of its particular plinth; to compensate for this, however, the base is changed radically, and is made very massive in its parts. Thus we may describe the Attic base as formed of a sharply contracted fluting between two ovolos; yet in this limited space the principle of tapering shown in the shaft was expressed, as it were, on a small scale; for the lower ovolo projected farther, and was more strongly formed, than the upper one. The column was, in the main, the same as in the pure Ionic style, only it was less slender in its proportions. The capital also expresses a more energetic life by the greater projection of its powerfully formed volutes; and it has commonly the broad band adorned with anthemions (see Fig. 120). The entablature has the same main forms in the Attic buildings as in the Ionian, only the frieze appears considerably higher, and the cornice is without the dentil ornament, instead which the projecting plinth is strongly undercut along its whole length, so that the edge in front overhangs the crowning member of the frieze (Fig. 120).

In general, both the Attic and the Ionian buildings display their more lively variety in an abundance of terminating and crowning

members, projecting in profiles of various curves, and richly decorated with sculptured leaf-ornament. That in some Attic examples this ornamentation is found to be painted, instead of carved, only proves a greater inclination to the Doric simplicity. The decorative fancy of the Ionic style is especially graceful as displayed on the antæ and walls, which have generally a capital consisting of a plinth crowned by graceful moldings, and below this display a broad border consisting of flowers and foliage. Both in Ionic and Attic works, as the employment of sculptured decoration increased, colored ornament seems to have declined.

Fig. 121. Capital and Entablature from the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates at Athens.

Lastly, we have to mention the Corinthian order, which, however, cannot be regarded as an independent style, like the Doric and Ionic, but is only considered as a modification of the Ionic, introduced at a later period. While the main features of the building, as a whole, were borrowed from the Ionic style, a new and original form was devised for the capital; and it seems a significant fact, that the sculptor Callimachus was said to have invented it, since we may infer from this attribution that the capital was regarded as having been created by artistic reflection that did not shrink from freer and more novel combinations. Very few Grecian buildings are known to us in which the Corinthian capital was used. The most important is the round building (the Tholos) at Epidauros; but the one best known is the little choragic monument named below. The general characteristic of this capital is the slender, cup-like form of the whole. It is decorated with several rows of leaves, placed upright, and curved outwardly, with the points slightly curled over. The elegant, richly

articulated, and finely dentated leaf of the acanthus is generally employed; yet more simple reed-like leaves are also used.

The further development of this form soon led, however, to a richer composition. The lower part of the capital is formed also here by two rows of eight acanthus-leaves, rising one above the other. From these, on each of the four sides of the capital, rise two double but unequal branches. The inner, smaller ones curl together toward the center, where they meet in spiral whorls, and support a palm-like flower; the outer and stronger branches, on the contrary, rise toward the upper angle, supporting the plinth of the abacus, the sides of which are not straight, but retreat in a strong curve, with sharply projecting angles upon their curved ends (see Fig. 121). By these corner volutes, the transition from the round to the square form is effected in a manner as spirited as it is sculpturesque; and the capital, by this making all four sides of it alike, regains those more general advantages which distinguish the Doric, but which are wanting in the Ionic column. The greater richness of the design, the more realistic ornamentation resulting from the adoption of vegetable forms, united to its greater applicability to all the purposes of architecture, gave this style extraordinary popularity at a later period.

B.—EPOCHS AND PRINCIPAL BUILDINGS.

The history of the gradual development of the architectural system of the Greeks from insignificant beginnings to the perfect form in which we find it, must forever remain obscure. What stages must have been passed over before the pure and beautiful form of the Hellenic temple took the place of the primitive buildings of Pelasgian antiquity may be guessed, but can never be certainly known. We learn from an expression in Pausanias, that, as early as 650 B.C., the two Greek styles, the Doric and Ionic, were practiced side by side, and were held in equal estimation; but Pausanias is a late writer. Both in design and construction, even the oldest of the works still existing display a consistent maturity of system; and it is only when the whole series of these monuments is considered that we perceive in the more delicate design of the separate members certain gradations, which may be taken as marks of the various stages of development.

The First Epoch

may be considered as extending from about the time of Solon to the Persian wars. Greece was still in all the vigor of early youth. The single states had developed themselves in strict independence, and re-

joiced in that active development of their material and intellectual life which was especially displayed at Athens, under the rule of the Pisistratidæ, by splendid artistic undertakings, by the cultivation of poetry, and by the care that was expended in collecting the works of Homer. The architectural remains of this period, though not considerable in number, are severe, archaic, and even clumsy. This was especially the case in the Doric works of Sicily and Lower Italy,

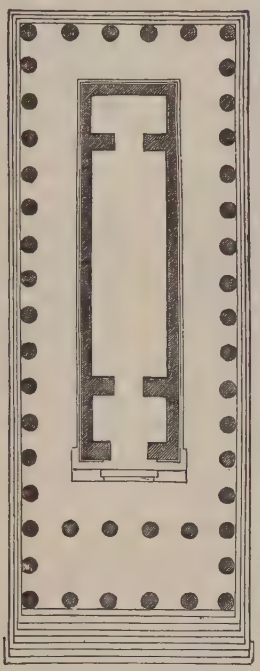


Fig. 122. Central Temple on Acropolis at Selinante.

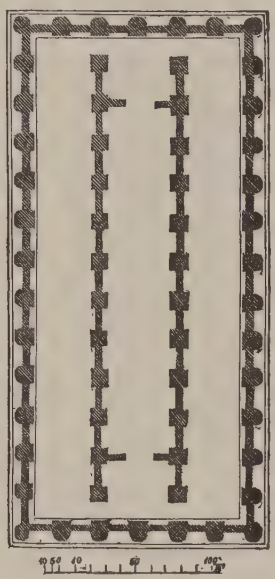


Fig. 123. Temple of Jupiter at Agrigentum.

where this ruder treatment prevailed for about half a century, owing to local circumstances and to the less delicate material employed. In Sicily itself there are extensive remains of more than twenty temples in the Doric style, many of them indicating works of colossal design.* The form of these temples is, almost without exception, the peripteral, and this with a wider, almost pseudo-dipteral, placing of the colonnade. The cella is long and narrow, and the pronaos is always of considerable size. The details of the building are heavy and rude in their proportions; the pillars appear short, swelling much, and

*Cf. Duca di Serradifalco, Le Antichità della Sicilia. Hittorf et Zanth, Architecture antique de la Sicile. Kolderey and Puchstein, Die Griechischen Tempel in Unteritalien und Sicilien.

also decidedly tapering; the entablatures are massive and weighty; the capitals have an unusual projection;* and the profile of the echinus is a strong and prominent curve. The material is a coarse-grained limestone, with a delicate stucco covering over it; and there are many traces of polychromatic decoration.

At Selinus (Selinunte) there are the remains of six peripteral temples in two groups of three; one group being in the town, the other on the acropolis. Of those in the former group, the most northerly, called the Temple of Jupiter, is distinguished by its mighty proportions, being 161 feet broad by 367 feet long, with a peripteral colonnade having eight pillars at each end, and seventeen on each side.† The central temple (Fig. 122) on the acropolis, though less in dimension—being 75 feet broad by 205 feet long, with six pillars by seventeen, therefore of considerable length—is rendered especially important by the extremely ancient reliefs on its metopes. The so-called Temple of Jupiter at Agrigentum (Fig. 123) presents an unusual ground-plan. Like its rival at Selinus, it is of considerable extent—164 feet broad by 345 feet long; but it is surrounded, as a pseudo-periptery, only with half-pillars, which are attached to the cella-wall; or rather, the cella-wall is advanced to the line of the outer columns making what is almost unknown to us in Greek art, a huge hall within. The columns are shams, built up with the wall like buttresses, even the Doric capital divided vertically by a joint between two stones. It is therefore wholly out of harmony with the logic of Greek work; besides which it deviates remarkably from the ordinary rule by unequal arrangement of seven half-pillars in front to four-

Fig. 124. Remains of Temple (of Castor and Pollux?) at Agrigentum.

* See Viollet-le-Duc, "Entretiens," etc., vol. i., p. 47; and also in his "Dictionnaire de l'Architecture," vol. ii., p. 482, art. "Chapiteau."

† In counting the columns, those at the angles are considered as belonging to the side that is being reckoned. Thus in Fig. 125 the Temple of Poseidon has fourteen columns on each side, and six at each end, and yet has only thirty-six in all.

PÆSTUM

RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF NEPTUNE (RIGHT), AND THE SO-CALLED BASILICA

teen on the long side. Instead of detached columns, Atlantides of colossal proportion and archaic rigidity support the roof in the interior. Besides these, there are preserved considerable remains of several other temples, which follow the peripteral arrangement with a somewhat corresponding treatment. Of one of these, the so-called Temple of Castor and Pollux, the remaining angle of which is distinguished for its noble proportions, a view is given in Fig. 124. At Segesta (Ægesta), also, there is still standing the colonnade and gable of a stately peripteral temple, never wholly completed. The columns remained unfluted, and were destined to outlast, in their unfinished state, the destruction of the naos and the roof. Toward the end of the fifth century, Greek civilization in Sicily suffered from the inroads of the conquering Carthaginians; and we know for certain that the two colossal temples of Jupiter at Selinus and Agrigentum were not wholly completed at the period of the taking of the cities by

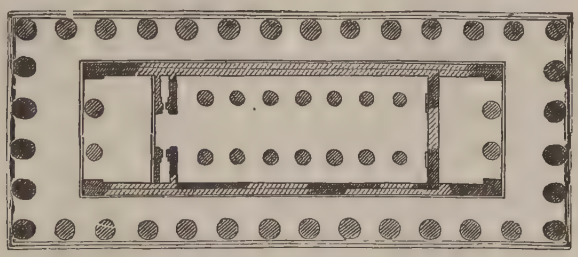


Fig. 125. Ground-Plan of the Temple of Poseidon at Pæstum.

the Punic armies—the one in the year 409 B.C., and the other 450 B.C.

Related to the Sicilian monuments, we find the Temple of Poseidon at Pæstum, in Lower Italy, one of the best preserved and finest remains of antiquity* (Fig. 125). Moderate in dimensions, being 81 feet broad by 193 feet long, the building rises in solemn majesty on the site of the formerly flourishing Greek city of Poseidonia (the city of Poseidon). Probably belonging to the same period as the above-named Sicilian temples, it has an unusually clear and normal ground-plan, a peripteral colonnade of six columns by fourteen, and a long cella with pronaos and posticum. That which, however, makes this temple of the utmost importance for the understanding of the ancient Hellenic architecture, is the happy circumstance of the complete preservation of the whole interior colonnade, which supported the roof, and marked the hypæthral plan. Two

* Cf. Delagardette, "Les Ruines de Pæstum"; Folio, Paris, 1799. Koldewey (see above).

rows of seven columns divide the cella into a broad central nave and two narrow side-aisles. The former was without a roof, on the hypæthral plan; and the upper columns of the galleries, which were to support the outer wings of the roof, are still to be seen (see Fig. 126). The two flights of steps also, by which the gallery was reached, are still existing.

The remains in Greece itself are of less importance; although here also there was no lack of important architectural undertakings at that time. Thus, in the time of the Pisistratidæ, the shrine of Apollo at Delphi was splendidly restored, after the earlier temple had been de-

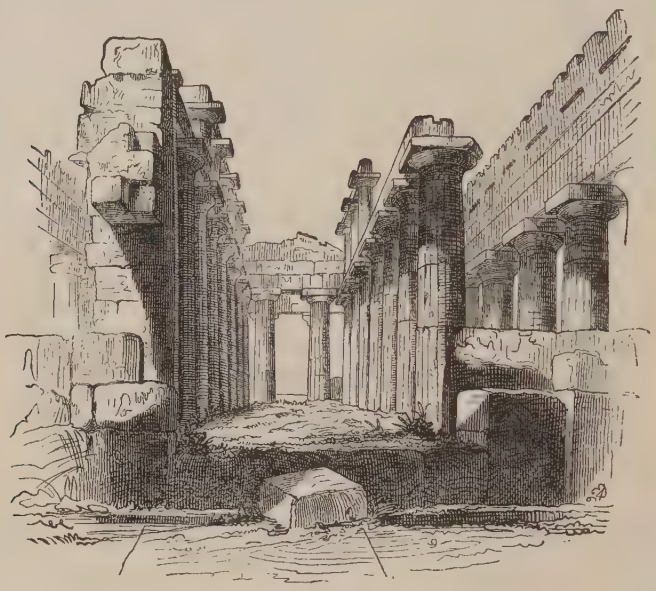


Fig. 126. View of the Interior of the Temple of Poseidon at Pæstum.

stroyed by fire; and, under Pisistratus himself, the Temple of Jupiter at Athens was restored, though its completion was not effected till the time of the Roman emperors. This temple was dipteral in structure, and of considerable dimensions, being 171 feet broad by 354 feet long. At the same period, the earlier Parthenon on the Acropolis at Athens was also erected, the subsequent destruction of which by the Persians led to its brilliant restoration under Pericles. The only temple remains of this period preserved on Greek soil are those at Corinth, consisting of seven Doric pillars of heavy proportions, probably the ruins of a shrine of Pallas; the building was executed in limestone, with an excellent stucco coating over it.

One of the oldest Greek monuments, the Temple of Hera at Olym-

pia, discovered during the German excavations, is remarkable for its elongated ground-plan, six columns at each end to sixteen on each side, or forty in all (see above, page 152, note), and for the striking variety of details, especially of the capitals. This feature has been explained by the fact that the columns, made originally of wood, were gradually replaced by stone pillars as they progressively decayed. That the architrave was also of wood, while the upper parts of the

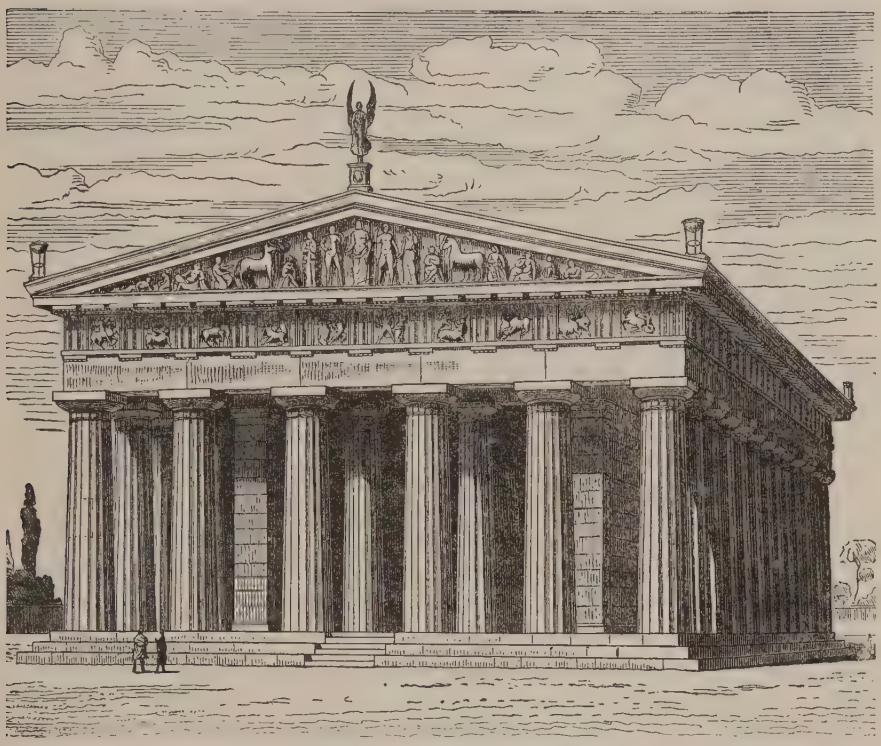


Fig. 127. View of Temple of Zeus at Olympia. (After Restoration.)

walls consisted of brick-work, is one of the marks of high antiquity that distinguish this structure. The tiled roof with its very large circular and parti-colored acroterium is especially noteworthy. No less ancient is the southern part of the Buleuterion (Senate House or Council House), likewise adorned with excellent terra-cotta ornaments; and also the Treasure House of Gela, and that of the people of Megara—buildings of somewhat later origin. The Temple of Zeus at Olympia dates from the end of this epoch. Begun by Libon (of Elis) about 472 B.C. and completed in about fifteen years, it measured 200 feet in length by 87 feet in width, and was surrounded

by a portico of thirty-six columns, about four and three-quarter diameters in height; of massive strength, equally removed from the cumbersome proportions of the Temple at Corinth and from the delicate slenderness of the Athenian buildings. In the interior, two rows of seven columns each divided the cella into a wide nave and two narrow aisles. Here was enthroned the colossal image of the god, wrought in gold and ivory, the masterpiece of Phidias. The German expedition has thoroughly explored the ruined temple, and published an extensive and splendid work illustrating it and its rich plastic decoration.

Fewer remains of that early period are found in Asia Minor and the adjacent islands; the temples having been partly destroyed by earthquakes, and partly covered over by subsequent erections. Yet we know of considerable architectural works constructed here after the middle of the sixth century; among others, the famous Temple of Hera at Samos, a work executed by the masters Rhœcus and Theodorus, in the ruins of which the base of a column has been found displaying a primitive form of the Ionic style; and, above all, that famous wonder of the ancient world, the marble Temple of Artemis at Ephesus, a dipteral building of colossal dimensions, 225 feet broad by 425 feet long, subsequently destroyed by the madness of Herostratus, and again rebuilt by the architects of Alexander the Great. Its columns were 60 feet high, and each architrave beam about 30 feet long; so that especial precaution and care must have been necessary in conveying the mighty blocks of marble to the place assigned them. The temple had eight columns at each end and twenty on each side, but as it was dipteral, the inner row being of six by eighteen columns (the corner columns always counted twice), the whole number of columns was ninety-six, not counting those of the inner vestibules. These columns were all Ionic. Lately, through the excavations undertaken by Mr. Wood, the foundations of the temple, together with considerable remains of the colossal marble colonnade, have been brought to light. These last establish in a convincing manner the often-doubted assertion, that a certain number (thirty-six) of the columns were ornamented on the shaft with sculpture, human figures carved in high relief upon the lower part of the shaft.

Among the most remarkable remains of very ancient art we must reckon the ruins of the Temple of Assos, in the province of Troas, on the coast of Asia Minor. These were minutely explored and carefully excavated by the Archæological Institute of America about 1881-82. Here stood a Doric temple, broad and heavy in form, with compact pillars and projecting capitals, executed in common black calcareous tufa. No trace has been found of a sculptured frieze; the architrave,

on the other hand, is covered with sculptures of a primitive style, showing affinity with the East.

The Second Epoch

extends from about the period of the Persian wars to that of the Macedonian supremacy (about 470-338 B.C.). The national uprising, by which Greece repelled the overpowering numbers of the Asiatic barbarians and victoriously defended her endangered liberty, gave impetus in various directions to her national life, and raised Athens especially—which, like her protecting tutelar goddess Pallas Athene, had become the leader of Hellenic culture—to the height of the loftiest intellectual and spiritual civilization that the world has ever seen. It is true, that in consequence of the Peloponnesian war, which arose from the jealous differences between Sparta and Athens, the incomparable harmony of Greek life was marred by discords; yet the greatness of Hellenic life long continued in its beauty, although no longer in noble dignity, but often clouded by passions; and it was architecture peculiarly, which, in this epoch, freed itself from the last vestiges of its rude, heavy, archaic tendency, and in noble grace and splendid purity created its most marvelous works.

Henceforth in Greece proper, especially in Athens and the region allied with it, is found the starting-point of the progress of the whole culture of the time, and consequently of architectural creations.* The transition from the earlier, severer style is best shown in the temple at Ægina, which seems to have been built immediately after the Persian wars, in honor of Pallas Athene. It is a peripteral building in the Doric style, with the inner rows of columns that belong to an hypæthral structure, and with those famous groups of statues in the pediments which are of such high importance in the history of sculpture. While this work is built of inferior material—limestone with a coating of stucco, only the roof-tiles and the sculptures being formed of marble—in the architectural works that are named below, the most excellent quality of white marble is combined with noble and harmonious form, fostering and making possible the highest perfection. Thus we find the so-called Temple of Theseus at Athens, erected under Cimon, and one of the noblest works of Attic-Doric art. Moderate in dimensions, 45 feet broad by 104 feet long, it has a peripteral colonnade of six pillars by thirteen. The forms here breathe forth the purest harmony, the noblest softness and grace; the

*J. Stuart and N. Revett, "The Antiquities of Athens"; 5 vols., London, 1762. "The Unedited Antiquities of Attica," by the Society of Dilettanti; folio, London.

columns are more slender and farther apart than those of the Sicilian buildings (see the plan, Fig. 114); the echinus of the capitals exhibits a full, moderately projecting profile; and the other members of the upper part of the building harmonize with these proportions in delicate rhythmic feeling. Added to all this, the building, which was built of Pentelic marble, is in excellent preservation, and contains some superior sculpture, consisting of a representation in relief on the pronaos, besides the reliefs in the metopes of the façade. Nearly contemporaneous with this beautiful monument of art are two works of very small dimensions, exhibiting to us the Ionic style as conceived by the Athenians, executed, beside, in a manner thoroughly plain and unassuming. One of these is the now ruined temple on the Ilissus; the other, probably of a somewhat later date, is the Temple of Nikè

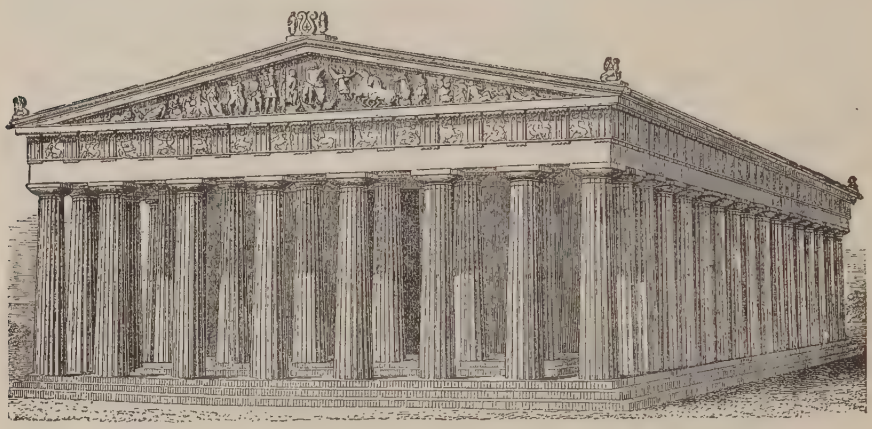


Fig. 128. The Parthenon.

Apteros (the wingless goddess of victory),* erected at the entrance to the Acropolis. Each has a small cella with a prostyle of four pillars as a portico and an opisthodome.

The most magnificent structure arose, a little later, while Pericles had the direction of public affairs and Athens possessed undisputed headship, both political and intellectual. Of those shrines of the Acropolis destroyed by the Persians, the Parthenon (Fig. 128) was the first to be rebuilt, the splendid restoration being accomplished, after sixteen years of labor, in the year B.C. 438. This magnificent temple to the goddess of the city was erected by the masters Ictinus and Callicrates, and was adorned by Phidias and his pupils with rich and splendid sculptures. It was Phidias, also, who at the same time

*Wingless, to express the hope that victory might never desert Athens.

created the colossal chryselephantine image of the goddess for her temple; that is, covered with plates of gold and ivory, of which probably the gold furnished the drapery, the ivory, the nude parts. This

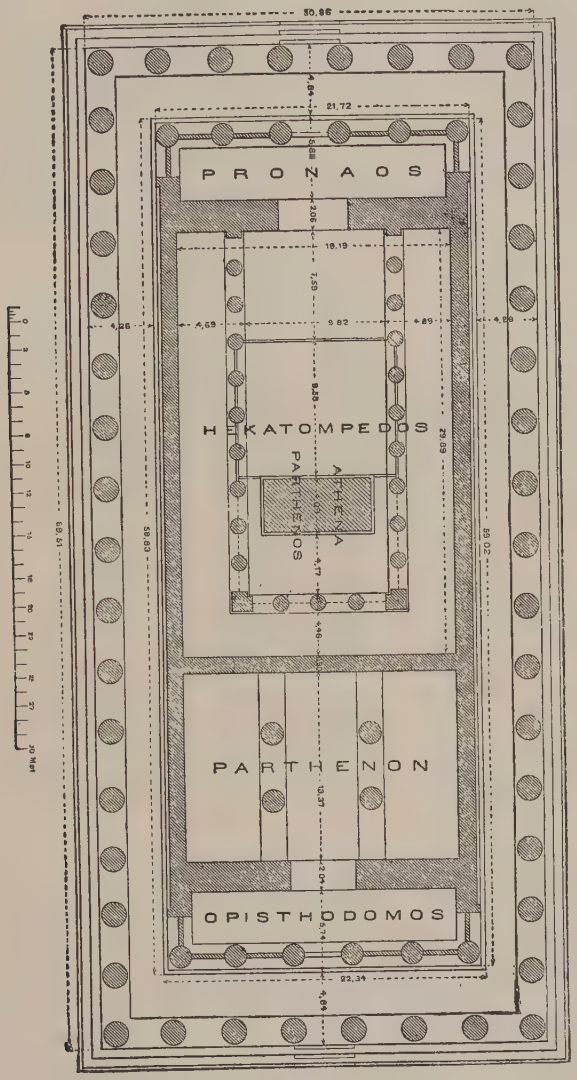


Fig. 129. Ground-Plan of the Parthenon.

and the statue of Zeus, named above, are the most important works of this class of which we have any record. The building was peripteral, of considerable dimensions, 101 feet broad by 227 feet long, with eight pillars at each end, and seventeen on each side (Fig. 129).

The columns are 34 feet in height, and 6 feet in diameter at their base. The Doric style here reached a still greater grace and lightness than even in the Temple of Theseus, and the whole treatment of the detail imparts a no less delicate and elastic vitality to the members. Passing through the pronaos, a cella was reached 63 feet broad by 98 feet long, divided into three naves by two rows of pillars; and above these, undoubtedly, as in the temple at Pæstum, there was a gallery with a second row of columns. At the back of the cella, accessible from the posticum, there was a special opisthodom, in which, probably, the state treasures were preserved. The rich sculptured orna-

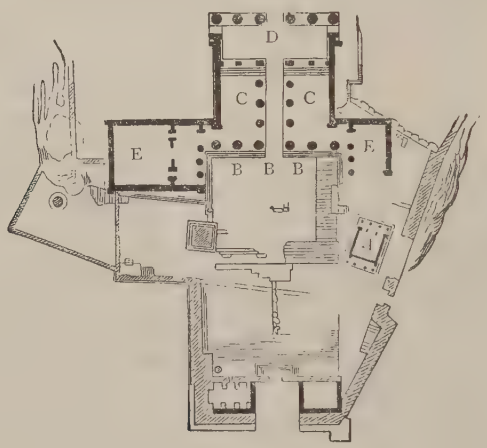


Fig. 130. Ground-Plan of the Propylæa and Neighboring Buildings; Acropolis of Athens.
A, Temple of Nikè Apteros. B B B, the outer gateway, with its six Doric columns. C C, the six Ionic columns. D, the inner gateway with its six Doric columns. E E, the wing-buildings.

ment of the splendid building bears witness at the same time to its importance as a festive temple of the goddess. Contests of giants, centaurs, and similar mythical scenes, filled the metopes; grand groups of statues in both pediments depicted the birth of Athene and her contest with Poseidon; and lastly, within the peristyle, an unbroken frieze of masterly reliefs extended round the cella, perhaps representing the great ceremonial procession at the Panathenaic festival. This temple, transformed by the Christians into a church dedicated to the Virgin, had defied the storms of time in indestructible beauty, until in the seventeenth century (1687), in a war between the Venetians and the Turks, the Venetians, under Count Königsmark, threw a bomb upon the marble roof of the Parthenon, bursting the wondrous structure into two ruined halves; and at the beginning of

the nineteenth century the British Earl of Elgin, having obtained a permit from the court of Constantinople, wrenched from the walls and the entablature the slabs of the cella, frieze, and metopes, leaving the building a ruin. The sculptures so removed, as well as many previously fallen, are in the British Museum, but a few slabs of the cella frieze remain in the building, and others are in the Acropolis Museum.

No less famous was the magnificent gateway, the Propylæa, which was also erected under Pericles, by the architect Mnesicles, at the western entrance to the Acropolis, between the years 436 and 431 B.C. Built with equal grace and equal nobleness of proportion, it displays at the same time the Doric and Ionic styles harmoniously combined. The outer gateway, which has a breadth of 58 feet, is designed as a porch of considerable depth, to which admission is given by five openings between six Doric columns (Fig. 130, B). Within is a roofed hall, divided into three naves by six pillars placed in pairs (Fig. 130 C C), from which we pass by five doors (one principal and four subordinate) into another porch, corresponding with that in front, and opening like it by a colonnade of six Doric pillars (Fig. 130, D). The passage shown in the court, between the two rows of Ionic columns, C C, is left with the natural rock as its only floor, and was evidently meant for beasts and for chariots to pass. Upon both the outer colonnades a complete Doric entablature was placed, but this is curiously modified by the two flanking colonnades of three columns each, the order of these colonnades being also Doric, but on a much smaller scale. The forms of the temple structure are here applied; but at the same time they are modified to suit the especial object of the building. Thus two metopes were placed over the space between the central columns, because the considerable width of the central gate required it. Attached to each side of the porch, as projecting wings, there were smaller buildings (Fig. 130, E E), opening by Doric colonnades into the inclosed central hall, but presenting their closed side-walls on either flank. Especially admirable, however, was the rich ceiling of the three-naved hall, both on account of the bold span of its beams, and the magnificent decoration of the spaces between them (the coffers), which were brilliant with gold and colors. The Ionic form of the columns in the interior also corresponded with this festive, cheerful character; while the two rows of columns on the outside, together with the rest of the exterior of the building, exhibited the seriousness and dignity of the Doric style.

On the other hand, we find the grace and splendor of the Attic-Ionic style in the third magnificent building of the Acropolis, a temple used for the worship of Athene, combined with the ancient shrine of

Erechtheus and the Pandrosium.* This building, commonly called the Erechtheium, comprised many different shrines in several connected courts, and contained not merely the sacred image of the goddess, the tombs of the old heroes of the land, the shrine of the nymph Pandrosus and of Cecrops, but also a number of highly venerated tokens of divinity. This temple also had been destroyed by the Persians; but after the death of Pericles its rebuilding was commenced;

Fig. 131. Northwest View of the Erechtheum.

and recently discovered inscriptions testify that it was not wholly completed in the year 409 B.C. The main building (see Fig. 131) extends in moderate dimensions (37 feet broad by 73 feet long) from east to west, terminating in the east with a splendid porch of six Ionic pillars, and in the west with a wall, the upper part of which had been rebuilt in Roman times with an upper story, having six half-pil-

* Cf. Inwood, "The Erechtheion at Athens"; folio, London, 1827. F. von Quast, "Das Erectheion zu Athen," etc.; Berlin, 1840.

lars, with windows between them. This part of the design was therefore opposed to the regular ground-plan of the Greek temple. But on the north side of the western half of the temple there was a stately and unusually magnificent porch of four columns in front and two others in return on the flanks; all the details here being much more rich and splendid than in the eastern porch. Passing through a great door, the elegant sculptured frame of which is still in preservation, the western part of the main building was reached; and, proceeding in a straight line, a second porch, smaller than the one on the north side, was arrived at, built in corresponding design on the south side. Not satisfied with the richness of fancy already displayed in the two first-named porticos, the architect here had recourse to the noble human form in the place of columns; and six statues of Athenian maidens, Caryatides, as they are called, placed upon a high parapet wall, supported the elegant Ionic roof of the porch. In what manner all these various courts were used, and for what they were designed, is a matter of constant dispute among archæologists, owing to the sad destruction of the whole of the interior. The opinion generally received, with some degree of probability is, that the eastern half of the main temple, separated by a wall from the western building, was the proper temple of Athene; that a second partition wall, with an open row of columns parallel with the first wall, extended from the north to the south porch; and that, at all events, the Pandrosium lay in the western part. These investigations are rendered still more difficult by the fact that the building was erected on sloping ground, so that the eastern porch and the whole south side lie considerably higher than all the rest. Apart from these obscurities, however, the pure artistic beauty of the work shines forth all the more clearly. The Attic-Ionic style here reaches a luxuriance and richness of decoration that carries it beyond its peculiar character of chaste elegance. Even the bases of the columns are richly varied from the usual design, and the tori are ornamented with horizontal flutings and wicker-work in relief (see Fig. 120). A brilliant crescendo of the Ionic motive is displayed in the capitals, the cushion-like members being arranged in double rows, one above another, and rolled together in the richest spiral involution; the sculptured echinus is enriched above with a band of wicker-work; and the upper end of the shaft is carved with a rich band of flower-and-leaf ornament. The other parts are also decorated with similar magnificence, especially the capitals of the antæ and the crowning moldings of the walls.

To give an idea of the perfection with which the Greeks understood how to bring into one design an extensive group of buildings with the utmost artistic effect, we have inserted a view of the Acropo-

lis of Athens (Fig. 132). A broad winding road betwen two flights of steps* leads up to the splendid gateway of the Propylæa, the open colonnades of which rise between the side-walls of the two wings. On the right, boldly enthroned on the rocky declivity, stands the elegant Temple of Nikè; while over the roof of the central building towers the brazen colossal statue of Athene, executed by Phidias. The great temple of the goddess, the Parthenon, rises with its forest of pillars and its richly sculptured pediment farther to the right, above

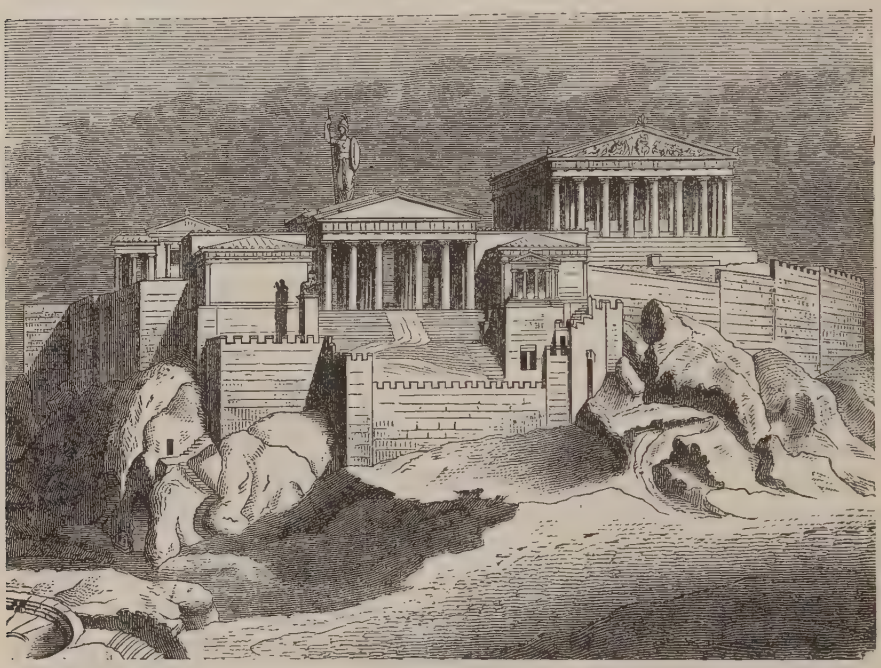


Fig. 132. The Acropolis of Athens, restored. There are errors in the side buildings of the Propylæa.

the walls of the fortification; while in the background to the left a part of the west front of the Erechtheium, with its northern portico, is visible. The whole forms an architectural picture, exhibiting to us in every line the glory of Athens at this period of her grandeur.

In other places, also—for instance, in Attica and the northern parts of the Peloponnesus—the new and brilliant development in the art of architecture accomplished by Athens must have exercised a decided influence on the style of the time. Thus we know that Ictinus, the

*These flights of steps are thought to be of the Roman time, or even much later: and in that case the three steps of the actual stereobate were based upon the rocky ground, from which the visitor stepped directly upon them.

architect of the Parthenon, built the splendid Temple of Demeter at Eleusius, to which subsequently other magnificent buildings were added; the remains also of the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnus, and the traces that have been discovered of the famous Temple of Jupiter at Olympia, all point to the influence of the Athenian school of architecture. Further, we know that the Temple of Apollo at Bassæ, near Phigalia in Arcadia, which is still partly preserved, and which was also distinguished for its sculptured friezes, was built after the design of Ictinus. This building displays a remarkable combination of two styles, the exterior being executed in the noble Doric style of Attica; while the two rows of columns in the interior, which support the roof of the hypæthral building, follow the Ionic form.

The Third Epoch,

which lasts till the decline of Grecian liberty, shows architecture, it is true, still in varied activity, but no longer adhering to the chaste, harmonious proportions of the former age. Influenced by that loosening of the federal bonds which brought Greece under the dominion of the Macedonians, there arose a striving for attractive effect, and even for a certain piquancy in art; and, owing to the various relations with Asia entered into by Alexander the Great, Oriental luxuriance and sensuality found their way into Hellenic culture. Architecture was now employed principally in designs for theatres (as in the cities of Asia Minor), in splendid palaces for the new capitals (as in Alexandria), and in the luxurious enlargement and adorning of private dwellings, which before had been simple and modest. It was especially employed in massive designs for grand, complex works, and even for entire cities, in executing which, undoubtedly, a general harmony of effect was aimed at. The Doric style was almost wholly lost sight of, or was preserved only in impure forms; on the other hand, the Corinthian style, with its magnificent decoration, must be regarded as the true child of this period.

The transition to this period is marked by the Temple of Athene Alea at Tegea, erected by the sculptor Scopas previous to the year 350 B. C., and famed among the ancients as the largest and most splendid temple of the Peloponnesus. Its importance consisted in the fact that here the three orders of architecture were employed in one design, all equally contributing to the general effect; the peristyle being built in the Doric order, while the columns of the interior belonged to the Ionic and Corinthian styles. Among other temples in Greece we must also mention the Doric Temple of Jupiter at Memea in the Peloponnesus, and the extensive additions which were made to the

shrine of Eleusis, chiefly comprising an inner and an outer propylæon, the latter designed and executed in strict accordance with the central building of the famous Athenian Propylæa; also the buildings at Epidauros, of which one is named above. In Athens itself there are especially some smaller monuments of another kind, in which the graceful elegance and decorative beauty of this later style are attractively exhibited. Foremost among these are some choragic monuments—memorials erected by private persons in honor of a victory obtained by them in public musical contests. The motive of the design in these buildings was to obtain a support for the tripod, which had been received as the reward of victory, which, in the true Greek spirit, was to be placed in the public view as a consecrated gift. For this purpose, either a column was used, the capital of which supported the tripod, or a more extensive substructure was formed for it. The richest and most beautiful of these monuments is that of Lysicrates, erected in honor of a victory obtained in the year 334 B.C. (Fig. 133 and Fig. 121). A slender circular building, surrounded by elegant Corinthian half-columns, rises on a square basement, terminating in a beautifully sculptured frieze and rich cornice, and covered with a marble block five feet in diameter, carved into the form of a flattened dome. On the top of this monument, which

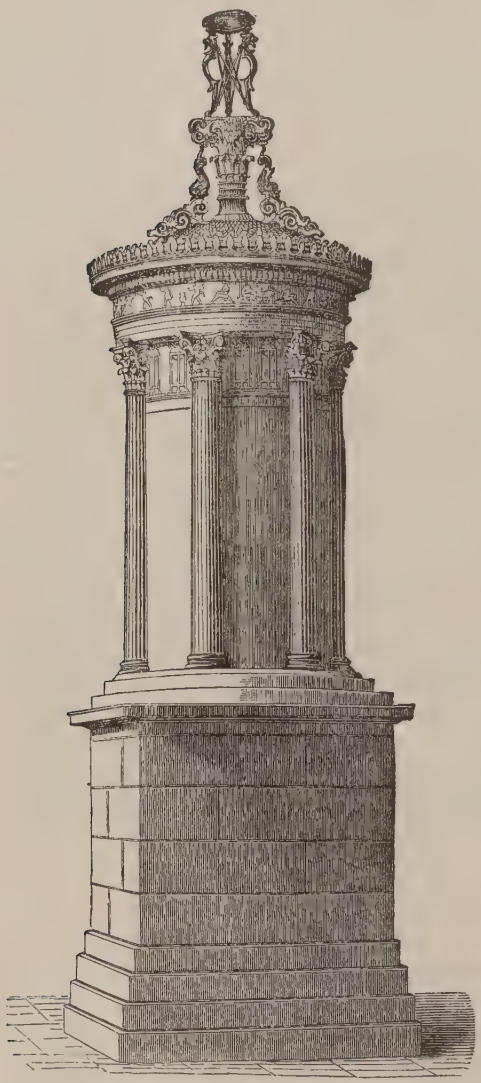


Fig. 133. Monument of Lysicrates.

is 34 feet high, and built of pure Pentelic marble, there rises a rich marble stand, adorned with acanthus leaves and branches, like some marvelous flower with its broad corolla, destined to receive and support the tripod. More simple in its character is the Monument of Thrasyllus, erected in the year 320 B. C., a structure of elegant pillars with an entablature, forming an entrance to a rocky cave, and bearing the tripod on its platform. Among these we may reckon lastly the so-called Tower of the Winds, really a clepsydra, or Water Clock; and known as the Horologion of Andronicus Cyrrhestes. It is 26 feet wide by 42 high (Fig. 134). Executed like the others in marble, it is an octagonal, tower-like building, with two porticos on two sides, each supported by two columns of simple Corinthian design, and with a semicircular apsis projecting from a third side. In the interior were contained the works for a water clock, and on the outside we find engraved the lines of a sun dial. On the walls are figures of the eight winds represented in high relief, one on the frieze of each side of the building. This interesting monument is, at the same time, a good instance of the ingenuity and fancy by which the Greeks elevated into artistic beauty even the most utilitarian objects. An aqueduct belonging to it is curiously formed in arcades, each of which, however, is cut out of a single marble block. The true art of the keystone, and of the arch depending upon it, does not seem, according to all appearance, to have been known to the Greeks of the pre-Roman time.

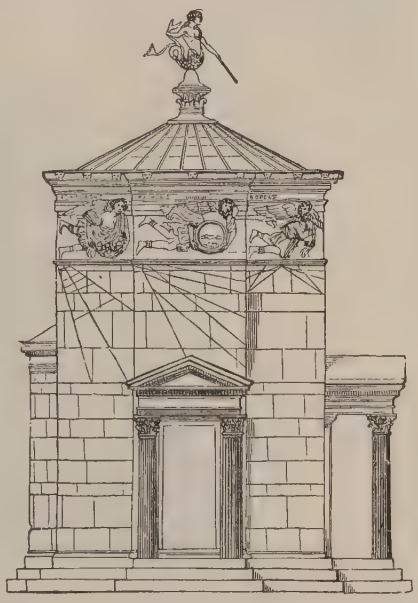


Fig. 134. So-called Tower of the Winds, at Athens.

The western colonies of Greece have fewer remains to show of monuments belonging to this later period; yet among the Sicilian works we may mention as the most important a remarkable tomb at Agrigentum, called, without reason, the Tomb of Theron (Fig. 135). Square in plan, and rising with a tapering profile, the small tower-like building is interesting from the mixture of different styles in its decoration; the superstructure having Ionic half-columns at the

angles, supporting a Doric entablature with a triglyph frieze. We may here also mention the so-called Temple of Demeter at Pæstum, a peripteral building of small dimensions, which, in the treatment of its details, gives evidence of a gradual decline in the true appreciation of the Doric forms.

A number of splendid monuments, most of them, unfortunately, however, in a deplorable state of decay from natural causes, are spread over Asia Minor.* In these the Ionic style attains its utmost richness and magnificence. Thus there is, for instance, the Temple of

Fig. 135. The So-Called Tomb of Theron at Agrigentum.

Athene, at Priene in Caria, built by Pytheus about the year 340 B.C., and consecrated by Alexander the Great himself; it is a peripteral temple, with six columns at each end, and eleven on each side. It is 64 feet broad by 116 feet long, and is a peculiarly luxurious yet noble example of the Ionic style (Fig. 119). The most splendid work, however, of this group, is the famous Temple of the Didymæan Apollo at Miletus, a dipteral building, with ten pillars at each end, and twenty-one on each side. It is 164 feet broad, and 303 feet long. Besides some remains of Ionic columns of the peristyle, the fragments are preserved of the perfectly developed Corinthian capital of one of the engaged columns at the entrance, as well as some beautiful

*"Ionian Antiquities," by the Society of Dilettanti; 3 vols., folio, London. Texier, "Description de l'Asie Mineure." etc.; 3 vols., folio, Paris.

pilaster capitals (Fig. 136), and a sculptured frieze from the interior, representing griffins moving from either side toward a lyre, and beautiful leaf ornamentation. To this period also, lastly, belong the Temple of Bacchus at Teos, built by Hermogenes toward the end of the fourth century—an Ionic peripteral temple, with eight pillars at the ends; the magnificent Temple of Diana at Magnesia, built by the same master, a pseudo-dipteral, 98 feet in breadth, and 216 feet in length; the Temple of Venus at Aphrodisias, constructed on a similar plan, with eight pillars by thirteen; and, lastly, the Temple of Jupiter at Aizani, also a pseudo-dipteral building, 68 feet broad, and 114 feet long, with eight pillars by fifteen, which have excessive slenderness of form, their height being equal to ten of their diameters. One of the most important architectural works of this period is the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus,* (Fig. 137), the colossal tomb erected

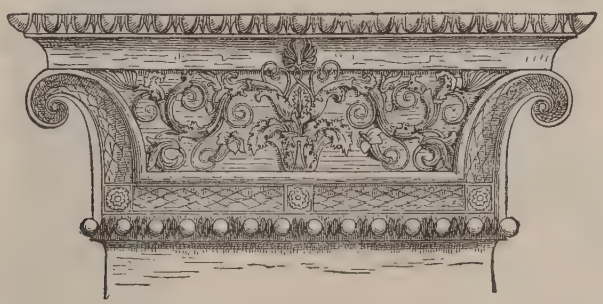


Fig. 136. Capital from the Apollo Temple at Miletus.

by Queen Artemisia to her husband Mausolus, who died 354 B.C., which combined, like the before-mentioned Nereid monument at Xanthus, the old Oriental tomb-design with the elegant forms of Greek art. Above a rectangular, almost square substructure, which contained the tomb, rose an Ionic peristyle temple, with nine pillars at each end and eleven on the sides, and decorated with a magnificent frieze. The roof formed, in true Western Asiatic fashion, a terraced pyramid, the platform on the top of which was crowned with a colossal marble quadriga, in which was the statue of Mausolus. Considerable remains have been excavated of the rich sculptured ornaments of this building, in which the first masters of the age, such as Scopas and Leochares, emulated each other.

Finally, we must here mention works at Olympia; the Metroon, a small peripteral temple of the later Doric period, with Corinthian engaged columns inside; and the Philippeion, a circular temple,

* C. T. Newton, "A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidæ"; London, 1862.

erected by Philip of Macedon after the battle of Chaeroneia. This building is surrounded by a colonnade of Ionic columns, and its interior is also broken by Corinthian engaged columns. Then must be named the splendid buildings of the citadel of Pergamon, in Asia Minor, which was excavated and explored by the Prussian government; the temple of Athena, a Doric peripteros somewhat after the design of the latter part of the fourth century,* and connected with this the beautiful colonnades, added later under Eumenes II., sur-

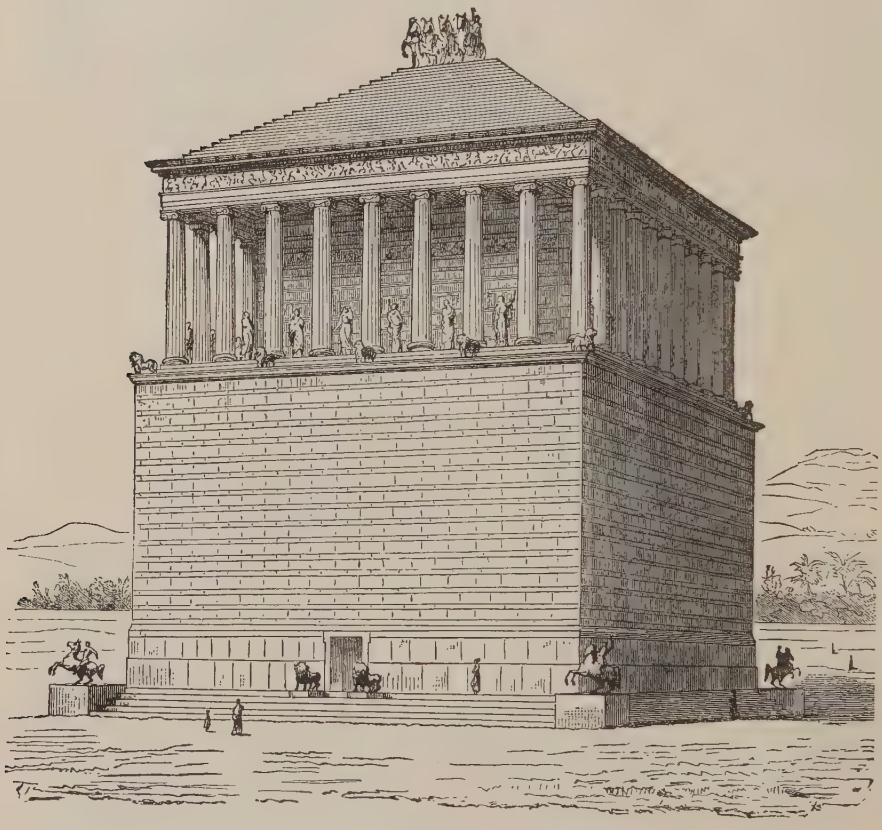


Fig. 137. Mausoleum at Halicarnassus.

rounding the temenos in two stories, on the north and south sides. Above all we must remark the Altar of Zeus, an almost quadrangular structure, with a broad double staircase out in the front and a large

* "Alterthümer von Pergamos," vol. ii. of "Das Heiligthum der Athena Polias Nikephoros," by R. Bohn; Berlin, 1885. Plates.

platform encompassed by an elegant Ionic portico. The most important parts of this unexampled monument are the friezes in relief, of which more is said in the section Sculpture.

3. *Greek Plastic Art.*

A.—SUBJECT AND FORM.

The imagination of the Greeks delighted in sculpture; the art, therefore, in which they took precedence of all other nations, and will ever take precedence, was the plastic art. The very character of their temple architecture was thoroughly plastic; and it is not too much to say that that architecture would have been different but for the early development of the arts of form independent of utility and of construction. Architectural decoration, as understood by the Indians, or afterward by the people of mediæval Europe, hardly reached a great development among the Greeks; they were so perfectly content with sculpture of the human form perfectly developed. We find the deeper ground for this phenomenon lying in the natural endowment of the Greek character, which presents an unusual balance between mental and physical qualities. No flaw in these two agents engendered either reflection or sentimentality; harmoniously blended, reason and sentiment found in each other alternately their limitation, their check, and their support. In healthful exuberance and power, body and mind coöperated with each other. The equal nurture of all innate powers and capacities belongs to the idea of a free-born Greek; and only he who had arrived at perfection in all artistic and gymnastic exercises obtained the honorable title of "noble and good." But never was any one allowed to develop his power either for his own personal enjoyment or for the adornment of his own existence; every man belonged wholly and entirely to the common public life, and individual power and talent was valued only in its relation to the state.

From these circumstances plastic art received its definite character. Where the individual in himself was of so little importance, where the reference to general and clearly defined aims governed everything, artistic taste must have applied itself rather to the representation of outward events than to the depicting of an inward mental condition. Where individual life in general receded behind the common interests of the state, plastic art must have devoted itself rather to the glorification of gods and heroes than of ordinary human beings; rather to the ideal events of legends than the real doings of daily life. Even the historical life of the nation, when, like some fresh spring, it

forced its way into the creations of art, was transformed or idealized into the spirit of myth or legend. As the moral and political ideas of different races, or the interests common to the country at large, were embodied in the forms of the gods, so did plastic art find in these its first and highest inducement to creative activity. Poetry had even preceded it in this, and in the immortal verse of Homer had first given fixed forms to the gods of Olympus and to the old legends of the Hellenic heroes. From this store of distinct and finished creations later dramatic poetry drew its riches; and even the idealistic philosophy of a Plato may be traced to it. The nation looked upon these ideas and images as sacred, and only by reverential adherence to them could plastic art take possession of the same material. Hence, in the whole history of Hellenic life, we find this adherence to tradition, this fostering of the transmitted type, which always remained the same at the core, and which progressive stages of development only endeavored to invest with a richer and more life-like veil.

Hence Greek art found its highest splendor in the images of the gods. Homer had glorified the national conceptions in his verse, and had represented the gods in perfect human form, as acting and suffering, gracious or angry, endowed with all human passions. If the East had filled its spirit with a mystical system of belief, with uncomprehended legends and profound fantastic subtleties, and therefore could portray the forms of the gods only by symbolical divergencies from nature, producing monstrous deformity of the general idea, in the clear pure myths of the Greeks all misty immensity vanished, and man created the gods after his own image. Although at all times whole stages of child-like helplessness had to be passed through, in which man only succeeded in forming a puppet-like idol; although, in the earliest Greek divinities, much of the monstrous creations of the East was still preserved—as in the hundred-breasted Diana of the Ephesians, or the four-armed Apollo of the Lacedæmonians—still, the clear Greek mind soon discovered the right way of investing its gods with the sublimity and beauty of the human form. This way was the observation and apprehension of nature. The expressive beauty of that Southern race assisted the instinct of the artificer by sharpening and practising the eye in the contemplation of beauty. Still more favorable were the free habits of the Hellenes, which allowed the body an unfettered development; the life of the free-born citizen prevented the stunted growth arising from sedentary occupation; and, lastly, the exercises of the gymnasium, which early steeled the body, rendered it flexible, and allowed it to attain to an harmonious perfection. Thus the race itself became more beautiful, manly, and noble; and at the same time these public gymnasiums

afforded artists an abundance of the most beautiful images of youthful physical strength, dexterity, and grace.

But there was another circumstance, also, which accustomed the eye of the sculptor to beauty; and this lay in the drapery, which clung to the body in such a noble, expressive manner that every form and movement was marked by the rich fall of the folds. Simple and natural in style, the Greek dress consisted of a longer or shorter undergarment (the chiton), a sleeveless shirt, worn without a girdle, and a mantle-like upper garment (the himation), which was only a large four-square piece of cloth thrown over the shoulder and the left arm, and drawn either above or below the right arm. Hence the "cut" of the dress did not rest with the tailor, but every man arranged his own garment; and the manner in which this was done betrayed the character and culture of the wearer.

While thus the life itself gave the artist every opportunity to make the beautiful his own, and to steep in it all his ideas, and saturate them with it, the ideal origin of his art urged him to imbue it with importance. Only grand and universal characteristics could give to the figures of gods or heroes the stamp of power. All casual and arbitrary forms were therefore justly set aside, and attention was given only to the essential and standard type. As Greek art aimed not so much at a delineation of the mental life as of bodily movement and attitudes, the importance of the body as a whole, asserted itself rather than that of the countenance, with its special expression of whatever might be passing in the mind. Thus it was that Hellenic plastic art had long understood how to represent the human body both in repose and in violent action, while the head remained stiff and inanimate. But even when it had reached the highest point of development, the art that was concerned with portraying physical beauty could not allow the harmony of any part of the work to be disturbed; and in this spirit it fashioned the character of the head, never investing it with that superior and dominant life which bursts out when art aims at representing the emotions of the mind and its moods and feelings.

Even in the heads of Hellenic statues, in the "Greek profile," this becomes evident. The varied human countenance appears reduced to one common type. In the whole form of the face one general character is decidedly expressed. The features follow each other with soft transitions; yet each is clearly formed and finished, and no part comes prominently forward at the expense of another. The organs of understanding appear only in due proportion with those which express the faculty of sensuous enjoyment; the brow is, indeed, by nature, superior to the parts around the mouth, but this preponder-

ance is not increased by an especially great development. Delicately arched, and rather low than high, rather narrow than broad, the brow passes, almost as if in continuation, into the marked and prominent nose, without any indentation in the profile, and so on into the lower parts of the face; thus expressing, in the pregnant language of form, no contrast, but rather an harmonious combination of mind and sensuous feeling. The large, well-cut eye lies in its broad, deep socket, betraying both in position and direction a firm taking hold of reality. The cheek softly swells sideways from its lower edge to the well-formed ear; and the curve is continued downward to the chin, which projects with a strong curve, and, with the full but well-defined lips, exhibits energy and animal spirits. The whole face is formed into a fine oval, and is rendered perfect by a similarly well-proportioned cranium. The entire outline of the head is refined, slender, and rather high than broad. Slight deviations from this form suffice to intimate the various differences in the characters represented, and to express the powerful and the tender, the manly and the feminine, blooming youth, maturity, or old age. Here, too, Greek art keeps within the limits of general types of character, without striving after individual traits. It is satisfied with the expression of the highest sovereign will and sovereign mind in Zeus; with that of lofty womanly dignity in Hera; of heroic, manly power in Hercules; of youthful beauty, either of a refined or luxurious character, in Apollo and Bacchus; of perfect grace in Aphrodite; of noble, just wisdom in Pallas Athene; of maiden-like vigor in Artemis; of manly adroitness and cunning in Hermes; and other similar creations, in which the round of human characters and qualities are typically established in broad lineaments, and which serve as a general standard. Whatever lay beyond this, passed also beyond the power of Hellenic perception; and it would have been perfectly incompatible with the Greek nature to represent individual character in the modern sense. It is true that portrait statues were known among the Greeks; but we may suppose that they were not intended to emphasize individual peculiarities, but to preserve the memory of the man in idealized features as that of an able and excellent being. That he was such, was proved by the fact that the state had decreed such an honorary statue as a reward. And here, again, the idea was expressed, that the individual man, in the best days of Greece, was in no case to be portrayed for himself, but was an object for notice and representation only in his relation to the community.

The fundamental object of Hellenic plastic art—namely, to embody only the idealized and generalized type—perhaps appears nowhere so strikingly as in those representations which seem especially

to demand a naturalistic treatment; namely, those of animals. He who would ask what the kingdom of the "irrational creature" has to do with the ideal, need only be referred to the Greek sculptures. These teach us how the ancient sculptors, even in this apparently subordinate sphere, by a grand conception of the essential elements, and by the exclusion of all that is merely accidental, produced works which, as it were, transport the laws of physical form into a higher sphere, and thus make their animal creations fit to appear among the gods and heroes of the Greek Olympus.

But here, however, it resulted as a necessary consequence, that the fact of nature was everywhere obliged to yield when it came into opposition with the principle of ideal art. Hence the larger animals were, without hesitation, fashioned smaller than nature dictates, when the composition of the artistic whole required it, or when the subordinate importance of the animal was to be expressed; thus, for instance, in the incomparable frieze-reliefs of the Parthenon, in which the horses are very much smaller in proportion than any which could possibly be used for battle and for burden, and in many other places, as especially in late Greek pictorial reliefs. Even fantastically devised combinations of human and animal forms are treated in a manner utterly opposed to Oriental conceptions. Among the Greeks they are regarded only as subordinate creatures, while in the East they serve to express the highest divine beings. If a Greek wished to give to a horse, for instance, other than equine qualities, the head and breast, as the nobler parts, are fashioned in human form, and the limbs of animals other than human are reserved for the lower organs.

In all this we readily perceive the great contrast which Hellenic plastic art presents to that of the East. Fantastic and naturalistic ideas appear side by side in the East, without being blended together: the one we find in the embodiment of mythological conceptions; the other in the chronicle-like representation of royal life with its ceremonial, or in that of historical events, or of every-day life. All this is, however, only superficially conceived, and amounts solely to accurate characterization and a faithful portrayal of events. Among the Greeks, where imagination and understanding harmoniously intermingle, the two extremes lose their one-sidedness, and blend into a noble ideal conception, equally removed from that fantastic art which thought to portray the divine by shapeless deformity, as from that homely prose which never looks below the surface of actual life, and never surmises a deeper meaning. And how could it have been otherwise, when in religious matters, among the Greeks, the forms of the gods were created as ideal embodiments of their innermost nature by the same free national mind which gave its own impress to

their political life, and thus, in every artistic work it produced, celebrated its own glorification? Hence, therefore, the cheerful, calm self-content, the quiet grandeur and freedom, in which creations of Hellenic art stand before us.

By this idealism the application of the plastic art was also determined. Emanating from religious ideas, its seat of activity was especially in the temple. As the image of the god soon rose from the rude, puppet-like idol to the ideal form endowed with mind and life, the same transformation becomes apparent in the material; the gaudily painted, carved wooden image being supplanted by statues made—or rather, with the surface formed—of gold and ivory. These costly colossal works are noted above; and it may be mentioned here that great care was needed to keep them in good condition; especially were they continually anointed with olive oil. Of another kind are the acroliths, wooden images, clothed, or painted, or even covered with thin plates of gold; the nude parts—the heads, arms, and feet—being formed of marble. Soon, however, the wood was completely supplanted by the materials of white marble and bronze; a relic of the old splendor of color and material remained behind in the polychromatic decoration of the statues.* Not merely the hem of the garments, but sometimes the whole attire, was colored; and not merely weapons, diadems, and similar appendages were rendered conspicuous by gilding, but even the hair was frequently gilded, and the pupil of the eye darkened. In the bronze statues, the hem of the garment was frequently adorned with ornaments of precious metal, the white of the eye was formed of silver, and the pupil by dark precious stones. The greatest find of painted statues ever made was that of 1886, on the Acropolis rock in Athens; and the statues are kept in the Acropolis Museum.

Besides this, the temple claimed its plastic ornamentation, and in its various parts afforded abundant opportunity for sculpture. The pediment contained groups of statues, in the management of which the difficulties of the space were ingeniously overcome: the metopes in the Doric temples were adorned with alto-reliefs; and wherever, as in the Ionic building, continuous friezes presented themselves, they were used for larger connected compositions in relief. While in the buildings of the East architecture and sculpture intermingled without regard to limitation, in the Greek building the clear distribution of spaces in the structure itself allotted certain parts in which the

* Cf. the paper by F. Kugler, "Ueber die Polychromie der Grieschischen Architektur und Sculptur," reprinted with additions in the "Kleinen Schriften zur Kunstgeschichte," vol. i., p. 265 *et seq.* Hittorf, "Restitution du Temple d'Empédocle à Selinonte"; Paris, 1851. Semper, "Der Stil"; 2 vols., Frankfort-on-Main, 1860.

sculptor could freely and independently insert his work in harmony with the whole organism. Thus plastic art became independent of the sway of architectural authority; yet at the same time it was restrained by the laws of the building it adorned, so that now for the first time it was able to develop its ideas in beautiful freedom, but without extravagance. The first law of this style was to represent the human body either in noble repose or in free activity, even to the expression of passionate emotion, and at the same time, by the rhythm of the masses and by a due regard to symmetry, to bring out successfully the harmony of the architectural organism. Thus everything coöperated to produce that perfect beauty which arises from the blending of the freedom of individual life with the universal laws of art.

In what way this principle of Hellenic sculpture was gradually developed, and how it was modified in the different epochs, will better appear in our historical review.

B.—THE EPOCHS OF GREEK ART, AND THEIR REMAINS.

As in architecture, so also in the sculpture of the Hellenes, a long course of development, covering centuries, is hidden from our knowledge. The scanty remains which exist afford us but an inadequate idea of the primitive attempts of the people; yet even these must have been preceded by many stages. The Greeks themselves, in the historical period, knew but little more than we, and for them tradition clothed the birth and the growth of the plastic art in the poetic garment of legend. These legends tell us of the families of the Telchines and the Dactyli—undoubtedly companies of artisans, as their names imply; that of the one pointing to the art of smelting metals, and that of the other referring to handiwork in general. The decoration of the oldest shrines, and the most ancient images of the gods, were ascribed to them; and so fabulously old did these latter appear to the Greeks themselves, as to give rise to the legend that they had fallen from heaven. It is evident that, in those early statues, art had not yet been awakened; rather it was left to the pious imagination of the faithful to worship these almost shapeless, gaudily painted, dressed-up wooden puppets, as symbols only of the gods. The name of Dædalus, the cunning carver (δαιδάλλειν, to carve cunningly), not only reveals the fact that the earliest idols of the gods in Greece were images carved of wood, but with his name is associated a great advance made in their artistic treatment, since we are told that he opened the hitherto-closed eyes of the statues, and gave action both to the

legs, which up to his time had remained unseparated, and to the arms, which hung stiffly down close to the sides of the body.

The art of that heroic period meets us with great distinctness and variety in the verse of Homer. We there find special mention made of the working of precious metals; and vessels and implements of every kind—pitchers, goblets, bowls, armor, sword-belts, and shields —are decorated with rich figure-subjects. The most famous work of this kind, the shield of Achilles, forged by Hephæstus himself, was entirely covered with metaphorical scenes of peaceful shepherd life, the bustle of a town, and contests of every kind. These representations belong to the very same class of subjects found in the reliefs of Assyria. It is the conception of actual life in its breadth and fulness, already conspicuous in the older art, which here evidently still in connection with Eastern art, becomes a subject for plastic representation.

The existing art of this early period is what we know as Mycenæan, and is described above. There is a great break, or gap, which at present we cannot fill up or supply, between that art and even the earliest monuments of true Grecian art; but we meet with more definite historical records of various artistic undertakings, ascribed to human authors as early as the seventh century B. C. With these we shall begin—

The First Epoch

of Greek plastic art, so far as it can be historically authenticated. One of the most important works of this kind was the chest of Cypselus, sent by the Cypselides, the tyrants of Corinth, as an offering to the Temple of Hera at Olympia. It was a chest of cedar-wood, covered with carved mythical representations, and inlaid work of gold and ivory. The description given by Pausanias of this remarkable work shows an important advance in the subjects represented, compared with the scenes of actual life to which the works of the Homeric period were confined. Here, for instance, in five rows, one above another, were scenes illustrating old Hellenic legends and mythical tales of the gods—a depth and widening of artistic conception which points to an important revolution in the general intellectual life. Another famous work must have belonged to the same class—the Throne of Apollo at Amyclæ, in the territory of Lacedæmon, a work executed by Bathycles of Magnesia, who lived about 550 B.C. Here, too, the sides were covered with mythological subjects in relief; the supports of the throne were statues; and the whole work sustained an ancient bronze image of Apollo, "in shape resembling

a pillar." With the production of such works as these, the improvement in technical skill went hand in hand; the invention of bronze-casting, for instance, which is ascribed to Rhœcus and Theodorus, the architects of the Temple of Hera at Samos.

Among the earliest artists, belonging to the beginning of the sixth century, must be counted Melas of Chios, who is reported to have been the first to practice technique in marble. This intimation has of late been confirmed to a certain extent by the discovery, at Delos, of a Nikè, unfortunately mutilated, which is attested by an inscription to be the joint product of Mikkiades, son of Melas, and of Archermos, son of the former.* While this remarkable work, in its rigid bearing, stereotyped smile, and conventional treatment of the hair and drapery, still appears severely archaic, it evinces great boldness on the part of the sculptors.†

Fig. 138. Bronze Head of Zeus from Olympia. (From Bötticher.)

While the names of these and other sculptors indicate a lively activity in art on the coast of Asia Minor and the adjacent islands, there is no lack of records respecting an equally eager pursuit of art in Greece proper, in the years before the beginning of the fifth century B.C. Here it seems to have been the Peloponnesus, and especially the ancient capitals Argos and Sicyon, which were the principal seats of artistic activity. The two famous masters, natives of Crete, Dipœnus and Scyllis, were employed there, and founded an influential school of art. Among their works we hear not only of images of the gods, but also of statues of heroes, often in large groups, in which, for the first time, marble was extensively used, as well as a combination of gold and ivory. Thus, in this period of great activity, both intellectual and technical progress worked together in bringing about a marked improvement in the art of sculpture.

Some of the monuments still preserved afford us a lively idea of what Greek art could achieve at this period.

Among several works of early antiquity brought to light on the site of Olympia, a bronze relief is probably one of the earliest.

* Though the inscription is imperfect, and several readings of it have been offered, the sense seems to be nearly as above.

† Cf. H. Heydemann, in Lützow's "Zeitschrift"; 1889, p. 81, with illustration.

The disposition, in rows, of its embossed reliefs, reminds one of descriptions of the Chest of Cypselus. On the lower field there is a winged Artemis, who holds two lions. The lifelike air of the lions forms a sharp contrast to the solemn repose of the goddess. Next comes Hercules in combat with a centaur, endowed with a complete human form, to which a horse's body is attached behind in the manner of the earliest representations of the centaur. Two winged griffins in a parallel position fill the third, and three eagles the fourth field. In the whole realm of Greek art, apparently nothing more ancient has so far come to light. Essentially more developed, but still very primitive, are several bronze statuettes representing Zeus; particularly, however, a bronze head of Zeus, distinctly revealing the earliest type of the god, with his long, pointed beard and curly double crown of locks (Fig. 138). Still more austere is the colossal head of Hera, fashioned of limestone, and, notwithstanding all its awkwardness, betraying the effort to give expression to the gentle and withal majestic nature of the supreme deity's consort. The lips parted by a smile and the large, dilated eyes of the goddess are very characteristic; and also the high diadem (polos), under which the closely flattened wavy locks are visible; and the ear, which is treated with uncommon awkwardness. A stage only little more advanced is indicated by the reliefs on the gable of the treasure-house of the Megarenes at Olympia, representing with archaic severity, yet with great vigor, the battle of the Titans. This is the earliest among such compositions of Greece known to us.

Fig. 139. Metope-Relief from Selinus.

By far the earliest works are the remarkable sculptures of the Temple at Assos, which are now in the museum of the Louvre in Paris. They consist of shallow reliefs, executed in blackish calcareous tufa, in a clumsy style that calls to mind the Assyrian monuments. Covering the architrave in unbroken succession, they approach nearer to Asiatic than to Greek art, even in their subjects; contests between lions and bulls; men at drinking-bouts; fantastic devices, such as sphinxes, centaurs, and men with fishes' tails. Next follow the metope reliefs of the oldest of the temples at Selinus, in Sicily, now in the museum at Palermo. Two only are in complete

preservation; nothing but fragments are left of a third, representing a chariot drawn by four horses. The two works extant represent Perseus killing the Medusa in the presence of Pallas, and Hercules carrying away two Cercopes, goblin-like demons, hanging from a staff borne on his (Fig. 139) shoulder. The style of this representation is extraordinarily severe, almost repulsive. The Medusa is thoroughly distorted; the other figures are formless and heavy; the faces are mask-like and stiff, with large, staring eyes, projecting and compressed lips, broad forehead, and prominent nose. Still more awkward is the archaic distortion of all the figures; the upper part of the body presenting a front view, while the legs and feet are seen in profile, and as if advancing—a peculiarity found also in ancient Oriental art. Nevertheless, this remarkable work is not deficient in a just observation of life, and in a correct though somewhat exaggerated type of form; indeed, in the due filling of the space allotted, and in a certain bold freedom, a lively and artistic creative power makes itself felt in spite of all the harsh limitations of style. Old traces of polychromatic work, of the red painting of the background and the edges of the drapery, add to the primitive character of the work, the origin of which may be placed in the beginning of the sixth century B.C.*

Fig. 140. Apollo of Tenea.

Other works of the same epoch, belonging to a similar stage of development, and yet differing from these in the conception of the form of the body, belong to Greece proper. These are chiefly marble statues, such as that called the Apollo of Thera from the island on which it was found, now in the National Museum at Athens, and a similar nude statue found at Tenea near Corinth, now in the Glyptothek at Munich (Fig. 140). In the slender form of the body a decided contrast is here exhibited to the heavy muscularity of the works at Selinus; the limbs, although severe and rigid, show a better understanding and less exaggeration. On the other hand, there is the same mask-like smile and lack of expression in the countenance, and the same awkwardness in allowing the soles of both feet to rest on the ground, although in motion. More nearly related to these works are some Attic monuments belonging to the same early period; among them the stele in relief of Aristion, according to its inscription the work of Aristocles, long in the museum of the Temple of The-

* O. Benndorf, "Die Metopen von Selinunt; Berlin, 1873.

seus, and now in the National Museum. It exhibits the same motionless bearing, the same fettered step, the same conscientious execution, and combines with all this a skilful filling-up of the surface of the narrow pier allotted to it. Belonging to the same class of works is a tombstone lately unearthed at Orchomenos, on which is sculptured the figure of a man wrapped in a mantle, and leaning on a staff; he holds out a cicada to his dog, while his faithful companion springs up, and leaps upon his master. We perceive from these works how early Greek art, by keen observation and understanding of realities, trained itself for its greater tasks.

If, in the monuments we have considered, the differences between the severe Doric art of Sicily and that of Hellas proper, softened as it was by Attic refinement, are plainly perceived, on the other hand

Fig. 141. From the Harpy Monument from Xanthus. (British Museum.)

some remarkable works in Asia Minor afford us a glance into the early development of the more luxuriously soft Ionic art. Mention must be made, in the first place, of the numerous remains in the Island of Cyprus, which are now in Paris in the collection of the Louvre, because in these the blending with Oriental art is most distinctly apparent; for as the island from its position invited colonization from the most different quarters, Phœnician settlements existing side by side with Hellenic colonies, this intermingling is also reflected in its works of art. About a hundred heads and torsos of male statues, executed in a light tufa-like limestone, are to be seen in the Louvre. Many have a diadem of laurels; but all have the same antique and stiff type of form which the Apollo of Tenea exhibits. Some are represented as stepping slightly forward, with arms closely attached to the body. The conventional treatment of the hair in parallel curls and ringlets is also familiar to us in the Apollo statue.

Frequently the Egyptian apron appears; which must, therefore, have been the native dress of a part of the inhabitants. This seems also confirmed by the Cyprian torso in the museum at Berlin, in whose attire Assyrian ornaments and the Greek Medusa head are combined with Egyptian form. Similar stiffness, with an outline otherwise tolerably soft and undefined, is to be found in the remarkable statue in the Louvre from Idalium, the drapery of which is formed by the Greek peplos with its conventional folds. To this class also belong the ten colossal marble sitting figures of men and women recently placed in the British Museum, which formerly, after the manner of

Fig. 142. Relief from Thasos.

the Egyptian sphinx avenues, bordered the road from the harbor to the old temple of the Didymæan Apollo at Melitus in Asia Minor. With all their stiffness of bearing they exhibit remarkable softness and roundness of form, combined with heaviness of proportion, and an execution rather suggestive than sharply defined.*

Most important are the reliefs discovered at Xanthus in Lycia, and now to be seen in the British Museum; they belong to the Harpy Monument—a pier-shaped memorial, along the upper edge of which is a frieze ornamented in relief. Although the subjects are derived from indisputably foreign Oriental myths, yet, in spite of its softness, the style of these marble works is Greek. Our representation of a small part of the frieze (Fig. 141), which consists of twelve slabs, exhibits the goddess of life sitting on a throne, and holding fruit and

* Cf. the illustrations in Newton's work on Halicarnassus.

blossoms in her hand. Three women approach her with reverence; the first holds her dress in an antique manner, and throws back her veil; the two others present offerings of flowers, pomegranates, and eggs. On two other sides, between similar scenes, there are figures of Harpies carrying off children. The elegant arrangement of the hair and drapery, which falls only in parallel folds, the stiff, smiling expression of the countenances, as well as the gait, are altogether in keeping with the primitive character of this epoch.

Nearly related to these important works is the great relief slab, now in the Villa Albani in Rome, which was formerly erroneously supposed to represent Leucothea. It belonged, probably, to a tomb; and the subject is a family scene, which is represented with exquisite delicacy. A female figure, strongly resembling, in the style of treatment, the relief on the Harpy Monument, is sitting upon a chair, and holding in her arms a young child, which reaches out its little hand to her as if desiring to caress her. Another female stands before the woman on the chair, and appears to be giving her a piece of cloth. Near this second woman stand two others. A thoughtful, tender touch of sentiment is wafted to us from this relief, like a breath from the ancient Attic art.

The same delicacy, crossed, it may be, with something of archaic want of skill, meets us in the large relief lately found on the Ionian Island of Thasos, and now in the Louvre at Paris. There are three slabs, which appear to have formed the front and sides of a tomb. On the broadest slab, which made the front of the tomb, there is a niche shaped like a door, having on the left a figure of Apollo with a cithara in his hand, who is being crowned by a young woman; while on the right, three other nymphs, or Graces (Charites), are moving toward the door. On one of the two smaller side slabs there are three more advancing female figures, and on the other a single figure of a woman, who is preceded by a Hermes, who seems to be acting as guide (see Fig. 142).* The neat execution, and the modest reserve of the lightly stepping maidens, contrasts in a striking manner with the figures of the two gods, already somewhat more free and animated in their action.

This small review of works still in good preservation belonging to the same period, and conceived with the same archaic restraint, makes us aware that there were distinct differences of style in the various localities where the art was exercised; and this observation is confirmed by what the ancient writers record respecting the various

*For a cut of the whole of this relief, of which only the two side slabs are here shown, see Lübke's "History of Sculpture," English edition, p. 96. It was found by E. Miller in 1864. The largest of the three slabs is 2.10 metres long by 92 centimetres high.

art schools of Greece at this period. Hellas, and especially the Peloponnesus, now stands in the foremost rank. In Argos we find mention of Ageladas as a famous master, actively engaged probably from about 515 to 455 B.C., famous for his bronze statues of gods and Olympic victors, and still more famous for his three great pupils, Phidias, Myron, and Polycletus, the brilliant constellation of the highest of the epoch of Greek art. In Sicyon, at the same time, there lived with his brother Aristocles, the founder of a vital and enduring school, the still more famous Canachus, who executed the colossal statue of Apollo at Miletus,* and who was skilled not only in casting in bronze and in the use of gold and ivory, but also in wood-carving. Ægina, then a commercial island as yet not subjugated by Athens, was rendered illustrious by the two masters Callon and Onatas, the latter especially known by several groups of bronze statues, and warlike scenes from heroic legends. Lastly, Athens possessed among other artists Hegias (or Hegesias), already important in art history as teacher of Phidias; and Critius, who, together with Nesiotes, made the famous group of the tyrannicides, Harmodius and Aristogeiton, after an older one by Antenor had been carried off by Xerxes in 480. Of this important group we have a copy upon certain Athenian coins, and upon a marble chair (Fig. 143), as well as a later repetition in two marble statues in the museum at Naples, one of which is disfigured by the addition of a much later head. We recognize with what truth to nature the old master has chosen the moment when Harmodius with his drawn sword is rushing forward, covered and protected by his friend. After all, all that we know of these masters, whose works have perished, is limited to general statements that their style was severe, hard, and archaic; and, although certain distinctions are made between them, we cannot gain from these any clear idea of their essential characteristics.

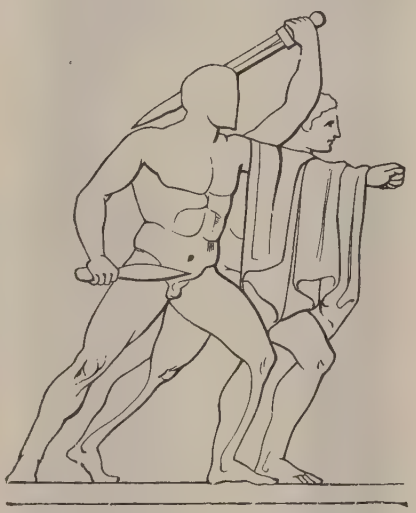


Fig. 143. Copy of the Group of the Athenian Tyrannicides at Naples.

* For a cut of the Apollo by Canachus, see Lübke's "History of Sculpture," English edition, p. 98.

It is of all the greater importance that the recent excavations on the Acropolis at Athens have brought to light a number of female figures, in marble, the largest of which is proven by inscriptions to be the work of Antenor, son of Eumaros; statues which have been spoken of above, in reference to their elaborate painting. These exquisite statues,* in which archaic constraint is combined with a

A B

Fig. 144. Female Statues from the Acropolis.

progress from austerity (Fig. 144A) to gracefulness (Fig. 144B), were more or less damaged during the devastation of the Persians, and were buried by the Athenians when it was intended to rebuild the old sanctuaries on a new ground-plan. The more refined statues are probably the figures of priestesses, robed in the peplos, falling in graceful folds and slightly raised by the left hand, while the right

* Colored illustrations in "Antike Denkmale des Inst.," i., plate 19. Cf. Rhomaides et Caviadias, "Les Musées d'Athènes"; parts 1, 2, Athens, 1886.

holds a piece of fruit; as in Fig. 144B. Extremely important are the numerous traces on these statues of polychromatic decoration, as mentioned above. The lips were also painted; the hair, encircling the brow in ringlets, and falling in braids over either breast, is red; the eyes were marked by means of colored stone or glass paste. The dress is painted with borders and patterns over the whole surface. A delicate sweetness hovers over the majority of these works, to which a touch of archaic restraint and austerity imparts a singular charm.

In the earlier years of the nineteenth century were discovered the famous groups of statues from the Temple of Athena at Ægina. Their origin may be placed with great probability between 500 and

Fig. 145. Statues on the Western Pediment of Temple at Ægina now at Munich.

480 B.C.; they now belong to the treasures of the Glyptothek at Munich, but unfortunately they have been elaborately restored. The eleven figures of the west gable are very nearly complete; and of those on the east, so much is left that here, also, even the details of the composition can be ascertained. In both compartments the subjects refer to the contests between the Greeks and Trojans; in both there is a dispute over the corpse of a fallen Greek, whom Pallas Athene herself takes under her protection by stepping between the combatants. In the center of the western pediment the goddess stands fully equipped with helmet and coat of mail, and with spear and shield, covering a fallen body, toward which an enemy, bending forward, is stretching out his arms (Fig. 145). On both sides, in symmetrical arrangement, two warriors are hastening for-

ward with uplifted spears, and these are followed by two kneeling figures, the one holding a bow, and the other a lance; each of the extreme angles of the pediment is filled by the prostrate figure of a wounded man. A similar arrangement, only differing in the details, and presenting figures in other attitudes, is repeated in the other pediment. On the western side the subject of dispute is the body of

Fig. 146. Bust of a Woman, Acropolis.

Achilles, which Ajax and other heroes are wresting from the Trojans, among whom we may recognize Paris by his Phrygian head-dress and Asiatic *trousers;* on the eastern side it is the body of Oikles, which Hercules and Telamon are defending against the Trojan Laomedon. As in the one Paris is characterized by his peculiar costume, so here we recognize Hercules by the lion's skin. All the rest, with the exception of the goddess, are entirely naked, having only a

helmet covering the short, crisp hair. The figures are executed with the utmost knowledge and masterly skill; life and action are expressed with unsurpassable power in the strongly strained muscles and swelling veins. If in this these Æginetan works pass a step beyond the Apollo of Tenea, they excel still more decidedly in the freedom and energy with which the figures are represented in the most different attitudes—in passionate onset, kneeling down, falling, and bending forward. At the same time, nothing is to be seen here but a strict and coarse observance of nature, unsoftened by idealism; the figures are rather athletic than heroic, and the artist has had in view rather physical vigor than beauty of form. The more perfectly, however, every movement is expressed in the body, the more striking is the contrast of the vacant expression of the faces with their archaic smile. The same master who so well understood the play of the muscles of the body had no comprehension of those emotions which vibrate electrically in the countenance; or, more probably, thought it foreign to plastic art to express them; hence the faces of his heroes reveal to us nothing of their inner feelings, nothing even of the excitement of the contest. Lastly, the figure of the goddess is rigidly erect; and although it was certainly a legitimate aim to mark her as a powerful protecting deity by the mere solemnity of her appearance, yet the awkwardness of her attitude is an evidence of the strict rules by which art was at that time fettered in the representation of the gods. On the other hand, the laws regarding the filling up of the architectural space are excellently adhered to. Finally, it is not to be denied that the figures in the eastern pediment, especially those of Hercules and the dying warrior, are superior in their truth to nature, and in the expression of the heads, to the stiff and constrained figures of the western pediment, and betray the progress of a younger generation.

To a somewhat later period belong the metope reliefs which are now in the museum at Palermo, and which originally ornamented a temple at Selinus, more recent than that of the Medusa named above. They represent various battle scenes, the tragic fate of Actæon, the meeting of Jupiter and Juno, and Hercules in contest with an Amazon. They show great energy in their drawing, freedom of composition, and, on the whole, a thorough knowledge of anatomy, which is executed in an extremely lifelike manner. The type of head is modeled on those of the earlier works at Selinus; a primitive, an archaic conception is plainly expressed in the regularly curled hair, rigid lips, and heavy eyelids (Fig. 146); yet the fresh and lifelike expression of the heads is decidedly superior to the stiffness of those at Ægina. The material is a calcareous tufa, much disintegrated; the head, hands, and feet of the female figures are of white marble.

The other works belonging to this early period are, for the most part, not to be traced to any definite locality. In the later age of a more developed art, the archaic style was accepted by preference for certain statues of the gods; and by the parallel folds of the drapery, the regularly curled hair, and imitated severity of feature, an attempt was made to reproduce the impression of those old works. Yet generally, in a certain graceful way of holding the hands, and in the position of the feet, and sometimes even in apparently insignificant accessories, the later origin of the work is betrayed. Among these archaizing works we must mention the famous statue of Pallas Athena at Dresden, without head or arms, where the extremely life-like battle scenes in relief on the front of the drapery give the lie to the stiff folds of the peplum; also the delicately executed statue of Diana at Naples, and the altar of the twelve gods at Paris, and others.

Fig. 147. Disk-Thrower, after Myron. (The statue of the Palazzo Massimi.)

The transition to the following epoch, the period of art's highest prime, is formed by some masters, who are pointed out, it is true, as representatives of the ancients, but who, by their more delicate execution, as well as by their wider range of subject, approach the freedom and perfection of the highest period. The first of these is Calamis of Athens, a highly versatile and productive artist. Images of gods, heroic female figures, horses with riders, and chariots with four horses are mentioned among his creations. He worked in marble, bronze, gold, and ivory; and even some smaller productions of his chisel were much esteemed. His horses are said to have been unsurpassable, and his female figures noble in form; and thus a touch of finer life probably distinguished his works from those of his predecessors. A statue of Hermes bearing a ram on his shoulders, which he made for the city of Tanagra in Bœotia,* is known to us only by

* Described by C. von Lützow in the "Annals of the Institute," 1869. For cut of this statue see Mahaffy's "Rambles and Studies in Greece."

copies. In a relief lately discovered at Athens, the elements of this composition are repeated with all the delicacy of the old Attic art. Almost contemporaneous with him, in the first half of the fifth century B.C. (about 470), lived Pythagoras of Rhegium, an artist of Græcia Magna. He executed his lifelike and strongly developed works exclusively in bronze, and among them his contests of heroes and his athletic statues of the victors are especially praised. Like him in his more naturalistic tendency, but of far greater importance, was Myron, whose chief works belong to Athens. He, too, preferred bronze to every other material; but in the subjects of his art he was far more varied than Pythagoras. His images of the gods, representations of heroes, and statues of victorious athletes, have been much extolled. Among the latter the runner Ladas has been highly praised, and also the no less admired disk-thrower (discobolus), to the excellence of which many marble copies—above all, the excellent one in the Massimi Palace and the one in the Vatican at Rome—bear witness (Fig. 147). We find in it the most acute observation of life, the most just conception of bold, rapid movement, and the greatest freedom in the expression of the action. Besides these, certain figures of animals by this great master were judged to excel all others by their inimitable truthfulness to nature. Among them the famous "cow" excited universal admiration; yet we cannot, out of all the many witty epigrams that were made upon it, get a satisfactory notion of what it was like* in attitude or action.

Fig. 148. Marsyas, after Myron.

* "All the epigrams unite in praising especially its truthfulness and naturalness, and cannot enough exaggerate the possibility of its being taken by mistake for a real animal. A lion will tear the cow to pieces; a bull will leap it; a calf will suck it; the rest of the herd will join it; the herdsman will throw a stone at it to make it move on; he strikes it, he whips it, he pipes to it; the farmer brings yoke and plow to harness it; a thief would steal it; a gadfly would fasten on its hide; yes, Myron himself would confound it with the other cows of his herd."—GOETHE, *Myron's Kuh.*

The same vivacity of expression is seen in the marble statue of a Satyr in the Lateran Museum, in which, as is believed, is also found the copy of a work by Myron (Fig. 148). It is supposed to be that statue of Marsyas who has found the flute which Athene threw away, and, full of joy, is in the act of appropriating it. An incorrect restoration which has put castanets into the hands of the figure has hindered its true interpretation.

With this last-named master, art had reached the highest freedom in the representation of the forms of the body. It had victoriously overcome every difficulty in the representation of outward life, and was now sufficiently ripe to satisfy fully the demands of ideal conception. At this point begins—

The Second Epoch,

the period of that wonderful elevation of Hellenic life which was ushered in by the glorious victory over the Persians, and only too speedily reached its termination in the Peloponnesian war which was kindled by the jealousy of Sparta. Now, for the first time, in opposition to the barbarians, the national Hellenic mind rose to the highest consciousness of noble independence and dignity. Athens concentrated within herself, as in a focus, the whole exuberance and many-sidedness of Greek life, and glorified it into beautiful unity. Now, for the first time, the deepest thoughts of the Hellenic mind were embodied in sculpture; and the figures of the gods rose to that solemn sublimity in which art embodied the idea of divinity in purely human form. This victory of the new time over the old was effected by the power of Phidias, one of the most wonderful artist-minds of all times.

He was the son of Charmides, and was born at Athens about the year 500 B.C. At first he is said to have been attracted to painting; but he soon turned his attention to sculpture, in which Hegias and Ageladas instructed him. The first period of his activity belongs to the time of Cimon's administration. He did not, however, reach the highest perfection of his art until the rule of his great friend Pericles; and this period embraces his mature manhood and the close of his life, which may be reckoned at about his sixty-eighth year. After having embodied in sculpture the highest ideas of the Hellenic mind, and become the admiration of his time, he was shamefully accused in his old age by the enemies of Pericles; and, being condemned to imprisonment by the fickle people, he died soon after, probably of poison.

We know far more of the works of his mind, which were the admiration of all antiquity, than we do of the outward circumstances of

his life. To the early epoch of his life many great works certainly belong, especially a group of bronze figures representing heroes of the land of Attica, of which Miltiades was the central figure, and which was placed at Delphi by the Athenian people as a thank-offering for the victory at Marathon; also a statue of Athene, at Platæa, but, above all, the colossal bronze image of Athene, which stood on the Acropolis at Athens, and which was visible from far out at sea to those approaching land. The Athenians erected it, in memory of the victory over the Persians, with the booty taken from the enemy at Marathon. A slight memorial of the statue is that preserved on Attic coins. Unfortunately, however, the representation is so various, that we are left in doubt respecting many essential points. Sometimes the goddess is standing, with her shield in her right hand by her side, while the left grasps the lance; another time her left arm is guarded by the shield, while she supports herself with her right arm resting on the lance. The latter position seems the more probable, as it affords ground for the designation of Pallas Promachos (Pallas foremost in the battle); and the former more peaceful bearing meets us in another work by Phidias. The height of the statue with the pedestal cannot have amounted to much less than 70 feet.

The activity of Phidias found a grander and wider field in the magnificent undertakings with which Pericles enriched his native city. We know that, in the noble buildings with which the great Athenian adorned the Acropolis, the most important post was assigned to the direction and influence of Phidias; and we may suppose that the grand design of these works was in a great measure due to his genius. Not merely had he, with the help of his pupils, to provide the inexhaustibly rich sculptured ornament of the Parthenon, the splendid festive Temple of Athene, but to him was intrusted the execution of the celebrated statue of the goddess herself. This statue, which had utterly disappeared long before the temple was destroyed, was a figure about 40 feet high, covered with gold and ivory. The Athenians erected it with the booty taken at Salamis; and the gold alone with which the statue was adorned was valued at 44 talents, equal to $589,875 of our money. Here, too, the virgin goddess was standing erect, not, however, with her shield raised as the vigorous champion of her people, but as a peaceful, protecting, and victory-giving divinity. A golden helmet covered her beautiful and earnest head; a coat of mail, with the head of the Medusa carved in ivory, concealed her bosom; and long, flowing golden drapery enveloped her whole figure. Her shield was placed on the ground, leaning against her lance in sign of peace; under the shield was coiled the serpent, the protector of the citadel, as we know from a small marble copy found

at Athens. A statue of Nikè, six feet high, holding a golden chaplet, and with wings wide-spread, stood upon the outstretched hand of the goddess, in allusion to the prizes of victory, which here, in the presence of the goddess, were presented by the magistrates of the city to the victors in the Panathenæan games* The splendor of the material was, however, surpassed by the profusion of artistic ornament. The undraped parts were formed of ivory; the eyes, of sparkling precious stones; the drapery, hair, and weapons, of gold. A sphinx adorned the center of the helmet, and two griffins the sides. On the outside of the shield contests with Amazons were represented, and on the inside the war between the gods and the giants was engraved; and even the edge of the sandals was ornamented by the artist with combats of centaurs, while a bass-relief of the birth of Pandora surrounded the pedestal on which the statue stood. A fragment of a marble shield recently found at Athens contains a late copy of the contests with Amazons on the shield of the goddess. All this richness of decoration, however, only served to increase still more the grand simplicity and quiet dignity of the whole figure. In it Phidias portrayed for all ages the character of Athene, the serious goddess of wisdom, the mild protectress of Attica; and the noblest of the statues of Athene which have come down to us afford us even now a faint echo of this, their much-extolled prototype.

Still more than in this statue the austere maidenliness of the goddess was elevated into noble intellectual beauty in a figure of Athene placed on the Acropolis by the Lemnians; so much so, that an old epigram institutes a comparison with the Aphrodite of Praxiteles at Cnidus, and calls Paris a mere cow-driver for not giving the apple to Athene.

The Athene of the Parthenon was completed and consecrated in the year 437 B.C. This, together with the rich plastic ornaments of the temple, would alone render the master the first sculptor of all ages. After the completion of his works on the Acropolis, Phidias was summoned to Elis with a band of his best pupils. The state had an atelier built for him, which in later times was reverently cared for and pointed out. In the year 432 B.C., upon the completion of his work, he returned, laden with honors, to his native city. Nevertheless, in the evening of his life he was yet to execute a work which, according to the verdict of all antiquity, eclipsed all other works, and was justly extolled as the highest creation of plastic art; namely, the colossal gold and ivory statue of Jupiter at Olympia. The father of

*This description is in part based upon a statuette found at Athens during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, which is thought, from the ancient description of the great original work itself, to be a copy.

the gods and of men was seated on a splendid throne in the cella of his temple at Olympia, his head encircled with a golden olive-wreath; in his right hand he held Nikè, who bore a fillet of victory in her hands, and a golden wreath on her head; in his left hand rested the richly decorated scepter. Here, too, an allusion to the Olympic games and the distribution of the rewards of victory was expressed by the presence of the goddess of victory. In contrast with the sublime simplicity of the figure, the throne of the god was a work of the richest and most varied art, adorned with gold and precious stones, ebony and ivory. Goddesses of victory, four above and two below, were placed upon each foot of the throne; and the reliefs on the cross-rails represented the eight ancient kinds of contest at the Olympian

Fig. 149. Coin of Elis. (From Overbeck.)

games, and the contests of Hercules and Theseus with the Amazons. Besides this, supplementary supports placed between the feet helped to sustain the heavily burdened seat; and the lower part consisted of bars on which the painter Panænus had executed representations from the heroic legends. Figures of sphinxes, and reliefs portraying the fate of Niobe's children, were placed on the substructure of the throne; the back was carved with figures of the Graces (Charites) and the Hours (Horæ); on the footstool were golden lions and Amazonian contests; and lastly, on the base itself, there were reliefs depicting the figures of the gods.

Certain coins of Elis give an idea of the earnest, thoughtful expression of the head; as also, on the reverse, a notion of the design of the statue itself (Fig. 149). On the other hand, we find in later busts—of which the finest is the colossal marble bust from Otricoli, now in the Vatican (Fig. 150)—a much freer conception and a more realistic handling of what many have thought the general design of the Olympian head.

For more than eight hundred years the statue of the god was enthroned uninjured in his temple, until both were destroyed by fire in the fifth century after Christ.

We have abundant testimony that all antiquity was enchanted with the sublime expression of the Zeus of Phidias. All Greece made pilgrimages to it, and every one who had seen it was pronounced happy. The highly cultivated Roman Æmilius Paulus, declared that the god

Fig. 150. Bust of Jupiter from Otricoli. (Vatican.)

himself seemed present to him; others considered the sight of it a magic charm that could make care and suffering forgotten; and another Roman says that Phidias in his Zeus has given a fresh impulse to religion itself. Most affectingly, however, is the unsurpassable character of the work expressed in that beautiful legend which tells us that Phidias, after the completion of his statue, stood thoughtfully contemplating his work, and, raising his hands in prayer to Zeus, implored a sign from heaven to know if his work was pleasing to the

god. Then suddenly, through the opening in the roof, a bolt from heaven struck the temple floor, as an unmistakable sign of the approval of the Thunderer.

Besides these principal works, several famous statues of Aphrodite were executed by Phidias, chief among them one at Elis, made of

Fig. 151. Juno. Possibly by Alcamenes. (In the Ludovisi Palace, Rome.)

gold and ivory. Here, also, it was not the grace that charms the senses which the sculptor portrayed, but the divine sublimity of an Aphrodite-Urania.

That Phidias especially excelled in creating images of the gods, and that he preferred, as subjects for his art, those among the divinities the essence of whose nature was spiritual majesty, marks the fundamental characteristic of his art, and explains its superiority, not only to all that had been produced before his time, but to all that

was contemporary with him, and to all that came after him. Possessed of that unsurpassable masterly power in the representation of the physical form to which Greek art, shortly before his time, had attained by unceasing endeavor, his lofty genius was called upon to

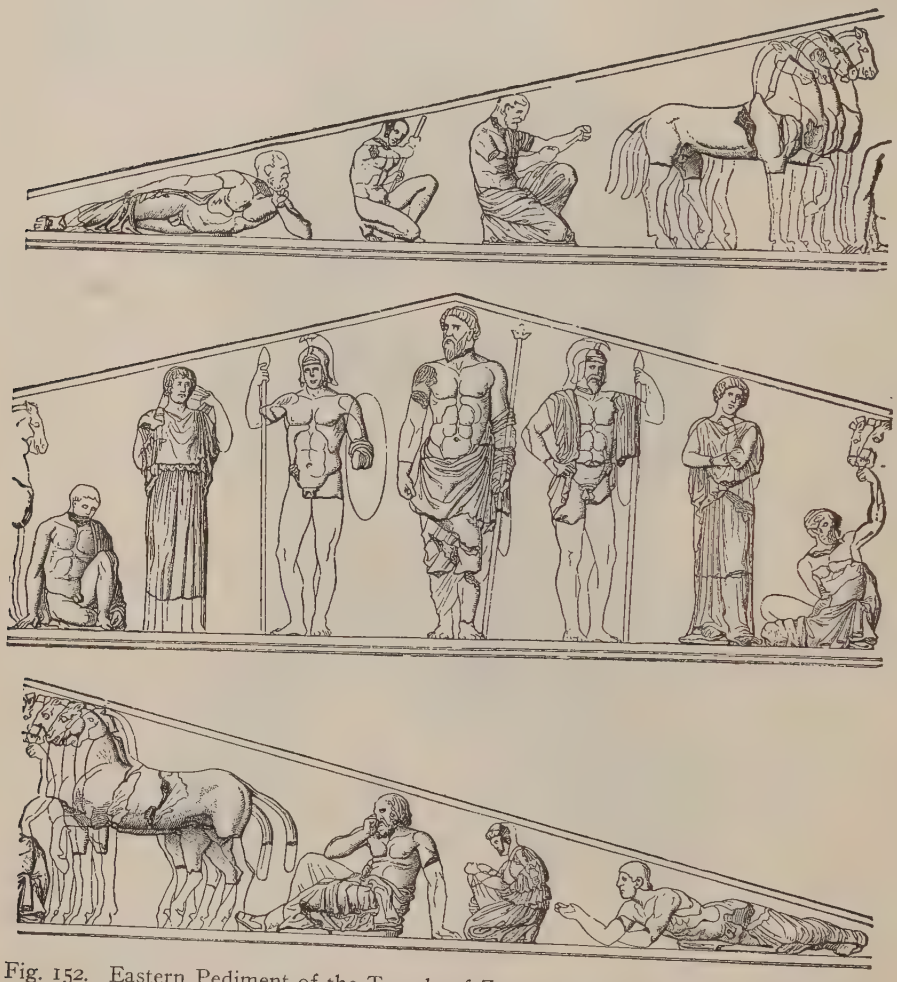


Fig. 152. Eastern Pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. (From Bötticher.)

apply these results to the embodiment of the highest ideas, and thus to invest art with the character of sublimity, as well as with the attributes of perfect beauty. Hence it is said of him, that he alone had seen images of the gods, and he alone had made them visible to others. Even in the story that, in emulation with other masters, he made an Amazon, and was defeated in the contest by his great con-

temporary Polycletus, we see a confirmation of the ideal tendency of his art. But that his works realized the highest conceptions of the people, and embodied the ideal of the Hellenic conception of the divinity, is proved by the universal admiration of the ancient world. This sublimity of conception was combined in him with an inexhaustible exuberance of creative fancy, an incomparable care in the completion of his work, and a masterly power in overcoming every difficulty, both in the technical execution and in the material. We shall estimate this more thoroughly when we come to the examination of the Parthenon sculptures. Before, however, we consider these, we must cast a glance at the pupils and associates who assisted the great master in his extensive undertakings.

The most distinguished of these seems to have been Alcamenes, whom we can trace down to the year 402 B.C. From the fact that he chiefly produced images of the gods, it is probable that he shared mostly in the ideal tendency of his master. Besides a marble Aphrodite-Urania in Athens, and two statues of Athene, one of which was placed as a votive offering in the Temple of Hercules at Thebes after the expulsion of the thirty tyrants by Thrasybulus, he is also named as the author of a three-formed Hekate on the ante of the southern wall of the citadel at Athens. In addition to these, he executed the statues of Ares and Hephæstus, Asclepius and Dionysus, and, lastly, a statue of Hera, which he placed in a temple between Athens and the harbor Phalerus. Possibly the noble bust of Juno in the Villa Ludovisi, at Rome (Fig. 151), which was formerly ascribed to Polycletus, may give us a notion of the conception of Alcamenes. Besides these, he designed the group of statues for the west pediment of the temple at Olympia representing the contest between the Centaurs and the Lapithæ. Alcamenes shows himself, therefore, to have been a versatile and imaginative disciple of his master. Next to him, the most important of the pupils seem to have been Agoracritus, the especial favorite of Phidias; and, in all probability, his works were similar in character to those of his master; assisted Phidias in executing the colossus of Zeus at Olympia and left several beautiful works, principally in gold and ivory, in Elis; and Colotes, who is said to have had especial skill in the working of ivory and gold.

A more independent position, it seems, must be assigned to Pæonius, who, according to Pausanias, designed for the Temple of Zeus at Olympia the group in the eastern pediment. These works were unearthed in the excavations carried on at the expense of the German government.* Almost the entire pediment has been recon-

* Cf. "Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia"; i.-v., Berlin, 1876. Also the definitive work on the excavations.

structed with tolerable certainty, and it exhibits a remarkably austere, symmetrical, and archaically restrained arrangement, in which the spirit of the Æginetan sculpture, rather than the more developed style of the Parthenon, is manifest. Still more surprising here, as

Fig. 153. Western Pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. (From Bötticher.)

also in the group by Alcamenes in the western pediment, is the architectural or decorative, and, in part, mechanical, character of the modeling, which is especially noticeable in the crude and unsuggestive drapery of leather-like stiffness, whose inharmonious effect is still further enhanced by certain realistic features. It is to be supposed that much depended upon the painting; also it may be thought that

Alcamenes and Pæonius furnished only the first models for the work, which was then executed by mediocre sculptors.

As contrasted with the inferior provincial art, the classical value of Attic sculpture, must be rated all the higher. At any rate, the works from the temple of Zeus at Olympia rank with the most noteworthy accessions to our store of plastic monuments. The first of the subjects in question to be considered are the groups in the pediments, which are well preserved in their most important parts. The eastern group, according to Pausanias the work of Pæonius (Fig. 152), depicts the preparation for the contest between Peleos and Œnomaos for the possession of the land of Elis. In the center towers the colossal form of Zeus. He is slightly turned toward the right, as if thereby predicting the victory. Next to him stands the youthful heroform of Peleos, inclined a little sideways toward Hippodameia, who is trowing back her veil to look at her suitor. On the other side of Zeus is seen the defiant, gloomy form of Œnomaos next to his consort Sterope, whose attitude seems to imply a foreboding of their impending fate. This middle group is flanked by two quadrigas, with their charioteers kneeling or squatting, the lack of space condemning them to these positions. The corners are filled by the reclining rivergods Alpheios and Kladeos. Harsh, archaic, and rigid, arranged in a strictly architectural manner, this grand composition nevertheless conveys impressively the sensation of strained suspense before an impending storm. Combined with this we observe in the accessory figures, especially in those of the squatting boy and the old man sitting on the ground, a directness of spontaneous motive happily interpreted from life, while at the same time it was not granted to this art to lift such moments into the realm of the ideal.

The western pediment, which Pausanias ascribes to Alcamenes, represents the battle of Theseus with the Lapithæ and the Centaurs, who seek to carry off the bride Deidameia from her marriage festival with Peirithoos, prince of the Lapithæ (Fig. 153). It is a composition full of passion and vivacity which has not wholly overcome the limitations of space, yet still bears eloquent witness to the high endowment of Greek art for monumental creations architecturally restrained, but withal rising to a bolder flight. In the center we behold the colossal figure of Apollo, who in solemn tranquillity stands like a rock in the surging tide around him, extending his right arm with a commanding gesture, as if to protect the bride who, in spite of brave resistance, is hard pressed by the Centaur Eurytion. But already Peirithoos is drawing near with his ax to deal a death-blow to the monster. On the left side of the god, in a group of similar conception, a maiden is wrestling with a centaur, to whose destruction

Theseus is hastening with ax uplifted. Close by a boy is seized by another monster; and then follows a group in bold commotion, in which a maiden strives to break loose from the embrace of a centaur whose breast is transfixed by the broadsword of one of the Lapithæ. The two groups on the other side are quite similar, and each corner of the pediment is occupied by the reclining figures of a local nymph.*

This highly remarkable composition, which in its bold vivacity and the unfettered intertwining of the figures far surpasses what has been done in the pediments of Ægina, and even on the Parthenon, is yet archaically crude in execution. Notwithstanding some realistic elements, a decorative flatness of form is apparent, although a certain understanding of the human form, as to its frame and motion, may be recognized. The fact that the reverse of the figures is visibly neglected also gives evidence of a decorative conception in striking contrast to the strict all-round thoroughness of the Æginetan works, and yet more to those of the Parthenon. The treatment of the drapery is in both pediments quite inferior to the presentment of the nude parts, and is the chief cause of the unfavorable impression that these works produce. On the other hand, an expression of soulful sentiment which is lacking in the Æginetan sculptures is attained in the heads. It cannot be denied that the conception of the western pediment far surpasses its execution, nor that the conception and treatment of both pediments show the very same traits; whence the execution must be attributed to an inferior, and at the same time mechanically decorative provincial art. Far better in execution are the metopes in the pronaos and the epinaos, describing the twelve labors of Hercules. Two of them, the fight with the Cretan bull and the killing of the Stymphalian birds, had previously been found on the spot by the French government, and placed in the Louvre. The former, especially, is admirably composed, with its bold design of the two bodies placed diagonally; in the latter, the figure of Athene seated on a rock again shows defects in the treatment of the drapery. The best preserved among the others are the Hesperides, or Atlas, metope; then the Cleaning of the Augean stables, and the Taming of Cerberus. Throughout we find the same archaically crude yet powerful art, which produces telling effects also in the sculpture of the pediments, which are more homogeneous in style and more elaborate in treatment, showing in these respects a kinship to the Æginetan works.

Still more remarkable, perhaps, is a statue of Nikè found at the same place, which was dedicated by the Messeneans and Naupacteans

*G. Treu, in the *Jahrbuch des Kais. deutschen Inst.*, 1888, iii., gives another arrangement of the western group.

after 424 B.C. An inscription designates it as the work of the same Pæonius to whom the composition of the eastern pediment is attributed. Should this attribution be well founded, a complete revolution must have taken place in the master's art between that youthful production and this statue (Fig. 154). For here not only a boldness of composition, but also a picturesque freedom in the treatment of the drapery and of the human form is noticeable, which betrays a

Fig. 154. Nikè of Paeonios. (From Olympia.)

decidedly more recent art (as of about 420 B.C.), developed on the model of Phidias, and reveals Pæonius as an excellent plastic artist imbued with the tendencies of the younger Attic school.

In spite of all the records of the ancients, we should have only an indefinite idea of the height and perfection to which Attic art had attained at this glorious epoch, if, amid all the destruction that has taken place, a number of important sculptures belonging to the Athenian temples had not been preserved, by the discovery of which it becomes evident what was the nature of the Greek art of that period, and how it rises above all those splendid works of the sub-

sequent epochs, which fill the museums of Europe, and which in the eighteenth century were looked upon by our forefathers as the finest productions of the sculptor's art. If we bear in mind that all those works—beautiful and magnificent as they are—are yet always to be regarded, so far as their execution is concerned, as the productions of the workshop, we gain a faint idea of what must have been those won-

Fig. 155. Relief from Eleusis.

derful and irrecoverably lost creations in which the mind of the great master animated every stroke of the chisel.

In the first place, let us briefly mention the noble marble relief (Fig. 155) which was discovered at Eleusis some years ago, and was brought to the museum in Athens. It seems to represent Demeter with the torch, and Cora (Persephone) with the scepter, consecrating

a youth standing between them, who has scarcely passed beyond boyhood (Triptolemus, or Iacchus?). The noble style of the drapery, the solemn repose of the figures, and the beautiful distribution in the space allotted, give this work great artistic value. Similar in conception to the frieze of the Parthenon, it yet, in certain parts, betrays slight traces of archaic formalism; so that it belongs to the works which stand only on the threshold of the period of highest bloom. The coming splendor first greets us in the sculptures of the Temple of Theseus at Athens. The groups on the two pediments have been lost; but those of the eighteen metopes, which were ornamented with reliefs, are for the most part in a good state of preservation. We also possess the friezes from the two ends of the cella—those of the pronaos and the opisthodome. The metopes contain representations of the contests of Hercules and the deeds of Theseus, executed in strong relief, and exhibiting much passionate action, great truthful-

Fig. 156. From the Frieze of the Temple of Theseus.

ness to nature in the figures, and, at the same time, skillful adaptation to the space allotted. The friezes of the pronaos and opisthodome, executed in less strong relief, likewise represent contests. In that of the opisthodome (Fig. 156), the scene presented is the battle which Theseus with his Athenians and the Lapithæ fought against the Centaurs, who ventured, with presumptuous insolence, to interrupt the wedding feast of Peirithoos. In the frieze of the pronaos we also find contests going on in the presence of the gods, who are calmly looking on. Here, too, there is displayed the greatest energy of action in the representation of passionate contest, victory, and defeat. There is great boldness and freedom, and the composition is full of ideas and youthful freshness. Compared with the Æginetan groups, a complete victory is here exhibited over the severe constraint and symmetrical repetition of the works of the earlier time. Everything is more flowing, free, and varied; and the passion which so power-

fully affects the bodies is also given with life-like force in the energetic expression of the heads.

If, in so short a period, we see such progress made in the development of Hellenic sculpture, we shall not be surprised to find in the

Fig. 157. Female Figure from the Eastern Pediment of the Parthenon.

works of the Parthenon* a still higher, still purer, still riper advance. We know that Phidias, with his pupils and associates, called into life these plastic wonders; and we may even suppose the hand of the master in the composition of the whole, and in the design of all the essential parts. Unfortunately, after the terrible destruction of the

* Ad. Michaelis, "Der Parthenon, mit einen Bilderatlas"; Leipzig, 1871.

wonderful building by the Venetians in the year 1687, as mentioned above, only the two extremities of the building were left erect, no longer permitting a complete understanding of the connection between the parts, or a conception of the original motive of the whole; but enough is still existing for us to seize what was most important, and to enjoy its incomparable beauty. Only single figures are preserved of the groups of statues belonging to the two pediments; but, by a fortunate contingency, fifteen years previous to the destruction of the temple the French artist Carrey was in Athens, and his drawings of the groups on the pediment, at that time in a tolerable state of preservation, are in the library at Paris. From these, and from the

Fig. 158. Theseus, from the Eastern Pediment of the Parthenon, London.

accounts of the ancients, we can gain a complete idea of the original designs.

Both representations aim at the glorification of Athene. In the eastern pediment, over the entrance of the temple, her birth, or, more justly, the moment after birth, was depicted. In looking at the scene we must imagine ourselves upon Olympus. It was here for the first time that Athene is said to have appeared among the gods of Olympus. The whole central group has vanished; but the figures in the two angles are in a great measure preserved. They exhibit on one side Iris, who, as a heavenly messenger, is bringing the divinities of the land the joyful tidings of the birth of their mistress; while on the other side Nikè, opposite to her, advances toward Athene. On the right there are three figures: two sitting, and the third leaning on the bosom of the middle one; not, as was once believed, the daughters of Cecrops, Pandrosos, Aglauros, and Herse (Fig. 157), but probably Aphrodite on the bosom of Peitho, and another goddess, whose name

is not certainly known. On the left there are two corresponding figures, Demeter and her daughter Cora, near whom a magnificent youth is reclining, generally considered to be Theseus, but possibly Dionysus or Hercules (Fig. 158). While these remains are incomparably placed within the space allotted, the artist has also made admirable use of the extreme angles of the pediment. In the one we see Selenè plunging with her chariot into the sea; while in the other Helios is rising from the flood with his panting horses—a consolatory promise of the new and glorious day which is dawning upon the world with the birth of Athene. The greater part of all that is preserved of these figures was sent to England by Lord Elgin, and now forms

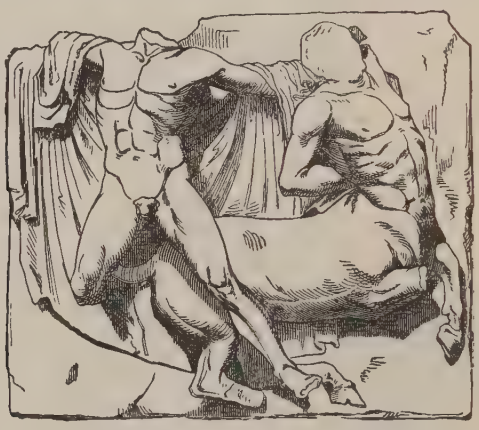


Fig. 159. Metope from the Parthenon.

the choicest of the treasures in the British Museum. Both the draped female figures and the naked body of the youthful hero exhibit a grandeur of conception, a nobility of action, and an harmonious beauty such as is unequaled by any other work in the whole range of art. The human body is conceived with the utmost truth, freedom, and beauty, but with a power and magnificence so exalted above all reality that it is illumined with the imperishable charm of divine ideality. The small remains of the western pediment are similar in character. In Carrey's time, as his drawings prove, it was in almost perfect preservation. It represented the disputes of Athene and Poseidon for the sovereignty of Attica, or rather the moment after the decision. The ruler of the sea thrust his trident into the rocky soil with his mighty hand, and a spring of salt water burst forth on the summit of the Acropolis; but Athene caused the sacred olive tree to shoot forth from the hard rock; and thus the dominion of the land was given to her, as having conferred the greater benefit upon it. The

artist has chosen for his composition the moment when the victorious goddess is entering her chariot, which stands at her side, amid the joyful acclamations of her waiting people; while the defeated god, striding away in fury, turns toward the other side, where his consort is awaiting him with her retinue. In the end angle the artist has placed the reposing form of a river-god—in one that of the Cephissus, in the other that of the Ilissus, with the water-nymph Callirrhoë to mark the Attic locality. The most important part preserved of

Fig. 160. From the Frieze of the Parthenon.

this group, with the exception of the bodies of the reclining river-gods, is the torso of Poseidon—a work which, in spite of its sad mutilation, brings before the eye, in every line, in every muscle, and in every vein, the mighty fury of the sea-convulsing god.

A second and very extensive series of works of art is formed by the reliefs of the metopes of the Parthenon, originally 92 in number, of which 31 are still in their places, one in the Louvre, 17 in the British Museum; and even this small remnant are for the most part in a sad state of destruction. We shall, therefore, never know what was the artistic motive which bound these metope sculptures together into one consistent whole. The metopes of the south side contain scenes from

the battle with the Centaurs, one of the favorite subjects of Attic art. Like those of the Temple of Theseus, they are in strong high relief, full of daring motives and passionate action; though this is for the most part softened by great beauty of form, and a masterly style of composition which knows how to adapt itself with the utmost freedom to the conditions of the space to be filled. Although the best of these works are worthy of the first master of his time (Fig. 159), yet we meet with others in which the composition is fettered, the space not well filled, and the figures clumsy and even stiff. We may

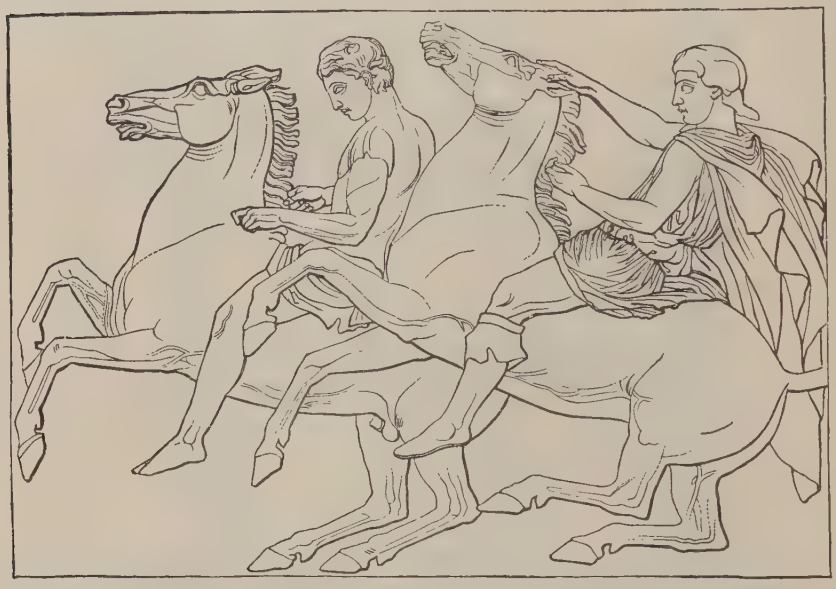


Fig. 161. From the Frieze of the Parthenon.

therefore suppose that, in carrying out this extensive series, considerable independence was allowed to the different artists engaged upon it.

In addition to all this profusion of sculpture, there was still the great frieze, which, in an unbroken line, surmounted the outer face of the wall of the cella, and which, in its length of 522 feet, more than 400 of which we still possess, presents one of the most extensive compositions of the kind in the world. In this procession—starting from the southwestern corner and seeming to proceed along the southern front, and also along the west and north fronts, until the two meet in the eastern end—all that was beautiful and excellent in Athens is seen united: the noble bloom of maidenhood, the fresh strength of youths trained in gymnastic exercise, and the solemn dignity of magis-

trates chosen by the people. A more beautiful opportunity for displaying grace and magnificence in diversified abundance could not have been offered to sculpture; but the task could not have been fulfilled in a more perfect manner than we have here before us in the work of this master. The manner in which the sculptor apprehended and executed this task, the unity of aim which lay at the foundation of all this rich life, are far removed from the dull realism with which the art of the present day would conceive such subjects, and which is echoed in the opinion of those who perceive in the frieze "nothing but the preliminary exercises of the separate choruses and divisions for the performance of the Attic pageants." This view has been

Fig. 162. From the Frieze of the Parthenon.

most strikingly contradicted by the artist himself, in the fact that he has represented on the east side, over the entrance, an assembly of enthroned gods, in whose presence the central or principal ceremony, perhaps the giving of the Panathenaic peplum, takes place. The head of the procession has just reached the temple. The group standing nearest to them, the archons and heralds, await, quietly conversing together, the end of the ceremony. They are followed on both sides by a train of Athenian maidens, singly or in groups, many of them with vases and other vessels in their hands (Fig. 160). The eye observes with heartfelt rapture the inexhaustible skill with which the same motive is varied in these simple figures. A charming contrast to these quiet groups is formed by the parts of the frieze on the south and north sides, where the sacrificial animals, splendid oxen and rams, are represented as sometimes quietly advancing, and sometimes vio-

lently struggling, with difficulty restrained by their leaders. Then follow men and women, then bearers of sacrificial gifts—bread in shallow baskets, and wine in vessels of various shapes; then flute-players and players upon the harp, followed by contestants in four-horse chariots. The rear is brought up by prancing horsemen, the prime of the manly youth of Athens, nobly and freely depicted in groups of infinite variety (Fig. 161). Lastly, on the west side, we find other youths just preparing for the procession, bridling their mettlesome steeds—restraining the prancing ones, and trying those that have been subdued by skillful horsemanship (Fig. 162). Thus the artist, with great wisdom, has combined the beginning, progress, and end of the procession in one well-considered composition; and, instead of a wearisome epic uniformity, he has given his work dramatic life, and has revealed in the figures of the gods the ideal motive of this festive pageantry.

Fig. 163. Caryatide from the Erectheum.

Never have the laws of relief representation been so delicately, so perfectly, so severely, and yet so freely developed as in this work. The figures rise only in slight relief from the surface; and yet they appear in perfect truth to nature. They present every grade, from solemn repose to ardent action; and yet there is a calm festivity, a breath of eternal cheerfulness and beauty, diffused over them. Lastly, in the execution of each, there is a care and tenderness such as only belong to the noblest creations of Attic art.

The sculptures that adorn the Erectheum, a building which was not completed till the close of the fifth century B.C., appear to be somewhat later in date than those of the Parthenon. Besides a frieze executed in Pentelican marble upon dark Eleusinian stone, the small fragments of which, still preserved, reveal a feebler style than that of the Parthenon works, we must mention the six Caryatidæ which support the roof of the side portico of the temple, which is designated after them (Fig. 163). They represent noble Attic maidens of faultless beauty, enveloped in softly flowing drapery, bearing on their heads the light entablature of the ceiling, like the Canephoræ of the Panathenaic procession. Youthful grace and free life are most successfully blended in them with the repose and severity demanded

by their architectural position. In better preservation are the friezes of the Temple of Nikè Apteros, which depict a contest between the Greeks and Persians in the presence of an assembly of the gods. Perfect in execution, rich and varied in composition, they breathe a passionate action which already indicates the transition to a period of art in which effect is more aimed at, and which finds its model in the frieze reliefs of the Temple of Theseus (Fig. 164).

In these works we cannot but perceive a contrast to the calm majesty of the art of the Phidian epoch; the independence of their motives reminds us, perhaps, of the tendency of the Myronic school. A small space outside the walls of this temple was enclosed by a low parapet covered with exquisite relief sculptures. Victories with wings

Fig. 164. From the Frieze of the Temple of Nikè Apteros.

are leading heifers to sacrifice, while others are arranging a trophy. Among the most distinguished of the successors of this able master we become acquainted with Cresilas, a copy of whose wounded Amazon is preserved in the Capitoline Museum; also with Callimachus, who occasionally went too far in the subtle elegance of his marble works, and was famous as the author of the Corinthian capital and as the designer of the beautiful candelabra in the Erectheum; lastly, Demetrius, who strayed so far beyond the boundaries of true Hellenic art that he devoted himself to a slavish imitation of nature, a soulless realism.

In opposition to the Athenian schools, Polycletus, a somewhat younger contemporary of Phidias, founded a second school of sculpture at Argos. Though likewise a pupil of Ageladas, his style developed itself in a totally different direction, so that he seems to keep the medium between Phidias and Myron. With the latter he as-

similated in his delicate conception and loving treatment of nature, and in a striving after the representation of the pure beauty of the human form. With the former he sympathized in the calm, cheerful repose of a nature contented in itself, which once elevated him even above the limits of his own mind into the region of the ideal. We are told that Polycletus' aspiration was to depict the perfect beauty of the human form in calm repose. Hence he selected almost exclusively

Fig. 165. Hera, formerly ascribed to Polycletus. Naples Museum.

the youthful figure, trained by gymnastic exercise, as the object of his art; and so great was his knowledge, so acute and clear his conceptions, that the name of "the Canon" was given to one of his most admired works, because in it the rules of normal youthful beauty seemed established once for all, while at the same time he explained them in a treatise upon the proportions of the human frame. Scarcely less famous was his Diadumenos, a beautiful youth, tying on his brow

the badge of a victor, a statue with the characteristic position and action of which we are acquainted from a statue in the Farnese Palace in Rome, one in the British Museum, and minor reproductions in other museums. He also executed an Apoxyomenos—an athlete cleansing himself with the strigil from the oil and dust of the arena—as well as five statues of Olympian victors. An Apoxyomenos was found in Rome about 1830, and is now in the Braccio Nuovo; but this is generally thought to be a copy of a statue by Lepippus, a later sculptor. Even the celebrated Amazon, in which he is said to have outrivaled Phidias and other masters, was a work of the character which necessarily inclines to the same style of art in its conception, which is that of a young woman of an almost masculine type. The character of these works of Polycletus is indicated in the saying of the

Fig. 166. From the Frieze of the Temple at Phigalia. British Museum.

ancients, that he was the first who represented statues resting on one foot while the other was slightly drawn back. By this means it was thought that the character of graceful lightness and easy poise might be rightly expressed.

If the genius of this master had hitherto been fettered both in subject and material—all these works having been executed in bronze—he produced in his later years a work which, in material, motive, and conception, rivaled the two colossal gold and ivory statues of Phidias. We refer to the statue of Hera for the temple of this goddess in Argos, which had been rebuilt after its destruction by fire in the year 423 B.C., and which is described quite fully, both temple and statue, by Pausanias. The statue represented her sitting on her golden throne, wholly veiled in golden drapery, with the exception of her face and beautiful arms, and on her head the diadem befitting the queen of the gods. The Horæ and Charites (the Hours and Graces) were represented in relief on the crown. In her right hand she held

the scepter, in her left the pomegranate, perhaps the token of her victory over Demeter. Various other symbolic emblems were added, and at her side stood her daughter Hebe, executed in gold and ivory by Naucydes, a pupil of the master. A bust in marble, the colossal head in the Villa Ludovisi in Rome, always called the Ludovisi Juno, was believed until lately to be a copy of this work, in which Polycletus established for all ages the artistic type of the royal consort of Zeus. The features are severe and strong; the brow, with its diadem crown, is free and open; and its height is gracefully tempered by the softly flowing hair. The grand look of the eye, the voluptuous and yet sharply chiseled lips, and the strong, rounded chin, proclaim the austere character of the supreme goddess. Lately, however, it has been rightly judged that in this work, with all its nobleness, there

Fig. 167. From the Frieze of the Temple at Phigalia. British Museum.

is betrayed a certain softness and mildness which cannot have been possible in the time of Polycletus. It is now believed, therefore, that in a marble head in the museum at Naples we have found an example of that greater strength which was to be looked for in a work of the old master of Argos (Fig. 165).

The pupils of Polycletus followed the style of art exhibited in his before-mentioned works. Among them, Naucydes stands foremost. He executed the Hebe for the statue of Hera, and was also known as the author of a disk-thrower and several statues of victors. There is a marble statue in the Vatican, found on the Appian Way in 1792, and this, which may be supposed to be a later repetition of his disk-thrower, from the quiet, thoughtful bearing previous to the throw, is characteristically distinguished from that of Myron. It also clearly shows the peculiarity of Polycletus' art in the light elasticity of the attitude. Lately, however, it has been argued, not without prob-

ability, that this very thoughtfulness, and the delicacy of the conception, point rather to a work of Attic art.

The other parts of Greece at this period stand out less prominently, compared with the schools of Argos and Attica; yet there is no lack of remains, which, in all probability, may be traced to these two schools of art. The most important are the reliefs decorating the interior frieze of the Temple of Apollo at Bassæ, near Phigalia in Arcadia, which were discovered in the year 1812, and are now preserved in the British Museum. The temple, which was built at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, was the work of Ictinus. His sculptures exhibit, however, such a thoroughly different style, that they are scarcely to be traced to Attic hands, although the subject refers to the favorite national legends of Attica. Amazon contests

Fig. 168. From the Frieze of the Temple at Phigalia. British Museum.

(Figs. 166, 167, 168) and the battle with the Centaurs form the subject of the whole frieze. The combatants are separated by Apollo hastening forward with his sister Diana in a chariot drawn by stags. Among all that is preserved to us of the productions of Greek art, these reliefs must be singled out as the boldest and the most animated compositions. A vigor, combined with power and exuberance of invention, prevails in them, far superior to the kindred works in the Temples of Theseus and Nikè, and never needing the aid of repetition. At the same time, the figures are handled in a masterly manner. Many of the groups are enchantingly beautiful: all of them are strikingly truthful. But the delicate moderation, which never allowed Attic art to outstep the limits of the beautiful, is often lacking with the Phigalian artist. Exaggerated, overviolent, uncouth, and even ugly traits are introduced; and one can almost trace in them the violent passions which mark the Peloponnesian war, with its fatal results

for Greece—passions and feelings as much in contrast with the noble and pure enthusiasm of the period of Marathon as the Phigaleian sculptures differ from the works of the art of Phidias.

The Third Epoch,

which includes the fourth century until the time of Alexander the Great, differs unmistakably from that preceding it, both in its political events and in its character. The Peloponnesian war had destroyed all the friendly mutual relations of the Grecian States; had kindled into enmity against one another those passions which could no longer be united in opposition to a common foe; and had introduced a more animated age, and one of more varied motives, in the place of the great days gone by. The old great conceptions and sentiments had passed away, and in their stead appeared new thoughts and feelings, successfully set free from the bondage of the past; for, as the old bond of union between the individual states dissolved, each individual subject attained a freer position amid the more untrammeled action of the whole, developing a complete strength more freely, and making a more varied use of the rich resources at command. The intense tragedy of Euripides, the philosophic systems of Plato, and, later, of Aristotle, are distinctly the offspring of this epoch; and if the spirited comedy of Aristophanes turned its biting wit in favor of the great past, and against the characteristics of the new era, it is none the less a product of the latter. In sculpture, decided changes were the result of these conditions. The intenser, more emotional character of the time must, of necessity, be reflected in its works. Where the earlier age had pictured impressive and awe-inspiring deities, now appeared in their stead the divinities of a more spirited, a warmer, and more life-loving activity; where hitherto, in the representation of animated action, only the play of the bodily powers had been used in the portrayal of victory or defeat, it now became the highest goal of art to show the deeper pathos of the soul, the intense expression of emotion. It was a result of this that the material, too, was changed; that marble, reproducing most admirably the softer, finer shades of form and of expression, was preferred to bronze; and that work in gold and ivory, for which the resources of the states no longer sufficed, and which had belonged rather to an earlier, traditional, and decorative epoch than to the modern age of ardent study of pure form, was almost utterly neglected. In general, this epoch was not favorable to the great monumental works; commissions from private citizens, and consequently the influences of a more decided

individual taste, determined, for the most part, the art character of the time.

One master, however, shows the period of transition to this more emotional method—a man who still largely represented the conceptions of the earlier period. This was the old Cephisodotus of Athens, presumably the father of Praxiteles, who thus united the influence of Phidias with that of the younger school. He devoted himself especially to statues of the gods, both in bronze and marble; and was perhaps the first to establish an artistic type for the nine Muses. It has recently been asserted with probability that the exquisite marble statue in the Glyptothek at Munich, previously called by Winkelmann the Leukothea, is a copy of one of his works: the goddess of peace (Eirene), holding upon her arm the infant Plutus, the god of riches (Fig. 169). The work still breathes the noble style of the time of Phidias, but unites with it a certain depth of feeling in which we may distinctly recognize the influence of the later epoch.

Fig. 169. Eirene, After Cephisodotus. Glyptothek, Munich.

The first great master of this period is Scopas. A native of the Island of Paros, he was one of the two leaders of the new Attic school in the first half and toward the middle of the fourth century B.C.; the other being Praxiteles, who was somewhat his junior. He is named as successful above all others in reproducing touching pathos and stormy passion with a power that had as yet been undreamed of. One of the most important monumental works undertaken in this epoch belongs to the earlier part of his life—the restoration, under his direction, of the Temple of Athena Alea in Tegea, which had been burned in the year 394 B.C. The two groups in its pediments, representing the hunt of the Calydonian boar and the combat of Achilles with Telephus, were also from his hand. If this fact indi-

cates an early developed and versatile genius in the artist, his later works certainly confirm the inference. Among the great number of his statues of divinities, those were thought especially noticeable which exhibit a strong and elevated feeling. Among them was an Apollo—brought to the Palatine at Rome by Augustus—clothed in a long, flowing robe, striking the cithara in exalted mood, his head crowned with a wreath of laurel. The marble statue in the Vatican, called the Apollo Musagetes or Apollo Citharoedus, appears to be a copy of this forcible creation of the master, but the statue is much restored. The expression of excited enthusiasm was still more powerfully exhibited in a maddened Bacchante. The type of this statue may perhaps be found in a statuette in Florence (see the outline drawing in Perry's "Greek and Roman Sculpture"). Less powerful, but so much the more delicate in conception, was a seated Ares, who, consumed with love for Aphrodite, appears sunk in revery. Scopas was the first to model the goddess of love herself in the full beauty of her naked body, the loveliness of which compelled a burst of admiration. More important than these works, however, was a marble group of large dimensions, which, though set up in a temple at Rome, was originally, perhaps, intended for the decoration of the pediment of a temple, and represented the goddess Thetis bringing to her son Achilles the armor made for him by Hephæstus. In the Nereids and Tritons riding their sea-monsters, and in the numerous following of sea gods and goddesses, the artist admirably pictures the rollicking existence of the merry ocean-folk. Finally, we know that Scopas, with other artists, was employed about the year 350 B.C. in the decoration of the mausoleum at Halicarnassus. Of the considerable remains of the works at Halicarnassus we speak later on. Not a great deal, on the other hand, has come down to us of the sculptures on the temple of Athena at Tega*; to wit, the head of a boar, and two youthful male heads—the one looking up with an expression of grief, and both characterized by the far, protruding frontal bones, large, deepset eyes, and vigorous chins. Similar forms with the same energetic touch of life-likeness are apparent in the youthful Hercules, frequently repeated (for instance, in Rome, Palace of the Custodians and Palazzo Corsini); a Meleager likewise occuring repeatedly (Vatican and Villa Medici); an ideal head of an athlete at Olympia, and a female head from the southern slope of the Acropolis, in the museum at Athens. In all these works the vigorous art of Scopas is easily traceable.†

The second leader of the Attic school, Praxiteles, seems to have

*Illustrations in Brunn, "Denkmäler Antiker Plastik."

† Cf. B. Graef, in "Roemische Mittheil. des Inst.," iv., p. 189 *et seq.*

been born in Athens about the beginning of the century, in the neighborhood of the year 392 B.C. Nearly allied to Scopas in his tendencies, he appears to be distinguished from him by greater versatility and an extraordinarily productive fancy. About fifty different works by him are mentioned, among them several groups of many figures each; and if Scopas, almost without exception, made use of marble, Praxiteles, though he also gave this material the preference, executed many excellent works in bronze. In reviewing his creations, we find the greatest variety among them. Gods and men, male and female figures, youth and age, were within his power of representation; but he inclined especially to the softness and delicacy of feminine and youthful forms. Though he portrayed all twelve of the Olympic gods, as in the Temple of Artemis at Megara—and especially Hera, Athene, Demeter, and Poseidon—Aphrodite and Eros were nevertheless, his favorites; and to other divinities — to Apollo and Dionysus, for example—he gave a youthful figure, the better to satisfy his tendency toward tender grace. Though we cannot doubt, from what we learn of his bronze group of the Rape of Proserpine, his Mænads, and bacchanal Sileni, that he was capable of representing scenes of excited passion, yet the quiet of a soft and dreamy mood exalted into a gentle enthusiasm was the real atmosphere of his art.

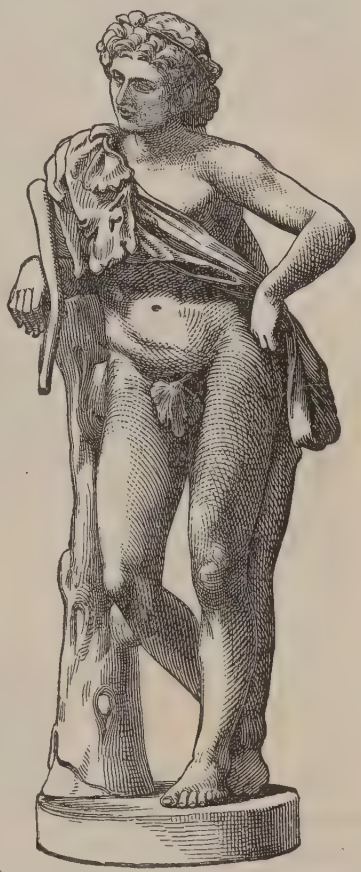


Fig. 170. The Faun of Praxiteles.

Among his celebrated works the Cnidian Aphrodite stands first, as one of the most famous art creations of antiquity. The old authors are filled with its fame; and they relate that the Bithynian king, Nicomedes, offered the Cnidians the payment of their whole state debt in exchange for this wonderful work. The artist had represented the goddess entirely nude, but he modified this bold innovation by making her left hand about to take up a garment, as though she had just emerged from the bath, while with her right she modestly

shielded her person. However numerous may be the copies of this famous statue that have come down to us, of which probably the best is that in the Vatican, to which has been added metal drapery, they can, at best, only convey to us the outward characteristics of its attitude, not the exquisite purity of the work of Praxiteles himself.

Four other statues of the same goddess by Praxiteles were known to the ancients, especially a draped one at Cos, which the Coans preferred to that of Cnidos. Hardly less celebrated were his representations of Eros, among which the marble statue at Thespia was most highly prized. The god was represented in the period of transition between boyhood and young manhood; and it is possible that a torso, among the works preserved in the Vatican, may give us, in its delicate, youthful body and the almost pathetic dreamy expression of the slightly drooping head, an idea of this creation of Praxiteles. A third important work represented Apollo as the lizard-killer (Souroktonos); a bronze statue, of which several copies in marble and bronze have been preserved. The animated, youthful figure, leaning against a tree, and watching, with an uplifted arrow in the right hand, for the little animal as it runs up the trunk, hardly conveys in its graceful play the element of divinity. Finally, among the figures which belong to the class of Bacchic subjects, the most celebrated was that of a young faun, placed in a temple in the Street of Tripods in Athens, which Pausanias calls "The Famous" (Periboëtos). Numerous marble statues of a young and beautiful faun—who, with his right arm resting upon a tree-trunk, leans upon it in pleasant, careless mood, with a half-dreamy look—seem rather to be modeled after another faun by Praxiteles, which was set up at Megara (Fig. 170). There is no doubt that the soft, harmonious charm of all this master's works is aided by a peculiar, delicately softened method of handling, full of tender grace, which brought out in its highest perfection the glow and the translucent polish of the Greek marble. This is seen in the original statue of Praxiteles, exactly as described by Pausanias, unearthed by the latest excavations in the Temple of Hera at Olympia,* the Hermes holding upon his arm the boyish

Fig. 171. From the Parapet of the Temple of Nikè Apteros.

*G. Treu, "Hermes," Berlin, 1878; also "Ausgrabungen von Olympia," iv.

Dionysus, said by Pausanias to be the work of Praxiteles. Well preserved except the extremities of the legs and arms, the slender, youthful form and the gentle, almost dreamy attitude betray the artistic character which was foreshadowed in the Goddess of Peace of Kephisodotos, and here ventures one step farther into the realm of loveliness and grace. Combined with this are a perfection of finish, a softness and delicacy, especially in the treatment of the nude, and a breadth of such vital originality, that the work must be designated as one of the most delightful among the original crea-

Fig. 172. Head of Niobe. Uffizi, Florence.

tions of Greek sculpture which have come down to us. Also the exquisite youthful head of Eubuleus (so denominated by Benndorf), found at Eleusis, now in the museum at Athens, may be looked upon as an original work of this master.

Among the works of the Attic school of this period which have come down to us, the most important are the bass-reliefs on the parapet of the Temple of Nikè Apteros at Athens, of which there is mention above. On one fragment are seen two female figures, holding with vigorous action a struggling bull destined for the sacrifice; on the other, is a female figure in a long, flowing garment, repre-

sented with an admirable expression of the very instant of action, as adjusting the sandal of her right foot (Fig. 171). Besides these, the bas-reliefs which decorate the frieze of the choragic monument of Lysikrates, also named above, are full of animation, and not without a certain humor. They represent, in varied, charming, and spirited groups, the revenge of Bacchus upon the Tyrrhenian pirates.

Another work of this class, famous even in ancient times, is especially noteworthy, though it has come down to us only in later and sometimes only mediocre copies—the group of Niobe and her children. The original, brought from Asia Minor, was in the Temple of Apollo Sosianus at Rome; originally, it probably ornamented the

Fig. 173. From the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus.

pediment of some temple of Apollo in the Asiatic peninsula. Even the ancients were doubtful whether it was by Scopas or Praxiteles; and though, as far as we can judge, the weight of probability is in favor of the former, no certainty can ever be reached in the matter. The subject is, as is well known, the vengeance of Apollo and Artemis upon the Theban queen Niobe, who had boasted, because of her fourteen children, of her superiority over Leda, who had but two. This rashness was punished by the destruction of all of Niobe's children. The figures of the mother with the youngest daughter, the children's tutor with the youngest son, and six other sons and three daughters, have been preserved from a later copy of the original group; the principal figures, with that of the mother, being in the Uffizi Palace at Florence. There are, besides, in the Pinakothek at Munich, the prostrate figure of a dead Niobide, and the torso of the figure called

Ilioneus. It cannot be certainly ascertained whether the latter also belonged to the Niobe group; but it so excels the other figures in beauty, that it must in any case be reckoned one of the rarest original works of that flourishing period of art. The vengeance of the merciless divinities has just begun. One son already lies stretched in death; the others, already struck or in immediate danger, fly to their mother for protection. One of them, in his flight, seeks to raise a sister sinking at his feet; another, fatally wounded, raises himself for a last defiant look toward heaven. The mother forms the central point of the whole group.

Finally, there also belong to Asia Minor a series of bas-reliefs which were discovered in Budrun (the ancient Halicarnassus), and which, almost beyond a doubt, come from the famous mausoleum which Queen Artemisia of Caria built to the memory of her husband in 353 B.C., its sculptured ornamentation executed by Scopas, Leochares, Timotheus, and Bryaxis.* Several bas-reliefs of a frieze, with animated contests with Amazons, were carried at an early day to Genoa, and came into the possession of the Marchese di Negro; the other remains are in London, in the British Museum. Though unequal in their execution, these works so distinctly breathe the living spirit of Scopas' art, that it cannot be denied that they formed part of the mausoleum (Fig. 173). Besides these reliefs from the frieze, fragments of lions, horsemen, and of the great marble *quadriga* with the statue of Mausolus which crowned the whole, have been discovered. The latter, almost completely restored, deserves notice as a most unique original portrait of that epoch.

The wealth in works of Greek art which Asia Minor then possessed has been once more demonstrated by the investigations of Benndorf in Lycia, where a sepulchral monument discovered by Schoenborn at Gjölbashi, about the middle of the nineteenth century, has been examined more closely. Its plastic decoration consisted of a series of friezes, which have been transferred to the Imperial Museums in Vienna; these, measuring about 330 feet in length, are among the most extensive of that period. They acquire still greater interest through their subjects. Besides the frequently treated battle between the Centaurs and Amazons, there is shown the League of the Seven against Thebes, and then a whole series of scenes describing, with a profusion of interesting detail, a contest which is probably the siege and taking of Troy. Especially noteworthy, however, is the Slaying of the Suitors, from the "Odyssey," represented in a series of splendid scenes (Fig. 174) revealing the spiritedness and refinement of Attic art.

* See C. T. Newton, "A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus"; London,

In contrast to the art of the Attic school, the character of which must even now be called an ideal one, the art of the Peloponnesus remained, during this epoch, true to its older and more realistic tendencies. At the head of the Argive-Sicyonian school stands Lysippus, whose activity extended far into the time of Alexander the Great. He was not only one of the most influential, but also one of the most productive, artists of antiquity; though the assertion that he produced fifteen hundred works is beyond doubt exaggerated. Working only in bronze, he was even in this respect opposed to the Attic school; and technically, too, he adopted the earlier style of the Peloponnesus. Though several statues of divinities are mentioned among his numerous works—as, for instance, the colossal Zeus at Tarentum (sixty feet high), and the colossal figure of Hercules set up at the same place —his art, nevertheless, inclined too strongly to the representation of the material — of the beautiful, well-developed human figure as a subject in itself—to permit him to excel in the domain of the ideal. It is equally characteristic of this tendency, that of all ideal figures his most frequent and most favorite subject was the representation of manly physical strength — Hercules; it was he, indeed, who first really and fully defined the hero's typical figure, and set forth his exploits in bronze groups. This master was, however, most fertile in portrait statues; among which his

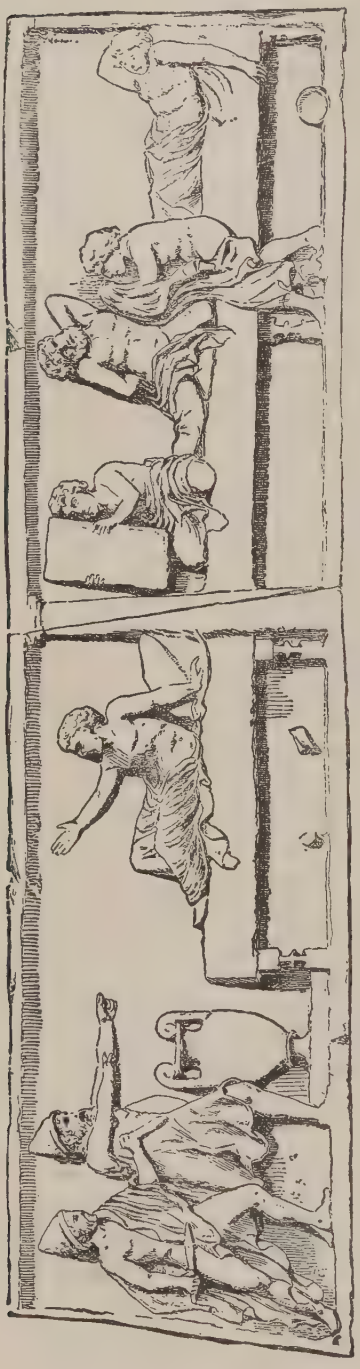


Fig. 174. From the Reliefs at Gjölbashi. (Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst.)

numerous statues of Alexander were so admirable, that the great king desired that Lysippus only should thus portray him. In these productions, the most delicate individuality seems to have been successfully combined with a conception which approached the heroic. Compositions of more extended design also belonged to this class; such as a bronze group dedicated in Delphi, which represented Alexander hunting a lion rescued by Craterus; such, also, as the colossal monument representing the king in the battle on the Granicus, with twenty-five horsemen and nine foot-soldiers. In all these works, the vivacity and the minute and faithful execution were much praised; a quality that was especially observable in the treatment of the hair. It was, however, on the whole, the beauty and harmony of the human body, especially of the male body, to which the efforts of Lysippus were directed; and we may remark, that, though he carefully kept in mind the proportions established by Polycletus, he nevertheless remodeled them upon a new plan, and one better calculated for effect: he formed the body more delicately, slightly, and elegantly, and made the head smaller in proportion to the trunk, than usual in nature. In this regard, his Apoxyomenos—an athlete cleansing himself with the strigil from the dust of the Palæstra—was especially admired in Rome. A masterly statue, perhaps a copy of it in marble, found in 1846 in Trastavere, and now an ornament of the Vatican Gallery (Fig. 175), shows clearly the fine elasticity and agile litheness of a young, beautiful, and perfectly developed body. If we add that Lysippus also reproduced admirably, and with perfect faithfulness to life, the figures of animals, we shall have fairly indicated the sphere of his activity.

Fig. 175. The Apoxyomenos, After Lysippus. (Vatican.)

Many able pupils adopted his methods, who devoted themselves with peculiar lightness and delicacy to similar representations of youthful life. But the Attic school also extended its influence, in this

epoch, over other branches of artistic effort; and portraiture especially seems to have come more into vogue, in the sense of faithful, but by no means absurdly realistic, representation of the subject. Statesmen, orators, philosophers, poets, poetesses, and hetæræ—for Praxiteles not only portrayed his beloved Phryne, but was allowed to set up her statue beside one of Aphrodite—are often and admirably reproduced in sculpture. To convey an idea of the noble conceptions of Greek portrait statues, we give a drawing of the marble statue of Sophocles, in the Lateran Museum, Rome (Fig. 176). This may well be a copy of the famous bronze set up in 368 B.C. The Æschines of the Naples Museum is an interesting companion to it. Besides these, the two seated statues of the comic poets Menander and Poseidippus, in the Vatican, deserve mention, as also the pathetic and powerful Euripides, the rough Demosthenes, and the crafty Phocion, in the same collection; further, the noteworthy figures of the serious Pindar and the fiery Anacreon in the Villa Borghese, and the Aristotle of the Spada Palace, and especially the noble head of Homer, several times repeated, but most noticeable in the Capitoline Museum and in Naples; and, finally, the delicately individualized Æsop of the Villa Albani.

Fig. 176. The Statue of Sophocles. (Lateran Museum.)

Specific manifestations of the high artistic sense of this period are the reliefs on Greek memorials, many of which were already in the public and private collections of Europe,* when recent systematic excavations at Athens laid bare an entire cemetery, in front of the Dipylon.† As on the monument of Aristion, so also we often meet

* The Imperial Academy of Sciences in Vienna has prepared a comprehensive publication of all known Greek tomb reliefs of importance.

† Carl Curtius, "Der attische Friedhof vor dem Dipylon," in "Archælog. Zei-

here with only the simple presentment of the deceased; as, for instance, that of Aristonautes as a steel-clad warrior; that of Dexileos, who was killed in 394 B.C. in the Corinthian War, and with whose memorial the series of these tombs, as it seems, begins. Occasionally it is a family scene, as on the monument of Agathon, or on the noble tombstone of Hegeso, which represents the mistress seated with a jewel-case brought to her by a handmaid. Tinged with gentle sad-

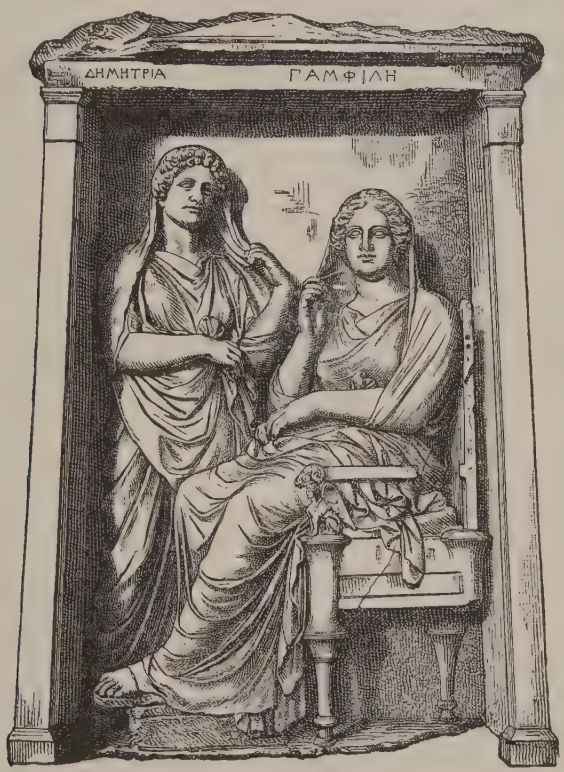


Fig. 177. Attic Tomb Relief. Museum, Athens.

ness are the parting scenes, as on the fine monument of Demetria and Pamphile (Fig. 177). Because these works did not always come from the hands of renowned artists, but must be looked upon as products of a rather workmanlike activity, they attest anew the depth and vigor of Attic art. Their style corresponds to the soft and elegant plastic art, still limited in its mode of expression, which characterizes the younger Attic school of the fourth century B.C.

tung," vol. xxix., 1872. Cf. Salinas, "Monumenti sepolcrali scoperti presso della chiesa della S. Trinita"; Turin, 1863.

The Fourth Epoch,

following these two periods of highest vigor, comprises the time after the death of Alexander, and terminates with the conquest of Greece by the Romans. The rule of Alexander had broken up the varied and individual life of the Greek races; but, as some compensation for this, it had spread the influence of the Hellenic spirit far beyond the boundaries of Greece, till it extended deep into the Orient. What it thus gained in extent it lost in concentration, purity, and independence. As it spread over the East, it absorbed in a great degree the influences of the region, and paid for this in the gradual loss of its own peculiar energy. The destiny of the art of sculpture was changed by this circumstance. In the sundered and dismembered republics of Greece there was now hardly any place for it, and the new-formed courts of princes became its refuge. Instead of constituting the glory of a free people, it fell into the service of rulers whose luxury and pomp necessarily gave it a tendency toward brilliant modeling, mere outward effect, and methods characterized by mere skillful workmanship. Yet, in spite of this, Greek sculpture still retained such vitality that it could add yet others to the domains of art it had already thoroughly conquered, and could create works which were long universally looked upon as its chief productions. The chief characteristic of these is an almost morbidly heightened passion, expressed in a certain audacity of method, and a kind of composition which tended very strongly toward the picturesque. Rhodes was the chief of the Greek states, and Pergamos the only one of the new courts, where the art of this period attained to any important strength.

The school of Rhodes is shown to be a continuation of the Peloponnesian by the fact that we find at its head Chares, a pupil of Lysippus. The bronze colossus of the sun-god, 105 Roman feet in height, which was overthrown by an earthquake soon after its completion, was his chief work, and the largest statue of ancient times. We can understand how great the taste for colossal statues, and the liking for effective treatment in their execution, must have been, from the assertion that, besides this, a hundred others were erected on the Island of Rhodes. The same spirit is manifested in a different way in the statue of "Athamas repenting his frenzy," a work of Aristonidas, in which it is said by Pliny that iron was mixed with the bronze in order to give the appearance of a blush of shame. The most famous work of the Rhodian school is the group of the Laocoon, executed by Agesandros, Athenodorus, and Polydorus, and discovered in 1506 at Rome. It is one of the most admired of the chief treasures of the

LAOCOÖN

FROM THE GROUP IN THE VATICAN MUSEUM, ROME

Vatican collection (Fig. 178). Pliny tells us that this group stood in the palace of Titus; and, from an obscure expression in this passage, it has been concluded (wrongly, as we think) that it was originally made to be placed in that palace. Laocoon was, as related in the "Æneid," a priest of Apollo, and, because he had blasphemed against the god, was destroyed at the altar with his two sons, by two serpents sent by the deity, as he was about to offer a sacrifice to Neptune. This terrible incident, in its full detail, is represented with wonderful art; and a closely connected and interdependent group is formed from the three separate scenes, admirably

Fig. 178. Group of the Laocoon. Vatican Museum.

worked to a climax, and setting forth with incomparable power a moment of the most fearful suffering and horror. The two serpents have just wound themselves about the three figures. Laocoon, powerless, is pressed against the altar, at the foot of which the younger son is breathing out his life with a last sigh, under the serpent's cruel bite. The father cannot help him, for he is himself struck in the side by the deadly fang of the second serpent, so that he thrusts himself upward, convulsed by a spasm of pain, and twists his strongly dilated breast toward the right. Overcome with the agony of death, his head thrown backward, he utters a shriek of anguish; while his right hand, with an expression terribly true to nature, grasps

the back of his head, and the left, with a convulsive, instinctive clutch, seeks to tear off the monster. The elder son, at his left, gazes up in horror at his father, while he vainly seeks with his hand to free his upraised left foot from the coils of the serpent, to whose rage he, too, is in a moment to fall a victim. All this is compressed into one moment—turned into stone with fearful faithfulness. The whole pathos is concentrated in the powerful figure of the father. The whole treatment strengthens, by its almost exaggeratedly sharp, effective manner, the expression of perfect horror; but we see in it nothing but purely physical suffering. The impression is a merely morbid one; for no moral idea, no tragic conflict, no indication of fault or sin, is presented to us. And herein lie the limitations of this work—its contrast to the Niobe and other productions of the earlier period. Still, both its composition and execution are, and will remain, masterly and admirable.

Of precisely the same character, conceived in the same spirit, and executed with no less artistic skill, is another work belonging to the same epoch and school, the most colossal group of ancient times—the group called the Farnese Bull, by Apollonius and Tauriscus of Tralles. According to Pliny's assertion, it belonged to Asinius Pollio at Rome; it was discovered in the sixteenth century, in the Baths of Caracalla, and is now in the Naples Museum. It is described by Pliny, and the extensive restorations were carried out in attempted conformity to the description. The whole upper part of Dirke's body, and her arms; the head of Amphion, and his arms and legs—although the hands and feet are ancient; the head and both arms of Antiope; the head, both arms, and one leg of Zethus, and the legs of the bull, which, of course, determine the position of his body, are all restorations. It is evident, therefore, that the existing group is of no value as a document in the history of ancient sculpture. It appears, however, that this work suffers from the same deficiency as the Laocoon: here, also, the expression of a moral idea is wanting, and our sympathy is awakened only through bodily action and suffering; but in boldness of composition this is perhaps even greater than the other.

The second great school of this epoch, that of Pergamus, seems to have distinguished itself especially in the representation of the battles of Attalus and Eumenes against the Gauls, whose swarming hordes, at about this period (240 B.C.), were overrunning Asia Minor. Pliny mentions several artists who were engaged upon these works—Isigonus, Phyromachus, Stratonicus, and Antigonus. King Attalus caused four groups of statues to be set up on the Acropolis at Athens, in memory of his great victory over the barbarians; representing, be-

sides his own successful battle with the Gauls, the triumph of the gods over the Titans, Theseus' conquest of the Amazons, and the victory of the Athenians over the Persians at Marathon. Following what had been from ancient times a favorite custom with the Greeks, he thus sought to find in history, myth, and legend, parallels for his own recent achievement. The base—50 feet long and 16 feet wide—upon which this great monument rested was found not long ago near the southern wall of the Acropolis; and a still more important discovery was that of a number of single figures, now scattered through different museums, which clearly formed a part of the memorial of Attalus. Four of them are in the Naples Museum, three in the Palace of the Doges at Venice, one in the Louvre, one in the Vatican,

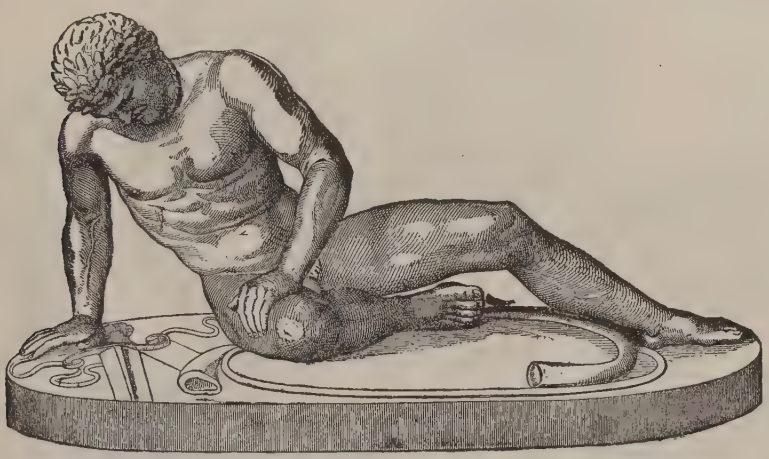


Fig. 179. The Dying Gladiator. (Rome, Capitoline Museum.)

and a tenth in the possession of Castellani, the Roman jeweler. Those at Venice are the most interesting, for in them the Gauls are represented with their ethnographic characteristics indicated with special exactness. In all probability, similar memorials of the victory over the Gauls were also erected in the city of Pergamus. We know nothing of their arrangement; but their character and importance are clearly displayed in the statue of the Dying Gladiator in the Capitoline Museum (Fig. 179). This is undoubtedly a Gaul, who, seeing the foe approach in overwhelming force, has fallen upon his own sword to escape a shameful slavery. Overcome by the faintness of approaching death, he has fallen upon his shield; his right arm with difficulty prevents his sinking to the ground; his life ebbs rapidly away with the blood streaming from the deep wound beneath his breast; his broad head droops heavily forward; the mists of death

already cloud his eyes; his brows are knit with pain; his lips are parted in a last sigh. There is perhaps no other statue in which the bitter necessity of death is expressed with such terrible truth—all the more terrible because this hardy body is so full of strength—because the impression conveyed is so little softened by anything ideal, or by any harmonious beauty in the figure; for the character of the barbarian, as contrasted with the refined and cultured Greek, is worked out most carefully in the treatment of the body, in the rough and even callous texture of the skin, the rugged outlines of the frame, the bristling hair, and the distinct race-type indicated by the head. What a gulf there is between those Persian representations of the time of Mara-

Fig. 180. Zeus Group. From the Frieze of the Battle of the Titans on the Altar at Pergamus. (Berlin.)
(From the illustration in "Jahrbuch der Köngl. Preussischen Kunstsammlungen.")

thon, with their complete idealization, and the sharply individualized, thoroughly historic accuracy of this statue of the Gaul!

Closely related to this, in character, material, and execution, is the marble group of a Gaul putting his wife and then himself to death, which is in the Villa Ludovisi at Rome, and is known as "Arria and Pætus." It is the same scene, only represented at another moment, and made more touching by a higher pathos, and by the expression of the very instant of suffering. The Gaul has just given his wife her death-blow, and she is falling lifeless at his feet, only her left arm still supported by his hand. The defiant warrior himself, his right hand raised high above him, plunges his short battle-sword with one strong blow into his breast, in such stormy haste as though to snatch the last

moment from the close-approaching foe. This work is equal to the other in sharp individuality, and in the accurate rendering of the figure.

The grandest creation which the school of Pergamus has bequeathed to us, however, is the altar of Zeus, probably erected under Eumenes II., which was adorned by one of the most imposing plastic compositions of classical antiquity. The structure was a great platform with vertical retaining walls and an upper and lighter columnar building surrounding the actual altar of sacrifice. This superstructure is not well understood, but the outer walls of the platform are crowned by a frieze in relief, 8 feet high and 400 feet long, representing the Battle of the Titans. Once more the ideal presentation of form, peculiar to Greek art, is here revived to combine with a pathetic expression, a boldness and power in the description of passionate emotions, remindful of Laocoon and of the Dying Gladiator. In characterizing the Titans, most of which terminate in serpents, while some are supplied with wings or exhibit still other fantastic combinations, the artist has made use of elements which call to mind the most archaic Oriental myth-phantasms. The two principal groups are that of Zeus hurling his thunderbolts against three of the Titans (Fig. 180), and that of Athene before whom the mournful Gæa, mother of the Titans, rises wailing from beneath the ground (Fig. 181). The three-headed Hecate, and most of the other gods, can be traced in the fragments, now preserved in the Berlin Museum. As regards inspired power of invention and passionate ardor, overwhelming variety of forms and ideal beauty of the individual figure, this frieze ranks with the most important masterpieces of Greek sculpture. A smaller frieze, of picturesque freedom in composition, containing heroic legends of Pergamus—especially that of Telephos, the mythical ancestor of the Attalidæ—seems to have had its place on the columnar building which stood upon the great platform. This frieze was about five feet in height.*

Of the time between the decline of the Pergamene school (about 150 B.C.) and the establishment of the Roman Empire under Augustus are several works of sculpture of the utmost importance historically, because having for two or three centuries engaged the attention of modern Europe, which took them for the finest possible works of ancient art. The masters of the Renaissance knew nothing of the pure Greek work which is described above, and took those statues and groups which now form the contents of the great museums of Europe for the ideally perfect art of the Greeks of the

* Cf. the official report of the excavations, reprinted separately from "Jahrbuch der K. preuss. Kunstsammlungen"; Berlin, 1881.

Great Time. Such a statue is the Venus of the Medici, for so many years the central figure in the Tribune of the Uffizi Museum at Florence. This piece may be taken as a later modification of the Cnidian Venus described above. There are in the Naples Museum a row of similar statues, and others exist in many of the museums. They all affect the same attitude and the same general treatment, the Medicean Venus being only the most finely worked specimen that has come down to us of this once very popular type. Another example is the Hercules Farnese in the Naples Museum; although this piece is in its general design thought to be of the earlier and better time of Scopas.

Fig. 181. Athena Group. From the Frieze of the Battle of the Titans on the Altar at Pergamus. Berlin.
(From the illustration in "Jahrbuch der Köngl. Preussischen Kunstsammlungen.")

The existing statue, not much restored, in its extreme exaggeration of modeling, in the evident desire of the sculptor to express in human muscles all the divine strength of the demigod, is tasteless and in every way foreign to the Greek spirit. There are, however, better things than this. Of familiar statues there are the Venus of Capua, whose attitude suggests a possible restoration for the Venus of Melos; and the admirable Diana of Versailles in the Louvre Museum, one of the most effectively draped female statues left us by antiquity. Of male statues, one of the finest is the so-called Borghese Gladiator in the Louvre Museum, in reality the statue of a contestant in a race of men carrying the heavy shield and spear; found

APOLLO BELVEDERE

IN THE BELVEDERE OF THE VATICAN

at Antium in the seventeenth century. Among these also is to be placed the wonderful Torso of the Belvedere, a piece of the most perfect technical skill and showing the profoundest knowledge. It is unfortunately much broken away, but the perfect modeling of the muscles of the chest and sides expresses the attitude so that the original action of the figure can hardly be misunderstood. It is of this statue that we hear in connection with Michelangelo's studies, and his love for it in his old age and partial blindness.

Among these later specimens of sculpture is one of the most famous works of all antiquity, the explanation of which was long sought in vain, and only recently discovered by a fortunate accident. This is the Apollo Belvedere of the Vatican; or, perhaps the original, which was the prototype of this and other imitations. The god is represented stepping lightly forward; his beautiful, manly body naked, save for the light chlamys which falls from his left shoulder over the arm with which it was formerly supposed that he held his bow. The head, turned a little toward the side, is raised in an attitude full of spirit; the eye seems to follow the effect of the arrow that has just left the string; and an alert, vigorous life animates the proudly parted lips, and breathes from the dilated nostrils. It is thus that one might picture the god of light at the moment when he had launched the fatal shaft against the Python, and his whole godlike beauty was still thrilling with the noble wrath that filled his soul. There is something wonderfully striking, bold, and full of action in the impression that the work produces; and however much the rhythmic harmony of the form, the exquisite curve of the outlines, and the nobility of the whole structure of the body, may speak of the immortal beauty of the god, the observer is nevertheless most delighted by the animated aspect of the head, the fiery life of the proud features. Schnaase, writing forty years ago, calls the Apollo the most brilliant piece of sculpture of ancient times; and its excellences, as well as its limitations and the purely subjective character of its conception, are fitly characterized by this phrase. It cannot be denied that the effort of the artist to give the effect of the moment of action is carried so far as to produce something startling and striking; and, although the somewhat theatrical impression which the statue makes may be brought about by the badly restored hands and their peculiar spread-out position, a tendency in that direction is observable even without this damaging addition. The Apollo was discovered in Porte d'Anzo (the ancient Antium), a favorite resort of the earlier Cæsars. Without being led by this fact to assign the statue definitely to their day, we may find reasons enough in the whole character of the work to attribute it to that epoch. That it is, however, only the copy of a

Greek original, has only been proved by the discovery of other imitations, which may be traced back to the same work. The most important of these is a bronze statuette belonging to Count Sergei Stroganoff at St. Petersburg, and discovered at Paramythia, near Janina, in 1792.* It gives precisely the same position and action of the god, but shows that, instead of holding a bow in the broken and falsely restored left hand, he held the ægis with the head of Medusa, which he was extending toward some enemy. Homer makes him thus put to flight the Achaians with the ægis intrusted to him by Zeus. Sophocles, in the "Œdipus Tyrannus," represents him thus opposing Ares, the bringer of the pestilence. But the key to a complete explanation of the statue was found, in this case also, in the conflicts with the Gauls—in the invasion of Greece by the Gauls under Brennus in 280 B.C., which had for its chief motive the pillage of the temple at Delphi. The Ætolians and their allies hurled their armies against the enemy, and defeated them overwhelmingly. But a pious legend had it, that Apollo himself came to the aid of his defenders with tempest, hail, thunder, and lightning, and that his shining form put the panic-stricken foe to hasty flight. To commemorate the victory, a festival celebrating the rescue was appointed; and the Ætolians, and their allies the Patræans, erected statues to the god. Both the Stroganoff Apollo and the Belvedere are undoubtedly traceable to one of these works; and so, too, is the beautiful marble head which has passed from the hands of the sculptor Steinhäuser into the possession of the Basle Museum. We owe our admiration to that vigor of Greek genius which, even at this late period, could create a work of such a high ideal type.

The marble statue of the Aphrodite of Melos, commonly called The Venus of Milo, belongs to this period. It is a full-length figure larger than life, now in the Louvre. Grandly serious, and almost severe, the goddess of love appears, not yet conceived, as in later representations, as a love-demanding woman. The simple drapery resting on the hips displays uncovered the grand form of the upper half of the body, which, with all its beauty, has that mysterious unapproachableness which is the genuine expression of the divine.

The work must date from the second century B.C. In its majesty and its impressive earnestness it may be looked upon as a conception of earlier times, illustrating the type of the pre-Praxitelean Aphrodite; but the treatment of the surfaces, and especially of the drapery, mark it as belonging to the Hellenistic age, and as nearly contem-

* For a full account of this bronze, see Apollon Boëdromios, "Bronze statue im besitz des Grafen Sergei Stroganoff, erläutert von Ludolf Stephani"; St. Petersburg, 1860. With four copper-plate illustrations.

porary with the Artemis of Versailles and the Victory of Samothrace. Whether or not she held in her left hand an apple; or a shield serving as a mirror; or a shield upon which she was writing, and was therefore rather a Victory (Nikè) than an Aphrodite, must remain a matter of conjecture; but that she stood independently is altogether probable. An association with Ares in a group, as has been suggested, is not supported by any evidence, and can only be considered as a remote possibility.

As one of the most splendid works of this epoch must finally be mentioned the Nikè of Samothrace, which was placed in the Louvre in 1863. Of a size almost twice that of life, this badly mutilated marble figure represents the goddess of victory dashing forward in dauntless onset and sounding the trumpet, while in her left hand she is carrying the implements for the erection of a tropæum. Thus she is represented on the coins of Demetrios Polyorketes, and we may conclude with a good deal of certainty that this imposing work was produced to commemorate the victory at Cyprus, in 306 B.C., over the fleet of Ptolemy. The curious pedestal, representing the prow of a Greek galley, also seems to point to a naval victory. Unlike the Nikè of Pæonius, who is in the act of flying, the goddess is conceived as hastening onward with rapid strides. The spirited freedom of her movements, the superb roundness of her form, the effective treatment of the drapery pressed by the wind tightly against the body, and floating backward in mighty waves—all this lends to this glorious figure the stamp of peerless perfection. Its lofty, pathetic character is in thorough keeping with the artistic tendency of this epoch.

Among the precious creations of these times must finally be reckoned the marble sarcophagi of Macedonian rulers which were discovered in Phœnicia, in a large tomb of many chambers, on the site of the ancient Sidon, and are now in the museum at Constantinople. Rich, plastic adornment and decoration in color combine here to produce a brilliant effect.

C.—COINS AND ENGRAVED GEMS.

The life of the Greeks was so thoroughly penetrated with the breath of art, that it sought to impress the stamp of beauty even upon all its practical needs. This is especially evident in Greek coins, though these displayed a greater variety and perfection in Græcia Magna and Sicily than in Greece itself. Athens, Argos, and Sicyon, the capitals of art during the most flourishing periods, long preserved a very plain and antique style in the devices on their coins. In the most remote antiquity a rough form of bullion was in use, until the

custom of coining money was brought from Asia: first from Lydia to the Greeks of Asia Minor, and thence to those of the European continent. King Pheidon of Argos is said to have directed the minting of the first coins, in Ægina, in the eighth century, or, according to some authorities, not until the seventh. The oldest Greek coins of which we have any knowledge consist of thick, bean-shaped pieces of silver, bearing on their obverse the roughly executed symbol of their city, and on the reverse nothing but the quadrangular impression (*quadratum incusum*) which the molten piece had received from the

Fig. 182. Examples of Greek Coins.

stamp. In lower Italy and Sicily, on the other hand, thin, round disks of silver were in use, upon which the figure was so stamped that it generally showed on the reverse an indented repetition of the obverse. Such coins are called *nummi incusi,* or incuse pieces. In the fourth century B.C. a higher development appears in the coins of the Pheneus and Stymphalos in Arcadia, and in those of the Islands of Naxos and Crete. In Magna Græcia and Sicily, however, the art of coinage was of considerable importance as early as the fifth century B.C.; and in the next hundred years it attained a high stage of development in the spirited character of the work executed, in its variety and perfection of form. It is a peculiarity of all Greek coins that they commonly bear the image of the special local divinity, or some emblem belonging to him. It is only with the period of Alexander and his succes-

sors that the heads of rulers begin to take the place of these figures of the gods. In Fig. 182 we give some examples from different periods of Greek coinage. To the earliest and simplest, only decorated with an emblem, belong (*a*) one from Ægina, with the tortoise; (*b*) one from Ephesus, with the bee; (*c*) a Bœotian coin, with a shield; (*d*) a coin attributed to Athens, with the antique mask of Medusa; (*e*) one of Athens, with the sharply drawn head of Pallas and the bird dedicated to her. A freer development, showing itself in lifelike composition, purer drawing, and the filling of the space at command without crowding it, is displayed in (*f*) the coin of Selinus, with Apollo and Artemis in their chariot—reverse, the river-god Selinus at the altar of Asclepius; in (*g*) that of Heracleia, with a noble head of Pallas, and Hercules strangling the Nemæan lion; in (*h*) that of Pandosia; (*k*) that of Platanæ, with its beautiful head of Hera; and (*i*) that of Tarentum, with a kneeling satyr, and the mythical Taras, riding on a dolphin. Finally, an idea of coins of the last Greek epoch may be formed from *l*, with the head of Alexander, and *m*, bearing the head of Antiochus VII. (Euergetes), and a representation of Athene, similar to that statue which, according to the description, was set up in the Parthenon by Phidias. The importance of coins to the student of ancient art is in their being the unaltered, uncopied, original Greek sculpture of the time to which each belongs. The large statues of the galleries are, nearly always, copies made to adorn Roman courts and gardens; but the gold or silver or copper medal is a piece of original work.

The numerous carved gems that have come down to us show a still great and varied wealth of artistic talent; and these also are sometimes of pure Greek work, though the distinction is hard to make. In this department, work of the earlier epochs is comparatively rare; and it is only in the later, more luxurious period that we find a multitude of the most delicate productions—brilliant conceptions illustrating the most interesting passages of myth and legend. In the fourth century B.C., Pyrgoteles was considered the most famous master of gem-engraving; he was the only one who, according to the legends, was permitted by Alexander to engrave his portrait. Under Alexander's successors, in the gorgeous courts of the Orient, such luxury was developed in this branch of art that gems and intaglios no longer satisfied it, and the so-called cameos were invented—stones cut in high relief. In these, different stones with layers of different colors were the favorite material, their natural formation being used with such skill as to bring out a light carving against a dark background. The largest and most beautiful of these works is the Cameo-Gonzaga in the imperial collection in St. Petersburg, which is supposed to rep-

resent the heads of Ptolemy I. and his wife Eurydice. A cameo of almost equal size, in the imperial collection at Vienna, bears the portraits of Ptolemy II. and his queen.*

4. *Greek Painting.*

A.—ITS CHARACTER AND INFLUENCE.

Among the Greeks, the development of the art of painting was later than that of sculpture. In its higher departments it was the younger, but not, on that account, the less important art.†

Although in modern times doubts have often been cast upon the great æsthetic work of Greek painting, yet the enthusiastic descriptions of the ancient authors, and their universal agreement as to the general high estimation in which works in this branch of art were held, should guard us against adopting unfavorable judgments.

It is, indeed, difficult to follow the descriptions of the ancients, and next to impossible to gather even an approximate idea of those much-praised works of art, inasmuch as not a single one of them has been preserved, and we should be literally obliged to judge of their color as a blind man might. Notwithstanding this, a great number of paintings have come down to us, which, when their position is carefully considered in relation to ancient art-production as a whole, give us the means for an approximate estimate.

These are, on the one hand, the innumerable painted vases that are to be met with by the thousand in all European museums; on the other, the rich treasures of wall painting which have been discovered at Pompeii and some other places. But we must remember that all these works are either, like the vases, the product of skilled hand labor, or else they are, like the wall pictures, showy decorative works, and presuppose, therefore, an incalculable inferiority in all respects to the creations of the great Greek masters. If, then, the paintings on the vases give, to say the least, evidence of an inexhaustible wealth of artistic motive, of an amazing strength of picturesque fancy, of great skill in arrangement and composition; if, moreover, the better ones among them display an inimitable delicacy of drawing, an exquisite rhythm of lines—this alone should be sufficient to convince us of the artistic importance of that multitude of pictures of which these

* See C. W. King, "Antique Gems and Rings"; 2 vols., London, 1872. Millin, "Introduction à l'Etude des Pierres Gravées"; Paris, 1796. Köhler, "Geschnittene Steine"; St. Petersburg, 1851. J. H. Middleton, "The Engraved Gems of Classical Times." Barclay V. Head, "Historia Numorum, A Manual of Greek Numismatics." G. F. Hill, "A Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins." Percy Gardner, "The Types of Greek Coins."

† See H. Brunn, "History of Greek Artists"; Stuttgart, 1859.

are but weak copies. It is true that there is expressed in these works rather a plastic than a picturesque power. In a single color, and with an equally monochromatic background, they do not rise above the level of reliefs; and even fail to produce the effect of reliefs, because of their flatness and lack of changing play of light and shade. The case is different with the wall paintings which have come down to us from antiquity. Although, from a technical standpoint, they are not superior in character to simple works of decoration, they give us a surprising retrospect of the moving, whole-souled beauty of the masterpieces which have been lost forever. A full, warm, rich vividness of color, a delicate marking of forms by means of light and shade, and a studied chiaroscuro, are here the artistic principles on which these representations rest. They are evidently the work of men trained in a great school, and there could have been no such school without masterpieces of art far superior to the journeymen's work found on house walls in Pompeii. For those are purely decorative, without attempt at expressional value, and also without pretensions to representative merit of a high order. They are flat, simple, and uniform, without complexity, without elaborate composition, generally without background or much attempt to harmonize near and distant objects. They are more nearly related to those laws which govern bas-reliefs than to free artistic development, and prove still further that the plastic principle is unmistakably stamped upon every production of Greek art.

The technique of ancient art varies with the character and purpose of different works. The chief distinction was, of course, between wall painting and painting upon tablets. The former were generally executed upon carefully prepared and delicately smoothed stucco, with ordinary water colors, the vehicle, that is the glutinous or adhesive medium, of which is not ascertained. The latter was upon wooden tablets, in *tempera*—that is, in colors mixed with a kind of sizing. Encaustic painting—a method in which colors mixed with wax are applied to a carefully prepared surface, and then fixed by the near approach to the surface of hot irons, fusing the wax—was probably in use from early times to fix securely the painting upon external walls and sculpture set up out of doors; but when it was first used for elaborate wall paintings we have absolutely no means of deciding. Color decoration by other methods than painting was less practiced among the Greeks than among other nations of antiquity; but mosaic work, consisting of figures formed of various colored stones joined together, was used for inferior purposes, especially for the more magnificent ornamentation of pavements. The splendid later development of mosaic belongs to the Roman period.

B.—HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT.

The accounts of the ancients concerning the first discoveries which brought painting into being do not deal with mythical, but with definite historical names. Thus Cleanthes is said to have made the first silhouettes, and Telephanes to have further developed the art of linear drawing; Ecphantus to have first introduced painting in a single color (monochrome); Eumarus of Athens to have been the first to distinguish man from woman by means of different colors. Here, however, it must be pointed out that no ancient writer has left us any thorough study of the history of painting; all our information comes from slight and casual allusions, embodying, as seen in the last sentence above, legendary accounts of early times. In the most ancient designs upon pottery vases we find some evidence of the condition of painting at the time of their production; and the lighter tint of the women and the darker complexion of the men show us in what consisted the service said to have been rendered to art by Eumarus. Soon after these first efforts and discoveries, a master appeared, whose celebrated works shed luster on the age of Cimon. Polygnotus, a native of the Island of Thasos, seems to have been summoned to Athens by Cimon, about 462 B.C., for the purpose of adorning a number of the more beautiful edifices with paintings. Among other things, he, together with several fellow-artists, painted, in a hall to which the name of "Poikile" (the many-colored) was given, the battles of the Athenians with the Lacedæmonians, that of Theseus with the Amazons, the capture of Troy, and the battle of Marathon. He and another Athenian master named Micon represented in the Temple of the Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux) a series of episodes taken from the heroic legend. He also contributed to the paintings in the Temple of Theseus, to the Pinacotheca of the Propylæa, and to the vestibule of the Temple of Athene at Platea. But his paintings in the Lesche, at Delphi (a hall founded by the Cnidians), enjoyed the greatest fame. He here represented the taking of Troy, and the visit of Odysseus to Hades, in pictures rich in figures, and in multitudinous groups crowding one upon another. These pictures are described as not possessing a full roundness of modeling; we may imagine them to be very flat and strongly outlined, not wholly unlike vase paintings, light upon a dark background, without shading and modeling, done with four colors only, and entirely without perspective. And yet, with all this strict simplicity in the treatment, the delicacy of drawing, the wealth of expression in the figures, and the nobility of the forms were greatly praised. When, moreover, the

eyebrows of his Cassandra are lauded; when it is said of his Polyxena that the whole Trojan War could be seen in that virgin's eyelids; when, especially, individuality ("Ethos") is attributed to Polygnotus before all others—we cannot but be convinced of the force and intellectual importance of his works.

Thus we see painting in this epoch applied to great commemorative objects, held rigidly and simply to the representation of historical events, and devoting itself to whatever in them is spiritual and provocative of thought. But they are wanting in that more developed, more realistic character which aims rather to attain whatsoever is imposing, inspiring, awe-awakening, than that which is attractive and varied. In its bald severity of treatment it appears to bear some relation to the works of Christian art in the first part of the middle ages; but in the knowledge and skill shown in the execution, in the accuracy of drawing, in the delicate distinctness of its forms, and in the delineation of various states of feeling, it undoubtedly far surpassed them.

After this, painting passed through a further development of a technical character. The Attic school continued its efforts in this direction through the remainder of the fifth century B.C. Attempts at illusory effect, at bringing perspective into play, are said to have appeared in Agatharchus, who was employed in the decoration of theaters and in similar matters. But more important was the work of Apollodorus, who is stated to have been the first to introduce a more picturesque arrangement and a more effective modeling of his figures by observing the effect of light and shade, and who acquired in this manner the name of "the painter of shadows."

After the Peloponnesian War, the art of painting deserted Attica for a time, only to make a far greater advance in the cities of Asia Minor, and especially in Ephesus. The merit of this Ionic school lies principally in a richer and more refined development of color, in a more finished modeling, and in the attainment of a more positive illusory effect. During this period, painting, like sculpture, began to concern itself more with ordinary life, and the fulfillment of secular and private aims; and painting upon panels began gradually to take the place of fresco painting. Many anecdotes of the artists of this epoch give evidence of their efforts for the accurate imitation of nature; as, for instance, the well-known story of the wager between the two chief masters of this school, Zeuxis and Parrhasius, the former of whom painted some grapes which the birds pecked at, while the latter, by painting a curtain hanging over his picture, succeeded in deceiving even his rival himself. The very prominence given to such stories is evidence of the slight sense of the true value and char-

acter of the art of painting possessed by the writers who thought it worth while to record them. In antiquity it was clearly held unworthy of a scholar and a man of literary attainments to give attention to technical details of what he looked upon as a mere mechanical trade.

Zeuxis of Heraclea, probably a native of Græcia Magna, displayed great activity at Ephesus during the later years of his life. Not only were delicate attractiveness and womanly grace to be found in his pictures—as, for instance, in that of Helen, for which the inhabitants of Croton allowed him to make use of the most beautiful and most noble virgins of the city as models—but he also succeeded most admirably in giving a lifelike expression to situations full of vivacity and meaning; as in the case of his picture of a centaur family, which is so well described by Lucian. We have another illustration of this in the report that he died of laughing over a picture of an old woman that he had painted. In rivalry with him, Parrhasius the Ephesian developed a style of art which was not less admired. According to the account of Pliny, he was the first to apply the law of proportion to painting, lending refinements of expression to the face, elegance to the hair, a winning charm to the mouth, and, as the artists themselves admitted, bearing off the palm for his outline drawings. A delicacy of form, a keen observation of light, shade, and reflection, and a masterly embodiment of psychological expression, seem to have been his chief characteristics. This last trait is very plainly to be observed in the stories of the ancients concerning a picture in which he embodied all the contradictory qualities belonging to the character of the Athenian people. In another picture he painted two boys, in whom were exhibited all the confidence and frankness of boyhood. Among his scenes from the lives of heroes there are several, such as the assumed insanity of Ulysses and the one known as the suffering Philoctetes, which indicate, in the choice of their subjects, the tendency toward the delineation of strong emotion.

Timanthes, who did not indeed belong to the Ionic school, but who once took part in a competition with Parrhasius at Samos, is to be counted among the more celebrated contemporaries of these two masters. He is especially praised for the power of his imagination, as well as for the depth and significance of his intellectual conceptions. His picture of the sacrifice of Iphigenia was much admired; in this his masterly skill intensified the expression of pity and grief, and touchingly conveyed the supreme anguish of the father, Agamemnon, by depicting him with veiled head. It is thought that a copy of this work is preserved in one of the Pompeian frescos, differing somewhat, to be sure, in its details, and poorly executed.

The same contrast that exists between the sculpture of the Attic school and that of the Peloponnesian may be thought to have existed also between the painting of the Ionic and the school of Sicyon. A more scientific training, more strongly defined, characteristic drawing, with deep, effective coloring, appear to be its distinctive features. At its head stood Eupompus, known by his painting of a conqueror at the Olympic games. His pupil, Pamphilus, seems to have laid the foundation of a more thorough school of painting by the introduction of scientific studies, and appears to have been a teacher who was eagerly sought after. Melanthius is praised for the composition of his pictures; and Pausias for his skill in foreshortening and in the

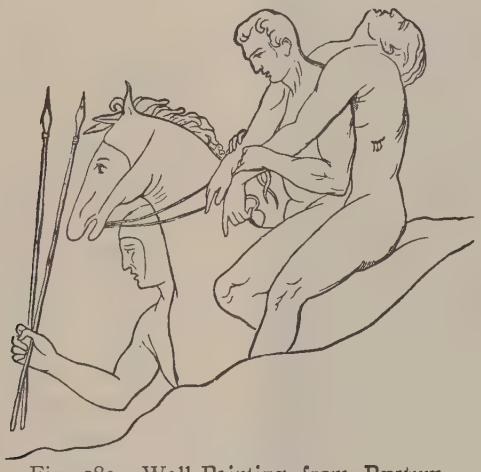


Fig. 183. Wall-Painting from Pæstum.

painting of walls and roofs, as well as for the particularly delicate execution of his encaustic work.

Apelles, who lived in the latter half of the fourth century, and who knew how to combine the excellences of the Ionic and Sicyonian schools, is stated to have brought Greek painting to its highest perfection. He seems to have lent to his works a finished charm, and that delicate spirit of beauty which can arise only from a combination of exquisitely yielding forms with a subtle fusion of tints, and a noble, full-souled conception. The irresistible charm of his works consisted in the harmony of their proportions. The most celebrated among them was the Aphrodite rising from the sea, and wringing the water from her hair with her hands. Painted originally for the Temple of Æsculapius at Cos, it was brought to Rome and placed in the Temple of Cæsar by Augustus, who allowed the people of Cos, as indemnity for it, a reduction of one hundred talents in their tribute.

Afterward, when the picture had suffered some damage, no artist dared to undertake its restoration. Another of his pictures was a representation of Calumny. Besides this, he painted the gods and heroes, and innumerable portraits of Alexander, who would never consent to be painted by any one but Apelles. He also painted for the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus the great king, holding the lightning in his hand; and so impressive was the expression of this picture, that Alexander said in regard to it, that there were two Alexanders—the unconquered son of Philip, and the inimitable one of Apelles.

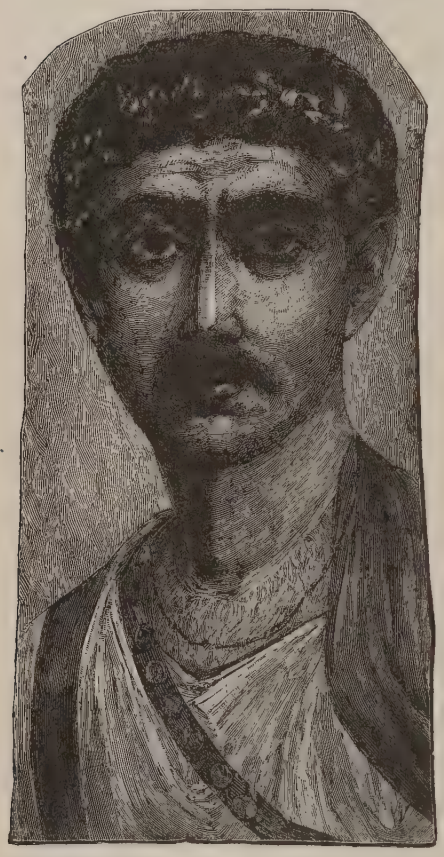


Fig. 184. Male Portrait from Fayoum.

Among the contemporaries of Apelles, Protogenes was so admirable that even Apelles himself stood gazing upon a picture of Ialysus painted by him, as if petrified with admiration.

Aetion, whose picture of Alexander and Roxana was highly praised, was also an excellent painter. Antiphilus, too, enjoyed great celebrity, although he showed a preference and great aptitude for a somewhat coarser, lower order of painting; namely, for caricature, effects of light, and scenes of every-day life. Theon was another artist of the time, who was distinguished for the effective way in which he represented such incidents as were characterized by life and movement.

A few relics of this epoch have been discovered in the sepulchral chambers at Pæstum, among them scenes of the noblest beauty and the deepest expression; as, for instance, the representation of a youth carrying his wounded companion on horseback from the fight, now to be found in the museum at Naples (Fig. 183).

In the age which followed that of Alexander, an effort after real-

ism, combined with a partiality for representations of low life, for genre painting and still life, became gradually apparent. From the accounts of the ancients, we are justified in believing that this province of painting, the so-called "rhyparography," was also brought to a high state of perfection. The greatest fame in this department was acquired by Piraïcus, whose barbers' shop and shoemakers' stalls, still life, and other sketches of a humble order, but of great delicacy of execution, commanded, according to Pliny, higher prices than the more elaborate pictures of many other artists.

Fig. 185. Female Portrait from Fayoum.

Yet there were still masters who accomplished much that was admirable in a higher genre, among whom Timomachus is the last conspicuous example. From him we have an Aias and the Medea, which was purchased by Cæsar for eighty talents, and set up in the Temple of Penus Genetrix; and, besides these, an Iphigenia in Tauris, who, about to sacrifice her brother, is represented as filled with conflicting emotions. This passionate inward strife must have shown itself still more decidedly in the Medea, who was portrayed at the moment before her cruel deed, holding the sword in her hand, but hesitating whether to plunge it into the breasts of her own children. A copy of this picture is perhaps to be recognized in a fresco at Pompeii, now in the Museum of Naples.

To the most remarkable remains of Greek painting belong those that were discovered, not long ago, near the ancient city of Kerke in the Egyptian province of Fayoum, and are now the property of Mr. Th. Graf in Vienna. They are portraits, seventy-eight in all, which were painted upon the mummy-cases, otherwise usually decorated

with sculpture. Executed upon sycamore wood in the encaustic manner, they are of very unequal merit, as inferior mechanical productions alternate with others of artistic excellence. The best among them are conspicuous for their vigorous painting and their lifelike conception. The seriousness of the male heads is as happily rendered as is the frank comeliness, often verging on the childlike, of the female heads (see Figs. 184, 185). Side by side with Greek and Roman characteristics, a few Semitic and Ethiopian types also occur, so that it would seem that a late Hellenic art epoch, coeval with the Diadochi or successors of Alexander the Great, has here handed down to us monuments, valuable not only from the standpoint of art history, but also from that of the history of civilization.* In this age of increasing luxury, mosaic work appears to have been developed to a magnificent perfection. Among the masters of this art, Sosos is especially extolled, who executed at Pergamus "The Unswept House"; so called because he showed upon the floor, in a very skillful manner, the remains of a meal, and such things as are generally left scattered about. Tricks of that sort pleased the masses then, as now. Especial admiration was excited in this work by some doves, sitting drinking or sunning themselves on the edge of a vessel of water; a representation whose fidelity to nature can be partly judged by a mosaic of similar subject, perhaps even a copy, which is preserved in the Museum of the Capitol at Rome. Finally, we must not forget such splendid work as that of the wonderful mosaic found in Pompeii early in the nineteenth century, and let into the floor of the Hall of Flora, Naples Museum. This represents the defeat of an Oriental by a European king: generally admitted to be the battle of Issus (333 B.C.), in which the army of Darius, king of Persia, was routed by Alexander of Macedon. It is impossible to fix the date of this mosaic; but the Greek descent and character of the people of Pompeii, and the great number of works of Greek art even of early time which have been found there and in the ruins of Herculaneum, Bosco Reale, and other places in the Vesuvian region, authorize the modern student to look upon it as pure Greek in conception and treatment.

C.—PAINTING ON VASES.

Finally, the painted vases should be mentioned, which not only offer us in their forms admirable illustrations of the delicacy of the Greek sense of beauty, but are also of great importance because of

* Cf. G. Ebers and Donner v. Richter, in "Allgem. Zeitung," 1888; also R. Graul, in "Lützow's Zeitschrift," 1889, with illustrations.

the designs upon them.* When we think that these works are merely the adornment of vessels of baked clay, we cannot but be forced to admire these designs, often of unsurpassed freedom and beauty. It is not necessary to assume that all the vessels so painted were meant to be used in ordinary household service; on the contrary, we know that some were used as votive offerings, and some as prizes in athletic and other contests.

The painted vases found in Italy in great abundance were at first called "Etruscan," because often found in the land of that ancient people, the modern Tuscany. Early in the nineteenth century it was established that they were of Greek origin, and always the work either of the people of Greece proper or some Greek colony. These, however, as seen in the Naples Museum, the Louvre, and the British Museum, were the more elaborate pieces, with figure-subjects, and showing much skill of draughtsmanship. It was only in the second half of the nineteenth century that much attention was called to the simpler pieces.†

These vessels, discovered recently, not only by Schliemann in Troy, Tiryns, and Mycenæ, but also by General di Cesnola in Cyprus, and brought by the hundred from graves in the Levant, bear an ornamentation consisting chiefly of linear elements. It is the oldest straight-lined motives, too, borrowed from the technique of plaiting and weaving, such as rhomboids with parallel lines, zigzags, crosses, and the like, which cover the surfaces indiscriminately. Soon, however, they were blended with circular patterns based upon embossed bronze-work, and including concentric circles, dots, and spirals in manifold combinations. This mode of ornamentation also plays an important part, as we have seen, on the gold articles at Mycenæ. Gradually the imitation, as yet very awkward and childish, of human figures, is added, especially that of warriors; moreover, animals appear, particularly horses, cattle, goats, but also swans and other birds. Plant designs are well-nigh excluded. We shall have to designate this ornamentation not as primitive European, but rather as Asiatic in origin; and as belonging to very early civilization—in fact, as common to mankind in general in the first stages of development. If it survived longest in the north, where we specify it as Celtic, it was not lacking in the East—in Asia or in Egypt—only that there it was supplanted, at an immemorial period of antiquity, by a

*For an account of the historical development of vase-painting, see O. Zahn's description of the painted vases in the royal Bavarian collection, "Beschreibung der Galerie bemalter Vasen." Theodore Lau, Heinrich Brunn, P. F. Krell: "Die Griechischen Vasen." J. E. Harrison, D. E. McColl: "Greek Vase Painting."

†A. Conze, "Zur Geschichte der Anfänge griechischer Kunst"; Vienna, 1873. Birch, "History of Ancient Pottery."

higher phase of civilization which variously disguised and obliterated its traces.

These works of the men of the earliest primitive period, defined in Greece as the "Pelasgian," were succeeded by that phase of development where the influence of Oriental art was first felt.

Fig. 186. The Dodwell Vase. (Now at Munich.)

The most ancient style includes those simple vessels of moderate size that are now properly classed as Phœnician, and are treated above in the chapter on Phœnicia and Cyprus (but see Figs. 186, 187). They are fashioned in plain and but slightly developed proportions from clay of a yellowish or pale reddish color, and are painted in brown and black tints, with which violet and white are sparingly mingled, and a stronger red rather more frequently. Horizontal stripes form one or more friezes, encircling them like bands, that are either filled in with rosettes, or with lotus or other flowers, or—in the few richer and probably later pieces—with pictures of animals of a fantastic character. In the arrangement and form of this ornamentation, it is impossible to overlook the influence of an older Asiatic art. Pieces are found which, from the style of the drawing, must be of the fifth century B.C., and which still preserve something of the simple distribution and general design of the very ancient pieces (see Figs. 180, 181). In contrast with this most ancient and undoubtedly Doric style is another, most probably the old Attic, which is closely related to the former so far as color goes, but in its better proportions, and the greater dimensions of the vessels, as well as in its representation of gods and heroes, marks the transition to a succeeding period. The figures on these vases are sometimes stiff and lifeless, sometimes awkward and angular; the forms of the bodies are defined with unnatural sharpness; and the garments hang in regular folds.

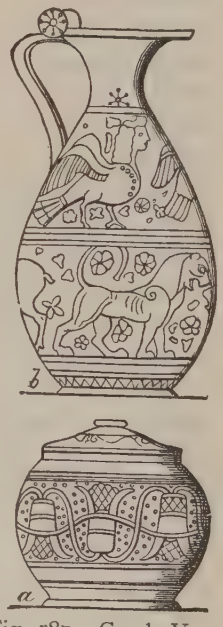


Fig. 187. Greek Vases of the Older Style.

Then come the vases of the finest style, in which the form is not

only more varied, and the different work upon them more life-like and beautiful, but in which also a simplification of the older colors and the use of more tasteful and brilliant tints mark the progress toward the pure Hellenic manner. Ornaments used merely for the purpose of filling in are abandoned, and the carelessness with which they were disposed is now replaced by an arrangement which gives them more

Fig. 188. Vases of Beautiful and Rich Design.

meaning. The designs are admirably distributed over the space to be occupied; and the shining black in which they are painted is sharply relieved against the deep red of the ground of the vase. The figures themselves, however, retain in all respects the severe immobility, the strongly exaggerated characteristics, that are peculiar to the archaic style of Greek art.

A further stage of development can be traced in those vases which are completely covered with a fine polished black, from which the life-like figures stand out in the fine red color of the clay. The character

of these designs shows the transition going on within this class from a severe style to one of finished beauty (Fig. 188 *b, c, d*), which shows by its freedom of movement in the figures, their tasteful distribution over the surface of the vase, and by the delicate curve of its lines, that it is a product of a golden age of art. These classical productions of Grecian art are followed in the latest epoch by works of a still more elaborate style, in which the noble Greek symmetry of the work as a whole, and its adornment, give place to an exaggerated richness, that finds expression as well in enormous ornamental vessels, sometimes five feet in height, as in an overluxuriant superfluity of ornament (Fig. 188 *a*). The polished black background of the preceding epoch is still retained, and the figures stand out in the red color of the ground. But in the frequent use of other colors, especially of a pale yellow and white, as well as in the plentiful employment of luxuriant garlands of flowers and leaves, an admixture of foreign elements is again apparent. Indeed, these vases have mostly been found in Southern Italy, in Apulia and Lucania. Their subjects, too, consist, for the most part, of scenes from the legends of the heroes, although they often drop into the fashion of a later time by representing scenes of common life in great variety. The figures are drawn in a spirit of bold and even elegant conception, but, as a rule, with a certain dilettantism that not unfrequently degenerates into superficialness and carelessness. The epoch after Alexander, about the time of the beginning of Roman rule, is the most flourishing period of this latest phase of vase painting.

Chapter II.

ETRUSCAN ART.*

THE position of Italy resembles, in some respects, that of Greece. Separated from the northern countries of Europe by the lofty range of the Alps, it extends southward in a long and narrow peninsula. Here, as in Greece, the mildness of the climate favored the early attainment of a high stage of civilization. The situation of the country, washed on all sides by the sea, encouraged trade and navigation. But its greater distance from the Orient, the primeval scene of human development, made the intervention of the Greeks indispensable to the spread of general culture. Thus we find Greek colonies taking root in Southern Italy at a very early day, and not only extending into Sicily, but taking possession of the coasts of the lower peninsula, or Græcia Magna as it was called.

The regions of Central Italy were, however, in early times, less subject to these foreign influences. Divided by the Apennines and their many outlying spurs into a multitude of independent districts, they, like Greece, offered excellent opportunity for the varied development of different races. Though most of them, as their language shows, belonged to the same parent-stock from which the Greeks also sprang, the ancient Etruscans, with their distinct and unrelated language, still undeciphered by modern scholars, their widely different manners and customs, and their dissimilar forms and features, occupied, in the heart of Italy, the position of an absolutely independent and distinct people. They inhabited the region bounded by the Tiber, the Tyrrhenian Sea, and that branch of the Apennines which stretches in a wide arc between them, the greater part of which (the modern Tuscany) preserves even in its name the memory of the ancient Tusci.

Whatever may have been the fables and theories current as to the origin of this mysterious people, the obscurity surrounding it has never been dispelled; and the only theory which daily gathers probability is, that they came from the mountainous region to the north.

* Micali, "Storia degli antichi popoli Italiani; Monumenti inediti." Inghirami, "Monumenti Etruschi." Martha, Jules, "Manuel d'archéologie Etrusque et Romaine; L'art Etrusque."

The Etruscans seem, at a very remote period, to have migrated southward, attracted by the beauty of the country, and to have founded permanent settlements in Central Italy. That they came as conquerors, making an armed invasion of the region, may be inferred from the steep, impregnable sites of their ancient cities, which were united in a defensive alliance. As there was no higher bond of unity among them than this loose treaty, it is not to be wondered at that they were compelled to yield to the repeated onslaughts of the Romans in their early struggle for political leadership. After their subjugation, the race gradually disappeared from history as it had entered it, leaving no trace behind, and without handing down, either

Fig. 189. Restoration of an Etruscan Temple.

in political institutions or in the productions of an independent literature, a single evidence of their existence. It is only in the widespread burial-places in Central Italy that we find proofs of their having a system of architecture of their own, as well as some works showing artistic capacity—earthen vessels, stone sarcophagi, bronze castings, frescos, and valuable articles of jewelry. Many of these unmistakably show Greek influences; in others, there is an undeniable originality. The Etruscans appear in these pictures as a thick-set, broad-shouldered, ungraceful race of men, differing completely in this respect, as well as in the compressed and flat formation of the head and the projecting jaw and retreating forehead, from the conformation of the people of the Greek races. Their character, also, seems to have become distinct from that of the other Italian and Grecian inhabitants. In their religious beliefs there was an element of dark super-

stition, which sought to foretell the future by the study of omens. They held a dualistic belief, which acknowledged the existence of good and bad spirits that accompany human beings, and that seek—as is proved by the frescos in the sepulchers—to possess themselves of the souls of the dead. Further, a tendency to dark and troubled speculation upon the condition which awaited them after death added another to those traits in their character and disposition which furnished such deep and gloomy contrasts to the cheerfulness of the Hellenic religion. That idealistic conception which saw in the gods an elevation and etherealizing of human conditions had no place in the character of the Etruscans; and, with it, all exalted consecration and earnestness of thought were lacking in their art. Afterward, it is true, they, like all other Italian races, borrowed from the Greeks not only artistic forms, but also the material of their legendary and mythological traditions; but by doing so they really grafted a foreign branch upon the growth of their own art which at length completely overran and stifled its independent existence.

Fig. 190. From the Façade of a Tomb at Norchia.

We should never have known that the Etruscans possessed the art of building temples, had this not been shown to be the case by descriptions in various writings, especially in those of Vitruvius. The Etruscan temple, like the Grecian, had its origin in a wooden structure, such as is common to all mountain races; but only a part of it was afterward more completely developed by the use of more solid and permanent material. The entire upper part retained the wooden construction; and this distinction must have prevented the whole from presenting an harmonious and thoroughly artistic appearance. The realistic and the practical took precedence, as was in accordance with the character of the Etruscans. All conception of anything ideal was denied to this people; and in order to indicate the great importance of a building they could only deck it with rich ornamentation, but could not transform the very necessities of its construction into something noble and beautiful.

An almost perfect square formed the ground-plan of their temples, the front part of which was occupied by a pillared vestibule (Fig. 189), while the remainder was divided into three parallel apartments, the middle one being broader than those at the sides. Each of these had a separate entrance opening on the vestibule, and each had its special sacred image. The whole was surmounted by a high roof, the ponderous gable of which rose above slim columns, placed at wide

intervals apart, and above the conspiciously projecting ends of the cross-beams. We can form no idea of the artistic treatment of this broad, clumsy, ungraceful mass, although some remains that have been discovered give indications of a certain delicacy of form in the pedestals and capitals of the columns. Some façades of sepulchral chambers, especially those at Norchia (Fig. 190), show us this framework adorned with misapplied forms of Grecian architecture, especially with friezes divided by triglyphs. The point of the gable as well as its extremities, and the field of the pediment itself, were richly

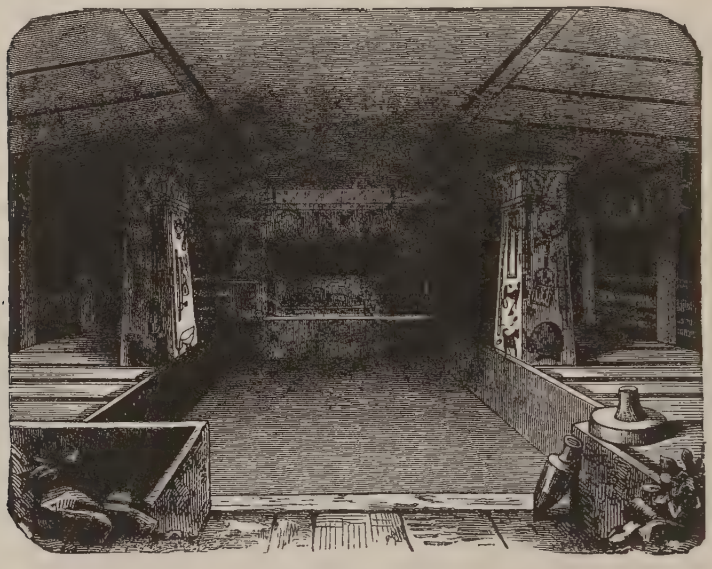


Fig. 191. Sepulchral Chamber at Cervetri.

ornamented with figures of terra cotta. It is certain that the Romans adopted the Etruscan style of temple architecture in the earliest periods of their history, and that their most ancient temple, that of Jupiter Capitolinus, was thus built.

Of another kind of Etruscan structures, on the other hand, there is still a great number preserved. These are the burial-places everywhere found in ancient Etruria. The simplest among them belong to that primitive type that remains in every part of the world as an evidence of the oldest forms of civilization. They are grave-mounds of earth and stone, often of large dimensions, and sometimes provided with a regular foundation of masonry. The interior contains a sepulchral chamber, which is oftentimes roofed by overlapping circles of stone. Sometimes the top of these mounds is surmounted

by cone-shaped memorial columns, to all appearance formed after a primitive Italian model that was still to be seen in the spina of the circus even in the later times of the Romans. The most imposing of these monuments is that which goes by the name of the Cucumella, at Vulci. The so-called Noraghes (Nurags), on the Island of Sardinia, bear a certain relationship to these architectural works, being conical stone buildings resembling towers, and containing several chambers one above the other, and vaulted, according to the primitive method, by overlapping the layers of stone.*

Other Etruscan tombs are hewn out of the rock like grottoes, forming either simple sepulchral chambers, or a series of connected rooms.

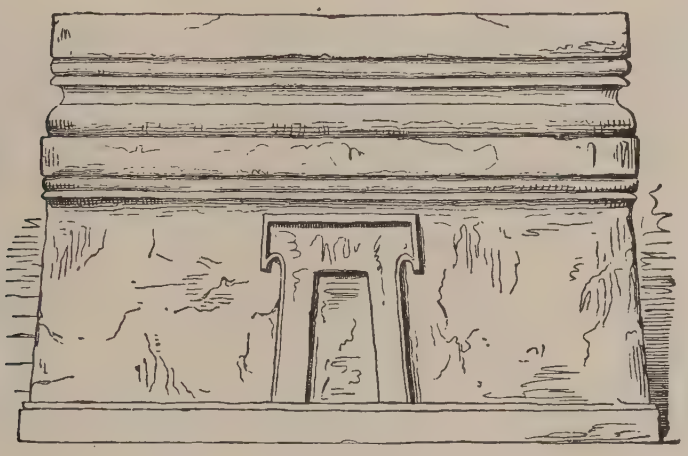


Fig. 192. Façade of Tomb at Castellaccio.

The roofs in these are often supported on pillars or columns; and occasionally a neat imitation of wooden rafterwork is seen upon the ceiling (Fig. 191). Tombs of this sort contain in the principal chamber the walled-up resting-places of the dead, whose bodies were generally laid at full length, in complete armor, and with their weapons placed beside them. Vases and other vessels stand about, and the walls are often ornamented with figure-painting. Graves of this sort have been found at Corneto (the ancient Tarquinia), Vulci, Cere, and at some other places. These monuments, that remind us so vividly of the Egyptian rock-tombs, possess a still greater importance when they are adorned on the outside by separate façades chiseled out of the rock (Fig. 192). A heavy cornice, consisting of several gracefully rounded parts, makes an appropriate border for the façade; but

* These monuments are by some ascribed to the Phœnicians; and certainly we have found among these people similar cone-shaped tombs.

in the middle a false door has been hewn out, which narrows toward the top, and the outer border of which projects at the upper corners. A number of such monuments have been discovered in secluded mountain ravines at Norchia and Castellaccio, as well as in some other places in the neighborhood. In two of those at Norchia that temple-like construction of the façade has been employed which betrays an adoption of Greek forms.

The art of defensive architecture was also, to some extent, artistically developed among the Etruscans. It is easy to discern in the ancient city walls of Cossa, Populonia, Tolli, and other places, the progress from the polygonic, cyclopean method of building, to the use of regular square blocks. In the gates, on the other hand, we sometimes encounter, for the first time in the progress of architecture, a form of construction, the discovery of which undoubtedly belongs to the clever, industrious Etruscans, and from whose introduction is to be dated a new and wonderful development. Here for the first time we find arches formed of artificially wedge-shaped stones, which substitute for the primitive unity of the architrave the artificial union of a series of closely connected parts, which, by their pressure upon one another, form a firmly combined vault. Of this sort is the ancient gate of Volterra, in which the keystone and the two end stones of the arch are emphasized by two outstretched heads, simple, but full of expression. The Cloaca Maxima at Rome, a sewer built in the sixth century B.C., in the time of the Tarquins, is one of the boldest and most important examples of this kind of arch. A similar arch is also shown in the Carcer Mamertinus, on the steep slope of the Capitoline Hill; while the primitive spring basin of the Tullianum below it is covered with overlapping horizontal layers of stone. Thus Etruscan architecture, by making an advance so important as in itself to mark an epoch, has won a permanent place in art history.

Fig. 193. The Etruscan Orator. (Florence.)

In plastic art the Etruscans were chiefly famous for their works in metal and baked clay. The latter were largely used in the decoration of temples; but even statues of the gods were made of similar material. Thus the statue in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, as well as many others, was of clay. Much of this kind of work is to be found in the Italian museums; but it all shows a somewhat rough and unpolished style, and an awkward, clumsy, and often really erroneous

treatment of the body. To this branch of industry also belong the vases found in the tombs; sometimes cineraria, the covers of which are formed of grotesque representations of human heads; and sometimes vessels of unbaked black earthenware, decorated with rather roughly executed reliefs. In some of them the stem and handle are formed of figures; and the whole is so tastelessly overloaded with ornament as to give them an impression of fantastic oddity. The Campana collection, now in the Museum of the Louvre at Paris, is rich in examples of this kind of coarsely overloaded Etruscan ornamental work.

Modeling in clay soon led the Etruscans to the art of casting in

Fig. 194. Relief on Etruscan Tomb.

bronze, which they developed with great mechanical skill, and for which they showed special liking. In original works, and for decorative objects, this more beautiful material, often made still more brilliant by gilding, soon took the place of clay. The Etruscan towns must have been filled with bronze statues; and for a considerable period the Etruscans supplied the Romans with works of this description. Among the larger bronze castings which deserve mention are the Mars of Todi, in the Museum of the Vatican; a boy carrying a goose upon his arm, in the Leyden Museum; and a draped male figure, called the Orator, in the Uffizi Museum in Florence (Fig. 193); as well as the fantastic representation of the Chimæra in this same collection; and the She-Wolf in the Capitoline Museum at Rome—although of this, only the figure of the wolf is antique. The limits of the artistic talent of the Etruscans are clearly shown in these

works, the figures of animals being marked by a strong, realistically expressed likeness to life, even though treated in a crude, rigid style; while in the human figures, combined with an awkward, stiff modeling, and an exaggerated attention to details, there is a hard, lifeless character, in which the breath of a free inspiration is entirely wanting. Besides these larger works, there is a multitude of smaller bronze statuettes scattered about the different museums; but they rarely have any great artistic value.

The talent of the Etruscans appears to much better advantage in

Fig. 195. Painting in Etruscan Sepulcher.

all those fields which are outside the domain of truly ideal art, but in which mechanical skill can excel; as in weapons and ornaments, helmets, shields, and armor, or in vases and jewelry. These, though they may want the delicate grace of the Greek mind, have a lasting worth because of their neat workmanship, and a certain fancy displayed in their modeling. Many such works are richly ornamented with engraved designs, of which we shall speak later. A good many works of sculpture in stone have also come down to us, among which those carved on altars and gravestones appear to be especially ancient (Fig. 194). They deal mostly with religious ceremonies, dances, and processions, especially with the forms and ceremonies of a highly developed cult of the dead. The heavy and stunted look of the figures,

THE ERECHTHEUM
PORCH OF THE CARYATIDES

the arrangement of the feet in profile while the trunk of the body is often seen in full-face, and many similar characteristics, give these works a strong resemblance to those of Oriental and archaic Greek art, although their composition undeniably inclines to a more crowded and picturesque arrangement. The numerous cinerary urns that have been found, and which are often made of alabaster, but more commonly of baked clay, and richly adorned with colors and gold, belong, on the other hand, to a much later time—probably to the last epoch of Etruscan activity in art. They are made in the shape of small sarcophagi, bearing on the lid the figure of the dead person stretched at length in a position of comfortable repose, and on the sides a number of devices in relief that relate to mythical subjects, or to the life

Fig. 196. Etruscan Wall-Painting.

of the soul in the lower regions. Done in a rude and mechanical fashion, they betray slight anatomical knowledge, and, as a rule, an overloaded, picturesque arrangement; and all this with a weakness in the expression of forms that plainly indicates an epoch of decline. Thus Etruscan sculpture, just as it was incapable of a truly ideal conception, seems to have been unable to find a golden mean between a hard and dry and a weak treatment.

Finally, the carved gems, which belong to a later period of Etruscan art, are also to be noticed. As regards form and subject they are under the influence of Greek art, and follow more especially the archaic style. The designs are borrowed from the myths of the Greeks, and the treatment is conscientious and finished; yet it is impossible to deny a tendency toward what is forced and exaggerated.

If a leaning toward picturesque conception can be discerned even in the plastic works of the Etruscans, the great quantity of paintings that have been discovered offer a complete proof of the partiality with

which this art was cultivated among them. The walls in the underground sepulchers are, as a general thing, covered with paintings that afford us an actual view of the style of Etruscan pictoral art. They are colored outline sketches, simply executed in bright, pleasing colors; representations taken from matters of every-day life—dances, tournaments, and hunts, banquets and festivals (Fig. 195), preparations for chariot-racing, and subjects of that sort—all full of life, but all exhibiting a certain sharpness of manner and looseness of movement that recall their primitive archaic models (Fig. 196). As a rule, green branches are arranged betwen the figures to fill out the space

Fig. 197. Etruscan Wall-Painting.

and to mark the separation. Quite often a fantastic, one might almost say a comic, element is added, which finds expression in a facetious exaggeration of the movements depicted. But scenes of a more serious nature are also frequently to be found, taken from the cult of the dead, and representing ceremonies at a burial, or the fortunes of the soul after death (see Fig. 197). We see here the good and evil geniuses in their respective employments: in one case, the covered figure of the deceased being carried away in a chariot; in another, the evil genius sitting at the door of the nether world; and so forth. Then, again, we see the evil spirit writhing in wild agony, or the judge of the dead seated on the throne to judge the souls of the departed. Most of these paintings have been found at Tarquinium,

Veii, and Chiusi. They vary much in style—some being treated carefully, severely, and archaically; others, carelessly, and with a certain mannerism. The arrangement is confined throughout simply and clearly to the relief style, in which the influence of Greek works is unmistakably to be seen.

This relation is still more decidedly apparent in the engraved representations that are to be found in great numbers on bronze ornaments, especially on the backs of hand-mirrors and the sides of jewel-caskets, which were once thought to be mystic cistæ. They comprise, as a general thing, representations from Greek mythology and the heroic legends; although Etruscan myths, and subjects taken from real life, are occasionally found. They vary greatly in respect to the merit of the work and the mechanical execution. Often they are merely hastily scratched in; sometimes they are done with a sharp, angular movement of the lines, and a dry, bare treatment—as, for instance, a Birth of Minerva on a mirror in the museum at Bologna; but occasionally they display a nobility and an attractiveness that at once seem to indicate the hand of Greek artists, like the magnificent mirror in the museum at Berlin, which represents Bacchus and Semele. (Fig. 198 *a*. Under *b, c, d,* examples are given of the exquisite execution of utensils of this kind.) The composition is, as a rule, inclosed by a tasteful frame in the shape of a wreath of flowers and vines. This composition, in most cases, admirably fills out the circular plate of the mirror; although occasionally a somewhat crowded grouping of the figures again points to the Etruscan partiality for picturesque arrangement. The celebrated Ficoroni casket in the Museo Kircheriano of the Jesuit College in Rome unquestionably takes the first rank among these cistæ, or jewel-boxes.* Made, according to its inscription, by Novius Plautius at Rome, it has upon

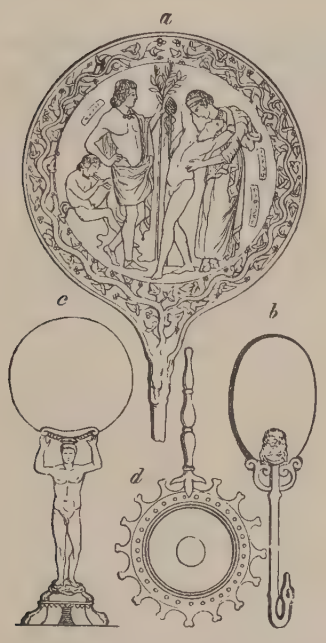


Fig. 198. Etruscan Mirrors.

* This celebrated casket has been often figured. An outline of the subject which surrounds it like a frieze is given in the "Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et Romaines" of Messrs. Daremberg and Saglio, art. "Argonautæ." "It is cylindrical in shape, about 50 centimeters high by 42 in diameter."—Gsell-Fels' Guide: "Rom und die Campagna," col. 195; 1901.

its cylindrical outside side representations taken from the legend of the Argonauts. Polydeuces binds King Amycus, whom he has conquered, to a laurel tree; while Victory (Nikè) hovers over with a wreath and a girdle; and Athene, together with Apollo and certain Greek heroes, gazes at the scene. Near by, the *Argo* lies quietly at anchor. A few heroes have landed, by means of a ladder, to obtain a supply of water: some sit and lie in pleasant indolence on the deck. As far as the eye can reach stretch other peaceful scenes. The finish of the drawing, the nobility and the attractiveness of the figures, the freshness and life of the composition, are only to be explained by the influence of Hellenic works.

Painting on vases, so far as it can be traced with certainty to Etruscan hands, was certainly in a very low stage of development; for most of the works of this sort which were formerly attributed to the Etruscans have proved to be the productions of Greek workshops.

Chapter III

ROMAN ART.*

1. *Character of the Romans.*

NEARLY related as the Romans are to the Greeks, and certain as it is that they sprang from the same parent stock, it is yet difficult to realize their common family origin. In describing the vast difference, amounting even to antagonism, between them, it may be said that the Greeks were essentially an artistic, the Romans a political people. The Greeks conquered the world by beauty, the Romans by statecraft. As the sculpture and the poesy of Greece compel the admiration and imitation, even at this distant day, of men living, as it were, in another world, who reverence in them their highest models in the realm of the beautiful; so does the judiciary code of Rome still bind a large proportion of modern nations. Some deeper meaning, some intrinsic necessity, must lie at the foundations of such facts as these.

The Greeks were an ideal people, the Romans thoroughly practical. The Greeks founded states, planted colonies, brought remote and savage coasts under the influence of their culture; the Romans were moved less by the instinct of the civilizer than by that of the conqueror; and at that early day the former did not serve as an excuse for the latter. The ancient legend of the origin and growth of the Roman community indicates this inborn instinct, showing that violence and usurpation were the sign-manual of her citizenship, even in the natal hour of Rome. As though impelled by an inner law of necessity, having for its factors the situation of the town and the character of its inhabitants, the Romans overflowed their original limits, spreading more and more, subjugating the neighboring peoples—the widely diverse Etruscan, as well as the kindred Latin nations—until they swallowed up all Italy, with its Etruscan and Greek civilization, and advanced gradually but surely to the domination of the entire Mediterranean world. That in the course of a development so gradual, and bringing in its train changes so vast, the condition of

* Choisy, A., "Histoire de l'Architecture." Wickhoff, F., "Roman Art." Choisy, A., "L'art de bâtir chez les Romains."

the Roman people should have materially altered, was only natural. But the manifestations of essentially Roman character continue unchanged until the removal of the center of power from Italy to the East.

The dominant characteristic consists in an energetic, worldly wise, practical spirit, a resolute intelligence, directed toward acquisition and possession; and this explains their remarkable aptitude for the development of political life, and the precision with which they conceived, established, and perfected the idea of justice. It was a vigorous, powerful race, as wise as it was brave, possessing at its best a rough, manly virtue, whose loftiest ideal was based upon stern rectitude and ancient custom.

With the continual enlargement of the borders of the Empire, the consequent development of internal relations went hand in hand. The condition of citizenship betwen patrician and plebeian, the relations with allies and the foreign nations under its protection or subject to its rule, afforded just so many problems, in the solution of which statesmanlike wisdom and legislative capacity were frequently employed. Added to these was the relationship, in its many ramifications, which individuals and the family held toward the state. For, contrary to the usage of Greece, where family life was maintained apart in almost Oriental seclusion, and quite ignored by the state, the communal life of the Romans was based upon that of the family; so that, while with the Greeks a woman of purity lived, so to speak, in concealment, the Roman matron held her honorable place beside the father of the family in public life.

While the Romans thus ordered their home matters, conquered Italy and the Mediterranean lands, destroyed empires, overthrew and created monarchs, and dictated the world's laws, they remained in all ideal manifestations of spiritual life, in poetry and art, even in the expression of their religious thought, under the influence of the Greeks. In earliest times, Etruscan influences were undoubtedly predominant; but the Greek mind soon asserted itself. The divinities of Rome originated, for the most part, in the mythologies of their Italian neighbors, but several came directly from Greece and the Greek Olympus, the persons of the Hellenic mythology appearing under translated names; while here and there some new trait was created, or rougher setting bestowed. The people even strove to trace back its descent, through Æneas, to the Trojans of Greek heroic legend. The intuitive additions ingrafted upon this religious system partook rather of a moral and ethical than of a mythic, poetical character. Hence the Romans were not only lacking in a national epic, but they became the pupils and learned imitators of the Greeks

in all the principal schools of poetry, transplanting the epic as well as the drama of Hellas to the soil of Latium. The songs of Homer and the "Æneid" of Virgil stand in about the same relation to each other as do the elevated, idealistic humor of Aristophanes to the unpolished comedies of Plautus and Terence, which reflect, in subject and coloring, ordinary every-day life. The poetic schools which are Roman in their nature and origin, such as the didactic and satiric, are further witnesses of the decided preponderance of the elements of common sense, acute observation, and practical experience, over the higher idealistic, imaginative faculty. The same relative difference shows itself no less decidedly when we survey the realm of the plastic arts. The Romans themselves were late in developing any artistic genius. In this regard they were the voluntary pupils, first of the Etruscans, later of the Greeks. Art, with this people, was not something which the people had at heart, not a necessity of the national faith, not the emanation of an imagination excited by the divine ideals of the poets, but rather an article of luxury for the rich and the powerful, a servitor of greatness prepared and destined to adorn life, to glorify power, to attract the people. Architecture was especially adapted to this end, since its connection with the practical uses of living was most congenial to the Roman character, and also because their large resources and the demand for stateliness and splendor found a natural expression in buildings of a kind never imagined by the Greeks. It was in this branch of art, therefore, that they could produce most that was original and individual; it was here that they could most noticeably widen the range of ancient thought. Grandeur of design, variety of combination adapted to new and most practical exigencies, and great brilliancy of execution form the invariable characteristics and excellences of all Roman monuments.

Far less weighty is the debt we owe to the Romans in the provinces of sculpture and painting; indeed, it confines itself mainly to the fact of their having offered, as wealthy, splendor-loving patrons, an asylum to Greek artists when their own poverty-stricken, degenerate fatherland had no further need of them; thus making possible a series of new productions, and occasioning an important renaissance of Hellenistic art. This result once secured, a brief reign of original art began, and lasted so long, only, as the imperial energy remained undiminished—perhaps two centuries and a half. Notwithstanding the fact that the talent, skill, execution, even the range of subject, were Greek, the Romans acquired that modifying influence over their art which the race of patrons exercises over the artist class. The latter, consequently, devoted themselves partly to the repro-

duction and imitation of old masterpieces, partly to the creation of new works suited to the taste of the period for splendor and effectiveness, and appealing to its special genius; but nothing original and independent, in the strict sense of the words, was accomplished, save in the domains of historic representation and portraiture, and in decorative sculpture—a momentary blaze of sculpturesque design which anticipated the mediæval epoch of architectural plastic art. It was these branches of art that must appeal most strongly to the genius of a people, which illustrated its path through history by a series of splendid deeds, which loved to place the personality of individual generals and statesmen in the foreground, and, later, awarded even divine honors to its Cæsars and their race.

The greatest significance which the Romans have for the history of art lies in the fact of their wide sovereignty. While they laid a common yoke upon all nations, they gave them their art along with their legal statutes; or, to speak more accurately, the art of Greece, adopted and generalized by them, and prepared for a cosmopolitan acceptance. Here, for the first time, we see national difference obliterated, and art, freed from the demands and restraints of merely national ideas, reigning, a universal law, without distinction in Italy as in Greece, among the unpolished northern races of Germany and Gaul as among the ancient civilizations of the Orient.

2. *Roman Architecture.*

A.—ITS SYSTEM.

Nowhere does the eclectic, adaptable tendency of the Romans in their art creations appear so clearly as in their architecture. Their most ancient monuments were erected after Etruscan models; while, in their later ones, all traces of this earlier influence have passed away—except in the structure—and the acceptance of Greek form is universal. Only one important element of Etruscan art continued to be a lasting power in Roman architecture, which attained, by means of it, to a high degree of artistic perfection, viz.: the use of the true arch. At first employed in works of utility, like the Cloaca Maxima, mentioned above, for sewers, bridges, viaducts, the arch soon rose to extended use in ornamental building; and for the first time it became possible, by means of the strength and power of resistance which the construction of the arch afforded, to raise edifices of many stories of a solidity unsurpassed even by monumental masonry.

While only the mode employed by the Greeks and Orientals for roofing in a space by means of strong horizontal beams was known, the capacity of an architectural stone structure was limited to a minimum of space, dependent upon the natural qualifications of the stone in the supply of the flat beams required; but after the discovery that wedge-shaped stones could be built into an arch which is compactly and solidly bound together by the tendency of each component part toward a common center, architecture was in a great measure emancipated from its natural trammels; and it became possible to enlarge its scope, and vary its plans and subjects, beyond previous experience. In this, therefore, consists the importance of an improvement upon the construction of the arch as invented by the Etruscans, and developed and perfected by the Romans. By its means the latter solved problems more magnificent and varied than had ever before or since come within the scope of architectural skill, attaining results of a beauty and importance never since reached. The simplest among the arch structures of the Romans was the cylindrical vault as that is called which connects two opposite and parallel walls by a concave roof of uniform section. Opening at both ends in a semicircular arc, this form of the arch labors only under the disadvantage of requiring an equally strong lateral support throughout its entire length in order that the side-thrust of the arch may be resisted. Much freer and more generally adaptable in this respect is the cross-shaped vault invented by the Romans. This is formed when two cylindrical vaults cross each other at right angles over a quadrangular space. They thus unite, and partially support each other, intersecting at the two diagonal lines which connect the opposite corners. In this development the arch attains a greater adaptability, the supporting masonry being separated into four independent supports; and an organism is produced which is as variable as though instinct with life. A third form of the arch, the cupola or dome, was called into being by the Roman partiality for round structures. It may be described as a hollow hemisphere, built with horizontal layers of wedge-shaped stones, and shows the constructive principle of the arch adapted to a circular ground plan. The necessity of affording sufficient resistance to this form of the vault on every side necessitates a limitation in the use of it, as in the case of the cylindrical arch. In connection with the dome in Roman architecture, the semi-dome top is often employed in the apses which make so common a feature of their buildings. With this wealth of arch-forms it was found possible not only to enlarge the limits of buildings, and to carry out the design of the most varied ground-plans, but furthermore, by

the use of open arches and the employment of niches and recesses, to give to both exterior and interior walls the most spirited and varied forms.

This entire system would, however, have remained a rather plain, unornamental one had the Romans not borrowed an element of artistic ornamentation from another quarter. This was the columnar architecture of the Greeks, the richly developed beauties of which were soon pressed into the service of decorative art by the Roman builders. In the halls of basilicas and of the markets, as well as in the more richly decorated courts of their houses, but more especially in the arrangement of their temples, the Romans made lavish use of the Grecian column. Whether these temples were laid out on the Etruscan or the Grecian ground-plan, a splendid columnar adorn-

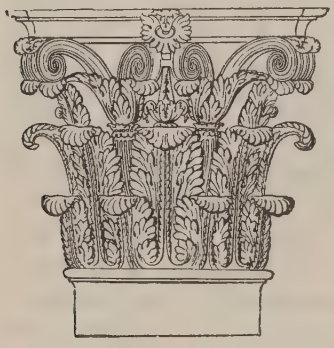


Fig. 199. Roman Corinthian Capital.

Fig. 200. Composite Capital.

ment was invariably added to the design, while either the stately Greek form of the peripteros or dipteros was employed; or, in the case of an Etruscan ground-plan—a depth of three or four rows of pillars was given to the portico while all around the outer wall a row of half-columns was ranged in pseudo-peripteral fashion. For this purpose the Doric and Ionic orders, although much modified from their original simplicity, were less popular, owing to their greater simplicity, and only frequently employed at an early epoch; whereas the more gorgeous Corinthian type was not only seized upon with especial delight, receiving the impress of that typical form by which we now know it almost exclusively (Fig. 199), but a new variety was produced by the Romans in the so-called Composite or Roman capital (Fig. 200), which appears in many forms in which the unwieldy magnificence of a coarser form of the Ionic capital crowns the two rows of daintily curved acanthus leaves. Not unfrequently one finds the three orders of Greek architecture employed upon the

same building to designate the separate stories; in which case the Doric is assigned to the lower, the Ionic to the middle, and the Corinthian to the upper section.

With this we reach the point which constitutes the importance of Roman architecture—the association of the column with the arch. That this was only an external, arbitrary union is a matter of course; the vaulted interior had no real need for the column. By the very conditions of its construction, the arch needed for its support strong piers and solid masses of masonry. In order to give these a more spirited character, the Greek columns, with their entablatures, were set like a loose frame about the bulk of the walls, either as half-columns or pilasters, or else as separate independent pillars, but always used for pure ornament. The law of the spaces between the columns was, in consequence, much less strictly observed; and a square bit of masonry was often given to single columns, as a pedestal or postament. In other respects, however, the Greek type was strictly adhered to except that the various orders were not infrequently arbitrarily mingled, bringing out the pediments more strongly by an accumulation of decorative adjuncts, and everywhere striving to give an expression of almost exaggerated splendor. Many great buildings were purely columnar in character, without vaulting; and in these, Greek systems of design were followed, except in the details. A desire is seen to bring all the three orders into a closer resemblance to one another, which, joined to a complete misconception of the primitive significance of the type, resulted in adding to the Doric frieze, for example (Fig. 201), a half-metope at its corners, while intending, doubtless, to correct and improve upon the irregular division of the triglyphs. In the same way, when the height of the columns, as was frequently the case, did not correspond to that of the building, a half-story with pilasters, a so-called *attica*, was added above one of the original stories. The columns were even more freely used in the last epoch of Roman art, when they were often employed in ornamental buildings of great size as direct supports for the cross-vaulting; though even then they retained their bit of entablature with frieze and cornice. For the cornice or corona, the Romans developed, while still conforming to the Corin-

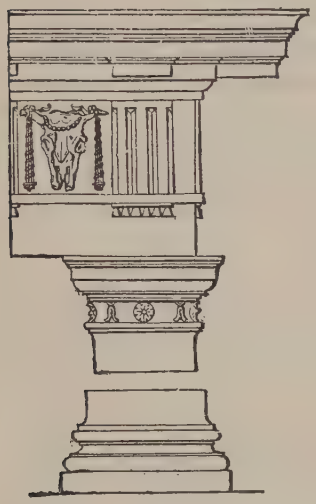


Fig. 201. Roman Doric Order.

thian style of architecture used by the Greeks, an especially splendid design (Fig. 202), which, for richness and beauty of effect, has never been equaled by any other cornice in the world. The same parts, similarly disposed, jut out also above such columns as are only employed as wall decorations, and form those square projections (see Fig. 208, over angle columns) which most plainly reveal the superficial, unsystematic character of this architecture. The introduction of paneled roofing from Greek temples, and its employment upon multiform arched surfaces, and also the species of architrave introduced into the profile of the simple arch (the archivolt), were, in an equal degree, signs of the incapacity of the Romans to create for their system of arches constructive art types evolved by necessity from its own conditions. They were able only to combine, to borrow, to assimilate, never to unfold from within, the idea of a new creation; and therefore their famous Thermæ, and such buildings as the Basilica of Maxentius and the Pantheon, are great as vaulted buildings, and have striking and costly pseudo-Greek columnar decorations—the two motives of design never quite brought into harmony.

In spite of these defects, the architecture of the Romans possesses undeniably great excellences. It immeasurably enlarged the range of architectural possibilities, and made practicable a variety of designs hitherto undreamed of by the employment of new building materials. The most striking illustration of this may be seen in the application of architectural art to the uses of daily life. Roman architecture not only gave forms as serviceable as they were beautiful to structures connected with streets and bridges, aqueducts and viaducts, walls and gates, but also to palaces and villas, halls of justice and market places, as well as those edifices dedicated to public amusement—the circus and the bath, the theater and the amphitheater. The stamp of lordship and of power was impressed upon the buildings of the Romans, as upon everything else which emanated from them; and the perfection of their construction and the excellence of their materials have yielded only to the shocks of the most overwhelming devastation, so that their very ruins testify to an almost imperishable magnificence. Nor are these monuments less remarkable for the beauty of their ornamentation, although the inherent

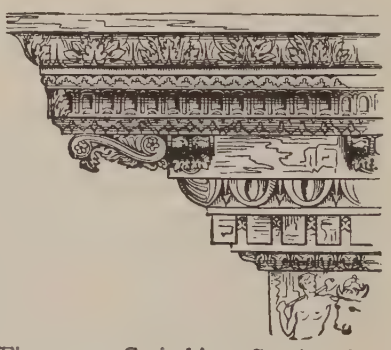


Fig. 202. Corinthian Cornice from the Arch of Titus.

grace and delicacy of the Greek types have been translated into an expression of greater robustness and fullness. Still, such was the skill of the chisel used upon them, and so ineffaceable their original loveliness, that even the mutilated, disfigured remains come down to us as illustrations of a system of ornamentation which has never been equaled by any subsequent order for its florid yet noble beauty. And inasmuch as the Romans erected countless monuments of their architectural style throughout their wide dominions, they gave to architecture that widely acknowledged position of importance whence, in the future and under the influence of Christianity, new and splendid developments were destined to arise.

B.—ITS MONUMENTS.

The most ancient epoch of Roman architecture appears to have been exclusively under Etruscan influences. We are aware that Roman temples were built after Etruscan models, and that the great sewers for the drainage of the town date from the reign of the Tarquins. The earlier epoch of the republic, which was a period of rigid simplicity of manners, was chiefly employed in the construction of architectural works for useful purposes. The Appian Way and various aqueducts are notable memorials of this epoch. However, the influence of Greece made itself felt betimes, especially after Greece had become a subject province of Rome, about 150 B.C. The first temples of any magnificence in the Greek manner were built from the spoils of Metellus' Macedonian campaign; and the superb development of the basilica dates from the same period. These last were edifices on the plan of an elongated parallelogram, whose wide inclosure was encircled by two stories of colonnades. While the great inclosed space was designed for purposes of trade and exchange, it is probable that the semicircular recess at one extremity served the purpose of a high tribunal, a seat of public judgment. Only scant remains survive of that distant period of Roman architecture; but these suffice to give us an idea of their peculiar, unadorned simplicity in form and material. The oldest buildings are constructed of a resistant, greenish-gray tufa, called *peperino,* unsuitable for elaboration of detail; but *travertine,* a species of limestone remarkable for its warm, fine tone and its durability, appears to have shortly come into general use.

One of the most important and at the same time historically interesting monuments of this period is the sarcophagus of L. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus, belonging to the early part of the third century before Christ, which was discovered in the subterranean

family vault of this famous race, excavated near the Porta Latina, and consigned to the Museum of the Vatican. The Doric triglyph frieze with its triglyphs in simple relief above, the rosettes in the metopes, the cumbrous cornice moulding with its dentils, the volutes at the angles, are all indications of an especially severe and simple acceptation of Greek details. The Temple of Fortuna Virilis is, on the other hand, an example of the Ionic order; the exquisite portico, with its six columns, which forms a pseudo-peripteral continuation of the walls of the cella, rising on its high foundations close beside the Tiber. The so-called Temple of Vesta at Tivoli is likewise an example of the earlier employment of the Composite style (Fig. 203), crowning with its graceful, circular structure, surrounded by pillars, a steep, rocky height above the foaming waters of the Anio. The ruins of the Tabularium, the ancient repository of the state archives, attest the grand, rugged characteristics of that old time. Built about 78 B.C., it crowns with its massive freestone pile, and its once open, vaulted halls, bordered by half-columns of the Doric order, that declivity of the Capitol opposite the less elevated Forum. And yet another example of the same epoch remains in the Tomb of Cecilia Metella, wife of the triumvir Crassus, situated on the Appian Way, and rising tower-like, circular, resting upon a square basement, and once crowned with a conical roof, no doubt. The picturesque battlements are of the Middle Ages, when the solid tower, nearly 98 feet in diameter, served as part of a fortress.

Fig. 203. Capital and Base from Temple of Vesta at Tivoli.

Toward the close of the republican period, during the struggles for individual sovereignty which shook the state to its center, architectural undertakings began to assume a magnitude and splendor which displayed princely ostentation in the place of republican simplicity. Although in the theater built by M. Scaurus, in 58 B.C., to accommodate eighty thousand spectators, only wood was used for the original construction, it was decorated with the most costly materials—gold, silver, and ivory—and adorned with splendid marble columns and numberless bronze statues. Only three years later, Pompey the Great erected the first stone theater in Rome, to accommodate forty thousand spectators—its summit crowned by a

temple of Venus Victrix. This building must have been of astonishing solidity and splendor for the time, preceding the great Thermæ and the Pantheon, and having only the Basilica Æmilia to rival it—that building having been begun at almost exactly the same time. Both buildings are completely destroyed, or covered by modern construction and by the new deposits of rubbish and soil.

Julius Cæsar went beyond all his predecessors in the magnificence of the structures with which he endowed the city. He built an amphitheater, which was protected from the sun by a vast silken canopy; he began the building of a stone theater, which was completed by Augustus; he enlarged and beautified the Circus Maximus, which, according to the lowest calculation, seated a hundred and fifty thousand persons; he erected the gorgeous Julian Basilica, the marble floor and substructure of which have been discovered in recent times on the south side of the Forum; finally, he went so far as to build a new forum, adjoining the Forum Romanum on the north, which he adorned with a statue of the Venus Genetrix.

All this, however, was merely the introduction to that magnificent Augustan period which forms the noblest and most brilliant epoch of Roman national life. It was under Augustus that Roman architecture may be thought to have attained to its culminating glory—just as his reign is regarded as the golden age of Latin literature, illuminated as it was by the first stars of Roman poetry—by such names as Virgil, Ovid, Horace, Tibullus and Propertius. It is true that Augustus left no buildings which could rival in extent and splendor those of Vespasian and Titus, or those of Trajan and Hadrian. In his time the peculiarly Roman construction with such masses of mortar masonry had not been perfected, nor would his builders have dared undertake such a vaulted structure as the Basilica of Maxentius and Constantine, finished three hundred years after the death of Augustus, but the delicacy of design and the refinement and charm of sculptured decoration of the buildings of the earlier epoch, so far as we know them, was never equaled at a later period. Augustus not only completed the unfinished undertakings of Cæsar, not only restored eighty-two temples, among them the most sublime and famous buildings of antiquity, but he likewise erected magnificent structures for popular assemblies; and, above all, he built a new forum, called after himself, the outer walls of which, with remains of a splendid adjoining temple, are still in existence. Of this temple, which Augustus vowed to Mars Ultor (the Avenger) during the battle of Actium, there yet remain three Corinthian pillars, as also a portion of the cella wall and of the beautiful paneled ceiling, which are justly admired as among the noblest remains of Roman art.

In the year 13 B.C. Augustus completed the Theater of Marcellus, begun by Cæsar, and so called in honor of a son-in-law of the Emperor. The massive remains of this building still exist in the Palazzo Orsini, which has been built into the old ruins by making use of the exterior walls. A considerable part of the semicircular masonry is still to be seen in solid travertine freestone, besides fragments of both lower stories, framed by Doric and Ionic pilasters and striking entablatures of a severely simple, easy treatment, even retaining the

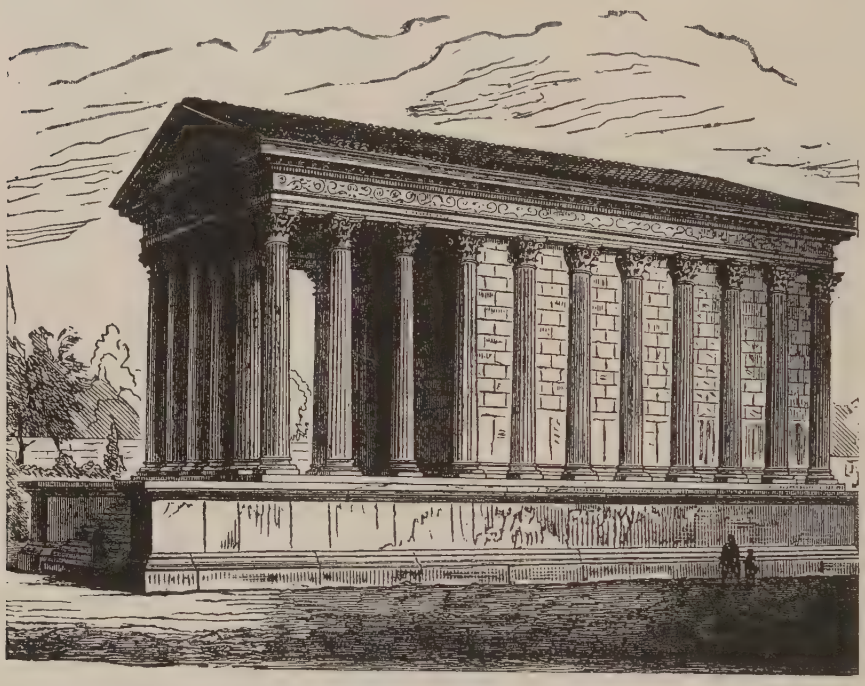


Fig. 204. Maison Carrée at Nimes.

triglyph frieze. This theater once accommodated thirty thousand spectators. There are still preserved in the wretched quarter of the Ghetto and in a neighboring fish-market a few fine Corinthian marble columns, with their entablature, which once formed a part of the magnificent Portico of Octavia, whose colonnades, adjoining the theater, afforded a shady promenade for the people. Of the Emperor's grand mausoleum, which formerly towered aloft—a mighty terraced mountain,planted with trees and adorned at its highest point with the bronze statue of the Emperor—there remain nothing but the great foundation walls, 220 feet in diameter, in the ancient Campo di Marte, now a place for circus-riding and spectacles of like

nature. The infinite variety in memorial monuments even at that early day is exemplified by the Pyramid of Cestius, a slender, artistically decorated structure near the Porta San Paolo, within which is concealed a small mortuary chamber adorned with paintings.

Out of Rome, the elegant Temple of Augustus and Roma, at Pola in Istria, is a well-preserved specimen of the noble type of the Corinthian style, and of the union of Greek forms with Italian ground plans; for, according to an old tradition of the country, a deep vestibule was annexed in this case also to the simple cella. Yet more important is the beautiful temple at Nîmes, in the south of France, locally known as the *"Maison Carrée"* (Fig. 204). There are also triumphal arches of this period at Rimini, Susa, and Aosta, all of simple plan and construction.

The peculiar glory of the Augustan age cannot be understood without considering its sculpture; but this, so far as we know it, was mainly connected with building. The finest work of the combined arts was perhaps the Ara Pacis, the great altar set up to commemorate the giving of peace to the whole Mediterranean world—the Pax Romana. The altar itself stood on a raised platform and was surrounded by a high wall, the whole structure reaching a height of thirty feet.

To the same period belongs Vitruvius' text-book of architecture, which, most curiously, does not allude in the remotest way to arch and vault construction, and offers little besides an academic receipt for the application of Greek models.

After Augustus, whose pride it was to have transformed a city of brick into one of marble, the passion for architecture seems to have been for a while on the wane. It is most probable, however, that the three columns, with entablature and cornice, which rise to the south of the Forum, and formerly were known as the Temple of Jupiter Stator, may be a monument of the time of Tiberius and Caligula. Under these emperors the ancient Temple of the Dioscuri was renovated; and recently it has been proved beyond a doubt that the ruins of the Temple of Castor and Pollux may be traced in these remains. Pillars, entablature, and cornice are unsurpassed, for purity of style, beauty, and elegance, by any of the antiquities of Rome. A work of great magnificence belongs to the reign of Claudius also—the double Aqueduct of the Anio Novus and the Aqua Claudia, the ruins of whose stupendous brick arches still traverse the Campagna and the vineyard suburbs of Rome, and with their superb growth of ivy and other creeping plants form a chief charm of the Villa Wolkonsky. Where this aqueduct entered the town there rises a mighty double gate, still preserved under the name

of the Porta Maggiore—an imposing structure owing to the scale on which it is planned, though tasteless in construction, over whose entrance-ways the two water pipes of masonry are conducted. Shortly after its completion, Nero laid the town in ashes, only that he might cause it to rise again in greater splendor, and with a more stately plan than before, and that he might build upon a part of the ruins his "Golden House," a structure of unheard-of magnificence, which, however, after the murder of Nero, was almost wholly destroyed and was replaced by other buildings.

To this period belong the latest monuments of Pompeii, through which we gain an insight into the transition stage from the Hellenistic to the Roman type. Visited by an earthquake in A.D. 63, which was followed, sixteen years later, by the destruction of the city by an eruption of Vesuvius, Pompeii, with its remains, offers us a picture of the condition of a small Italian provincial town of the period. The Greek architectural type, in its later development, appears particularly in the triangular Forum, and in the temple included within

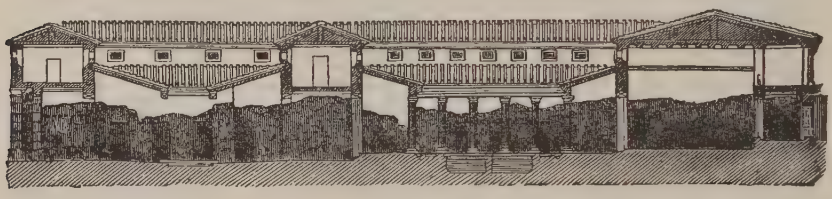


Fig. 205. Section of the House of Pansa at Pompeii.

its precincts. The theater displays in its plan a mixture of Hellenistic and Roman principles, while the Roman influence preponderates in the Forum and in its temple, and in the Basilica. Regarding these structures, as well as the triumphal arches, the baths, the amphitheater, the other temples, the town walls with their gates, the Street of the Tombs with its monuments, as a duodecimo edition, so to speak, of the then existing condition of Rome, what, nevertheless, appeals most strongly to our interest is the large number of dwelling houses (Figs. 205, 206) which have been excavated, because they are almost the only specimens—except one or two in Rome itself—remaining to us of architecture applied to private dwellings as developed by the ancients. In them we distinctly recognize the ground plan of all Roman houses, constantly repeated through all varieties of development. Each stately dwelling house has its double plan—an anterior portion for more public use, a posterior edifice reserved especially for the family (Fig. 205). In each portion the apartments are grouped about an *atrium,* or open court, the outer

inclosure being, as a rule, small and simple, in the Etruscan style; while the inner one is surrounded by a colonnade, according to the Grecian model, from which it takes its common name, peristyle. The center of the *atrium* forms the *impluvium,* where a deep basin gathers the rain water from the encircling overhanging roofs. A hall in the center of the house, designed for the portraits of ancestors, and called the *tablinum,* occupied a considerable space and connected the two sections of the mansion. In the neighborhood of the sleeping apartments and living rooms is the *triclinium,* or dining hall, especially remarkable for elegance of decoration. In the upper story the slaves were accustomed to sleep and work. The rich painting

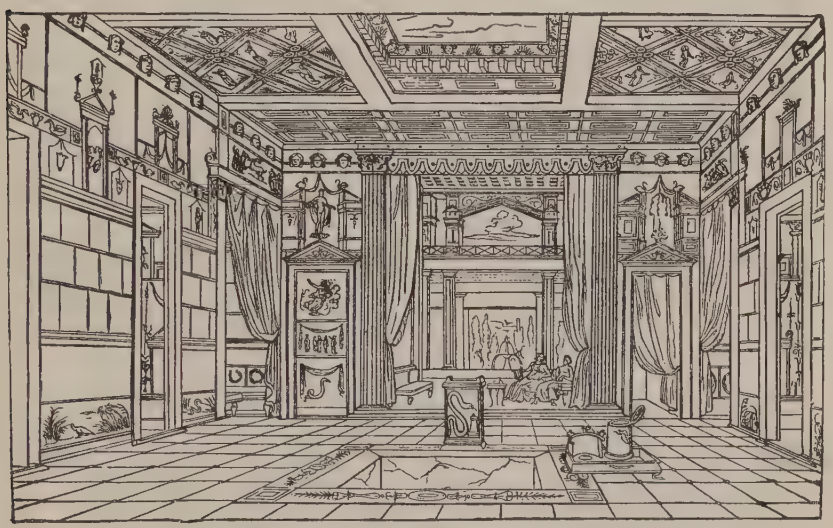


Fig. 206. Atrium in the so-called House of Sallust at Pompeii.

on the walls, the mosaic finish of the floors, diffuse over this delightful shade an inimitable charm, suggestive of physical luxury and a bright enjoyment of life. Recently, in the Palace of the Cæsars, on the Palatine hill at Rome, there has been excavated that splendid specimen of an antique dwelling in which it has been sought to trace the ancestral home of Tiberius.

With the Flavians (A.D. 69) begins the second brilliant epoch of Roman architecture, the relics of which equal, to say the least, the earlier ruins in vastness, and surpass them in splendor. Below is given the Colosseum, the Flavian amphitheater begun by Vespasian, and completed by Titus A.D. 70, the mightiest Roman ruin in the world (Fig. 207). About 600 feet long and over 500 feet wide,

the vast oval inclosed by its walls accommodated eighty thousand spectators; and on its arena were exhibited those gladiatorial combats and wild beast fights in which the rough and unpolished Roman crowd delighted. Round about rose the rows of seats, one above another like steps, supported by vaulted corridors, the topmost tier being inclosed by a colonnade. An encircling wall, over 150 feet high, incloses in an enormous shell of travertine the kernel of the giant structure. Though it has been in part destroyed by violence, the northern side, still in a good state of preservation, exhibits three

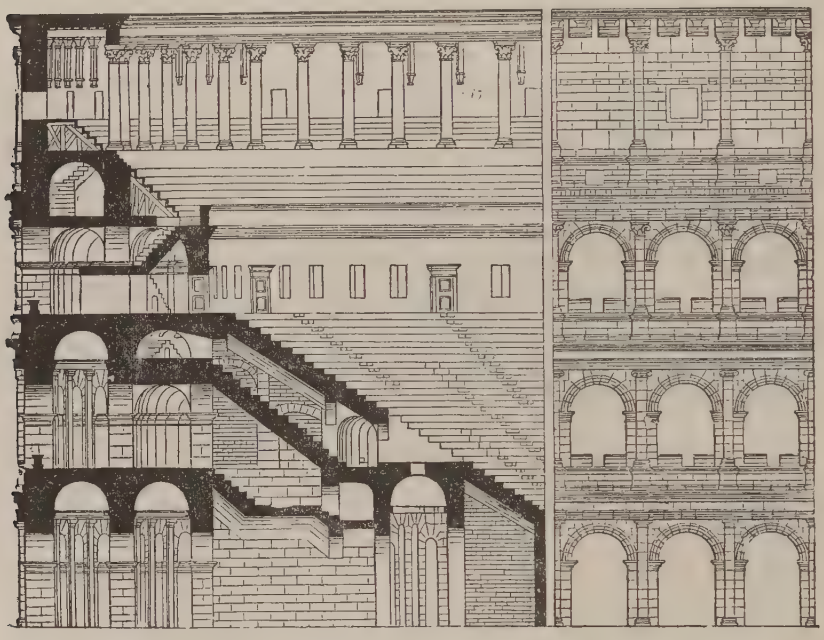


Fig. 207. Section and Portion of the Elevation of the Colosseum.

tiers of arcades one above the other, enframed by Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian pilasters, with their entablatures, and surmounted by a fourth story, furnished with windows, and adorned with Corinthian pilasters. In the great cornice of this upper story we still perceive the holes for the poles, to which was fastened the immense canopy that was spread over the whole vast space as a protection from the sun.

There likewise exist considerable remains of the Baths of Titus in the neighborhood of the Colosseum, especially remarkable for the elegant frescos, the discovery of which during the time of Raphael suggested one of the noblest works of the Renaissance—the

painted Loggie of the Vatican. We may further notice, as belonging to this epoch, those three rich Corinthian columns on the slope of the Capitoline Hill, which were formerly known under the name of the Temple of Jupiter Tonans, but have recently been identified as the Temple of Vespasian. Of still more architectural importance is the Arch of Titus (Fig. 208), at the end of the Via Sacra, which was dedicated to the Emperor in the year 81 A.D. in commemoration of his victory over the Jews and the destruction of Jerusalem.

Fig. 208. Arch of Titus.

Here the monumental type of the triumphal arch invented by the Romans is for the first time given in perfection, though in simple design; for only a single lofty, vaulted passageway is introduced between solid masses of masonry, set round with pilasters on postaments, upon which appears, for the first time, the robust type of the Roman composite capital. The walls are relieved by window-like niches; the attica above the columns bears the dedicatory inscription; the walls inside, on either hand, are adorned with superb relievos, and the vaulted arch with rosettes in sunk panels; while a group of four bronze horses, with the figure of the triumphant hero, once magnificently crowned the platform above the attica.

Of the new Forum, which was begun by Domitian, and finished and named by Nerva, there only remain, between the Roman and the Augustan Forums, a few beautiful, half-buried Corinthian columns, with a rich frieze adorned with relievo, and a lofty attica, on which appears the figure in relievo of Athene, as patroness of female works. The temple which occupied the centre of the Forum, and was only destroyed in the seventeenth century, was dedicated to her. But the Forum of Trajan, founded by that Emperor (98-117), surpassed all its predecessors in magnificence, size, and splendor. Constructed by the architect Apollodorus of Damascus, its northern end was occupied by the mighty Ulpian basilica with its five naves, and

Fig. 209. Bridge of Alcántara.

the marble column supporting the Emperor's statue, the height of which (92 feet) recorded the height of the hill which the workmen were obliged to level in order to obtain room for the foundation. Besides this column, richly adorned with relievos, there is none of the pillars extant, except the fragments, excavated by the French, of the granite columns which once supported the roof of the basilica. Other still more stupendous remains of granite columns belong to the temple which Hadrian erected on this spot in honor of Trajan.

Besides the triumphal arch at the entrance of the Forum, there was another similar triumphal gateway built in Rome, the fragments of which were later employed in the Triumphal Arch of Constantine. Doubtless this, the richest and most magnificent monument of its kind, with its threefold archways, with its splendid plastic

decoration and purely harmonious adjuncts, preserves for us, even at this day, all the essentials of Trajan's great work. Built entirely of Pentelic marble, it is equally admirable for nobility of proportion and for delicacy of workmanship. Another Arch of Trajan, single-gated, but likewise richly adorned with sculptures, is well preserved at Benevento; and another, not so elaborate, stands at Ancona, on the Adriatic Sea. This Emperor erected several important monuments in his native Spain, such as the Bridge of Alcántara (Fig. 209), which also has a triumphal arch connected with it, and some more simply designed triumphal gateways.

Not less ambitious in their conception were the architectural enter-

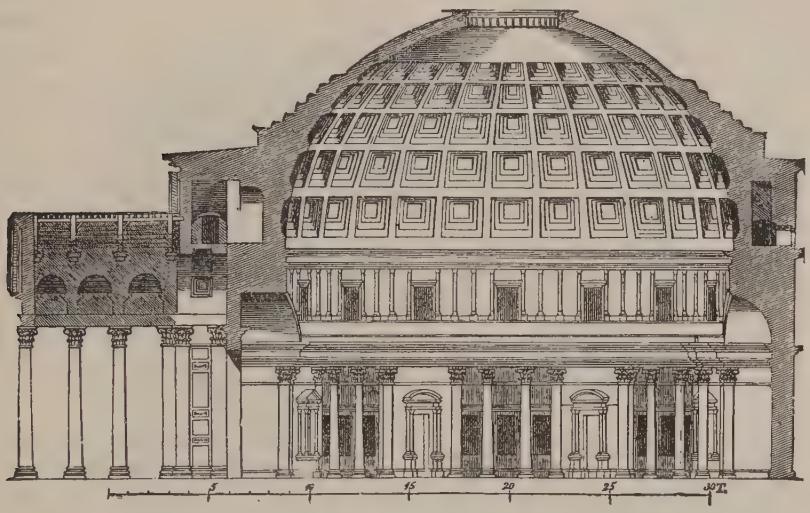


Fig. 210. Section of the Pantheon.

prises of Hadrian (117-138), but they express a more liberal, classic, retrospective grasp of Hellenistic ideals. One of his grandest designs was the Temple of Venus and Roma, which he reared upon a lofty foundation on the eastern edge of the Forum, opposite the Colosseum, and which was famous for being the most colossal among Roman temples. The design, however, is artificial and forced, for the twin temples, with their great niches for the statues of the deities, are built close together, back to back, causing their vestibule entrances to be located at opposite extremities. The external wall, supplied with small niches, as well as the apses, with their rhomboidal, paneled half-domes, is still standing in part. The ancient cylindrical vaulting of the cellas has, however, utterly vanished; and the seventy-two marble columns which formed a peripteral portico, and two

vestibules around the temple, have shared the same fate. There only remain, scattered about here and there, a few colossal ruins of the granite pillars which once supported the porticos of the temple court —vast structures 500 feet long and 300 feet wide. A single marble stairway led up from the Forum, and a double one from the Colosseum, to the terraced elevation on which the temple stood. Another mighty monument of this epoch is the present Castle of St. Angelo, originally erected as the Mausoleum of Hadrian. The circular monument rises tower-like on a square base, has a diameter of 226 feet, built in travertine freestone. Deep below ground is the mortuary chamber of the Emperor, which is reached by descending a spirally constructed, covered passageway. Parian marble once incased the whole enormous structure, and the summit was crowned by a bronze *quadriga*. Only a chaotic mass of ruins, spread over an enormous space, remain of Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli.

Of all Hadrian's buildings the most interesting is the Pantheon, built on the site of that building which was raised by Agrippa in the reign of Augustus. The new building assumes the circular form, which was such a favorite in ancient Italian art; and is crowned, perhaps for the first time in a building of such proportions, with a cupola. In fact, this remains the largest cupola in existence, and its great solidity gives it a rank apart. The interior of the building measures 132 feet in diameter, as well as in height to the top of the cupola within. The walls are broken by seven niches and the recess of the great doorway; three of the recesses being semicircular, and, alternating with them and the doorway, are four rectangular, wherein at a later period splendid marble columns with entablatures were introduced. Above these rises an attica with pilasters, the original position of which has undoubtedly been changed. Above the attica rises the enormous dome, in the form of a hemisphere, which has at the top a round opening, 26 feet in diameter, through which a flood of light pours into the space beneath. This great oculus still retains the bronze ring which sustains the masonry at that point; but the shutter which once tempered or changed the flood of light, and intercepted rain, has been lost. Its simple regularity, the beauty of its parts, the magnificence of the materials employed, the quiet harmony resulting from the method of illumination, give to the interior a solemnly sublime character, which has hardly been impaired even by the subsequent somewhat inharmonious alterations. These have especially affected the cupola, the beautiful and effectively graded panels of which were formerly richly adorned with bronze ornaments. In the same way the marble decorations of the attica were removed during the last century, and commonplace scene-paint-

ing was substituted. Only the splendid columns of yellow marble (*giallo antico*), with white marble capitals and bases, and the marble decorations of the lower walls, bear witness to the earlier magnificence of the building. The caryatides, which, according to the best testimony of Pliny, adorned the interior, were in the earlier building and have disappeared; but it may be taken for granted that if they were set up in the present rotunda, the place they once occupied is above the entablature of the columns. The building is provided

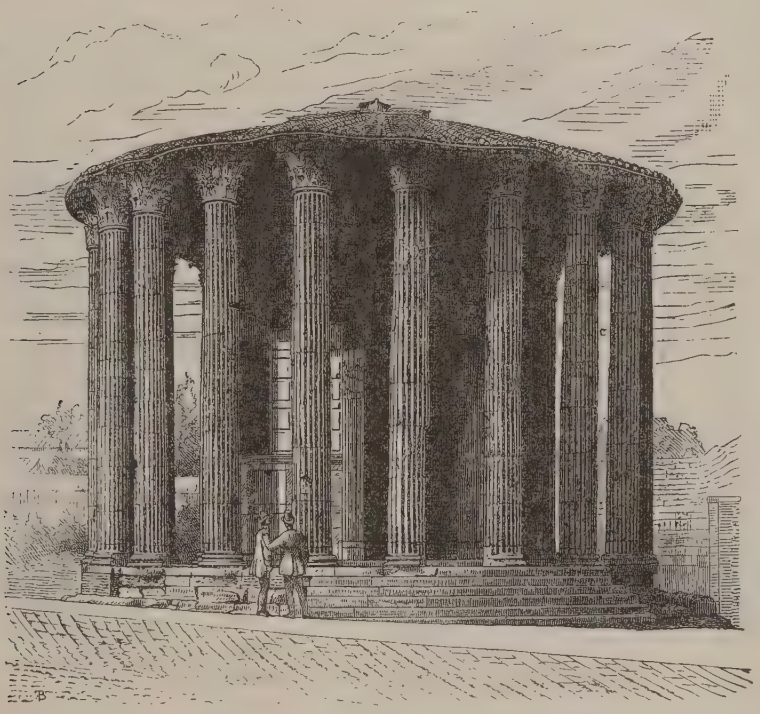


Fig. 211. Round Temple (of Vesta?) at Rome.

with a porch, splendidly adorned with sixteen Corinthian columns, eight of which support the outer fronton, while the remaining eight divide the singularly deep vestibule into three aisles, the central one of which leads up to the great entrance door, while the others end in niches. This columnar porch is much out of keeping with the rotunda. It may be that it is a relic of the Pantheon of Agrippa. The roof formerly had bronze ornaments, which were barbarously removed in the reign of Pope Urban VIII., and appropriated to the unwieldy altar canopy (the baldachin) of St. Peter's. The exterior is otherwise simple and unadorned, without windows, and was prob-

ably sheathed with marble below, and above overlaid with stucco. Although it must be conceded that the connection between the vestibule and the circular building is of the slightest description, one form in no way suggesting the other, nevertheless the impression made by the edifice as a whole is singularly imposing, while the interior is unsurpassed for grandeur.

After Rome, Athens especially was adorned by Hadrian with numberless costly structures; and among them is still preserved a triumphal gateway, which united the new portion of the town, built by him, with the ancient city. Besides this, he constructed a pantheon, an aqueduct, and other monuments, and completed the gigantic undertaking of the Temple of the Olympian Zeus, the oldest portion of which dated back to the time of Pisistratus.

The refined tendency of Hadrian's era—bordering already, however, upon the insipid academic school—was followed by a gradual decadence of the more vital architectural idea; by a clumsier and more curtailed method of treatment, a partial degeneracy of form. We recognize this fact even in the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, belonging to the period of Antoninus Pius (138-161), the vestibule of which, with its gorgeous columns of cipollino, and the walls of the cellæ with their richly executed frieze, are still to be seen. Marcus Aurelius has left us (161-180) the stately column erected by him in imitation of the Column of Trajan. A ruin in its neighborhood, consisting of eleven gigantic columns, with pediment and entablature, which already exhibit that bellying, convex shape of the frieze, which is a sign of degeneracy at a later period, must be referred to this era. The *dogana* (custom house) of to-day is built into the wall of this temple.

The Triumphal Arch of Septimius Severus, built on the declivity of the Capitoline Hill in the year 203, a copy of that of Trajan in general design, but of less noble proportions, heavier, and overladen with reliefs, without distinct architectural division, introduces the epoch of decay ushered in with the third century. The architecture of the Goldsmiths' Arch, erected in the Forum Boarium by the craft of goldsmiths in honor of this Emperor, is completely swallowed up in a reckless superfluity of ornament and sculptured decoration. The elegant circular building, with its Corinthian colonnade, known under the name of the Temple of Vesta (Fig. 211), belongs to about the same period.

Under Caracalla was built one of the grandest and most splendid of the thermæ—structures whose massive ruins rise above the surrounding waste like some mountain which has been rent by a convulsion of nature. Even in the terrible devastation they have suf-

fered, they show the magnificent symmetry of their innumerable apartments, appropriated to an infinite variety of baths, or arranged for promenades, for ball and other games, for reading, and for refined revelry. There are titanic halls, whose vaulted roofs lie at one's feet in broken masses of artificial rock, partly hiding the splendid mosaic of the floors, partly overgrown by wild-thorn bushes and perennial roses. To the main building are annexed galleries, anterooms, and bathing-rooms, of which there were so many that sixteen hundred marble chairs could be used at one time for bathing pur-

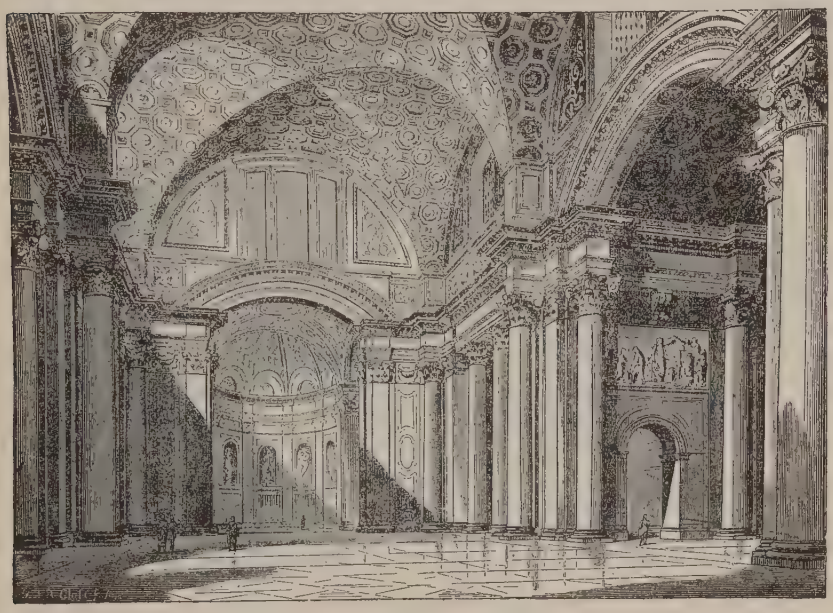


Fig. 212. Baths of Diocletian.

poses. Priceless columns, princely paintings and sculptures, adorned this colossal structure, among whose ruins master-works such as the Farnese Bull, the Hercules, and the Flora, of Naples, have been discovered.

The architectural enterprises of this last period of Roman dominion continue to grow more and more ambitious and gigantic. To the beginning of the fourth century (303) belong the Thermæ of Diocletian (Fig. 212), even more remarkable than the marvelous Baths of Caracalla, though essentially only an imitation of them. Their remains cover a vast surface. The principal hall, roofed in by three crossed vaults with a span of 80 feet, and supported on

columns of granite, was converted by Michael Angelo into the Church of Santa Maria degli Angeli. It is one of the mightiest vaulted apartments in the world.

One of the most important works of Diocletian was that palace of his at Salona in Dalmatia, whose mighty ruins have given its name and existence to the modern town of Spalato (Palatium, hence Palato and Spalato). In this, a striking deterioration of the antique type is everywhere conspicuous: there are cushion friezes, misshappen pediments, and similar new architectural arrangements—as, for instance, the immediate springing of the arch from the column—proving how the bonds of antique tradition had already been broken (Fig.

Fig. 213. View of a Portion of the Palace of Diocletian at Salona.

213). This starting of the arch directly from the capital of the column, never wholly unknown in Roman art of the later Republic and the Empire, becomes common in the third and fourth century, and in this is the beginning of Romanesque architectural art.

The Basilica of Constantine, begun by Maxentius, had its origin in the closing period of ancient art. The three mighty cylindric vaults of its northern lateral nave, as well as the remains of the piers of the southern nave, still tower up on the north side of the Forum. Between them once rose on great piers adorned with powerful columns—of which the only specimen remaining is set up in the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore—the three cross-vaults of the lofty central nave, with a span of about 80 feet, resembling those of the great halls

in the Baths of Caracalla and of Diocletian. Fragments of the vaulted roof lie all about, like huge masses of rock; but even in the midst of this devastation, the three remaining cylindrical arches, together with the apse, built on the nave at a later date, soar above the surrounding structures, and, rivaled only by the Colosseum, are conspicuous from every point of view above the far-reaching desolation of the ruined city. On the western side lay the principal apse; and opposite, at the other end, one can distinguish the entrance. The plan of the building is on a grand scale, conceived as yet in the genuine Roman spirit, vigorous in its technical conception, but somewhat careless in its execution; while the details already show unmistakable signs of deterioration. Other buildings of this period, such as the four-sided arch of Janus (*Janus quadrifons*) in the Forum Boarium, the clumsy colonnade of the Temple of Saturn on the Capitoline Hill, on the Forum side, as well as whatever is original on the Arch of Constantine, convey a still more striking impression of the decadence of architecture: a decadence which still allows of grand masses, vast in size and enduring construction, and not faulty even in proportion, but of constantly decreasing interest in detail. Interesting on account of its design and construction is another work of this closing period—the memorial monument of Constantia, the daughter of the Emperor Constantine, outside of the Porta Pia; now the church of S. Costanza.

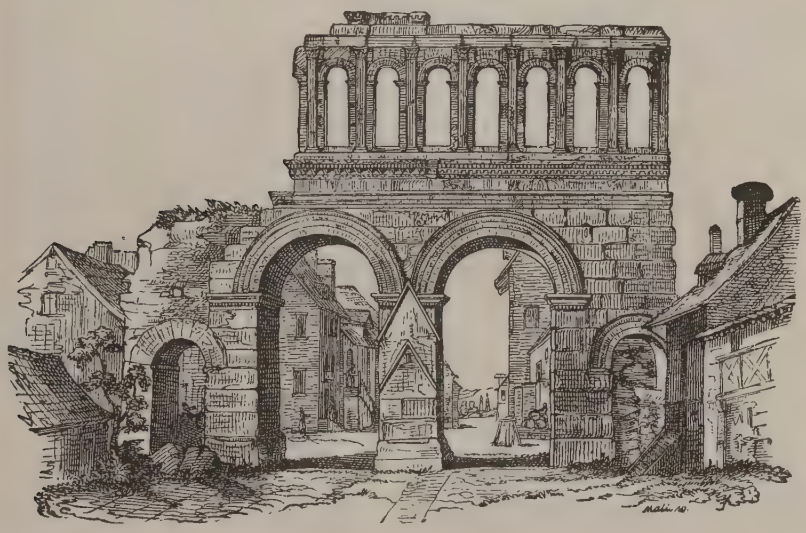


Fig. 214. Porte d'Arroux at Autun.

This is the last of the antique domed structures, and is 52 feet in diameter, encircled by a low gallery, which is separated from the main building by twelve pairs of columns, coupled by a common entablature, and connected by arches. Though the forms here are crude and misapplied, the aisle being vaulted with a continuous tunnel vault following the circle, and curiously adorned with mosaic, the ar-

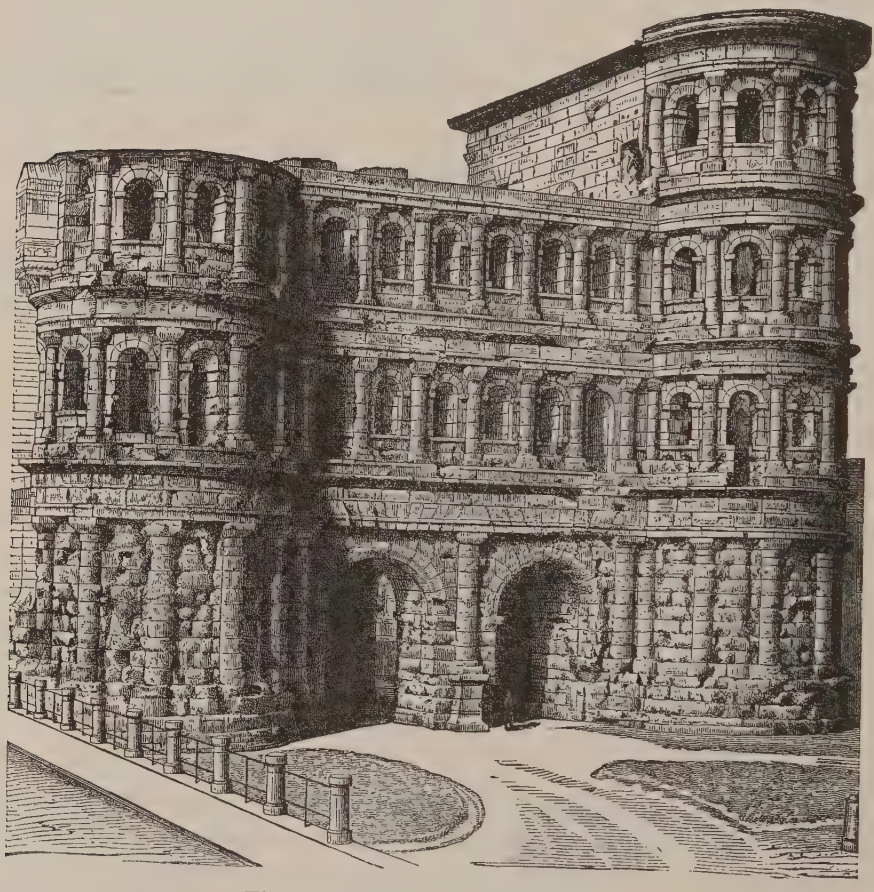


Fig. 215. Porta Nigra at Treves.

rangement of the whole is of high interest, and prophetic of later development—as seen in Romanesque architecture.

We shall enumerate some of the most remarkable only of the numerous remains in all parts of the Roman dominions which date from periods later than the third century. The Porte d'Arroux, at Autun in France (Fig. 214), may be classed among the stateliest examples of Roman gateways. Its two great entrance ways are flanked

by two smaller ones; above them an open arcade with Corinthian pilasters, the whole vigorously and worthily handled. Orange in Provence is distinguished for a superb triumphal arch from the year 21

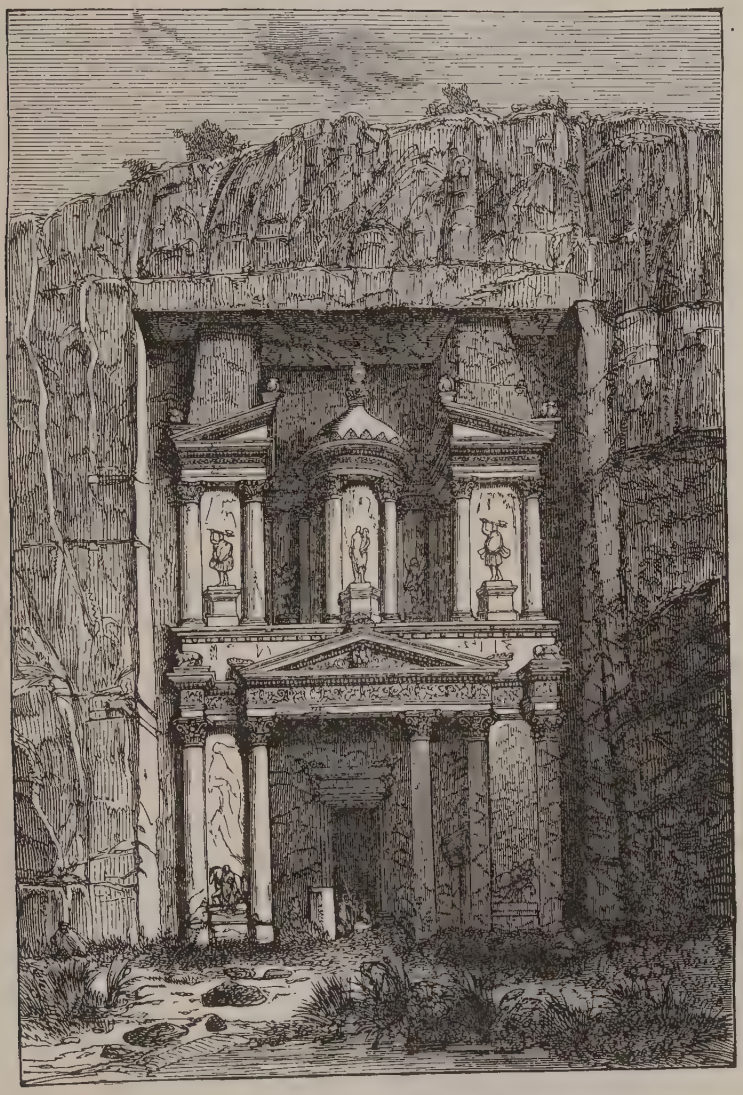


Fig. 216. Façade of Rock-cut Tomb at Petra.

A.D., and a theater admirably preserved, with the high wall of the proscenium; the only one in existence; and in Nîmes and Arles there are extensive amphitheaters. In Germany, Treves has some notable

relics of this late epoch in the basilica, the amphitheater, and the imperial palace; but if the inscription on it be any authority, the Porta Nigra in the same town (Fig. 215) must be attributed to the first or second century A.D. This is a double gateway, constructed in solid stone; both passageways being protected by projecting towers, with wall surfaces relieved by rows of pilasters and archings, showing a barbaric crudity of detail, which seems by internal evidence to assign the structure to the late Roman, if not to the Merovingian period. The neighboring town of Fliessem possesses an extensive Roman villa site; Igel, an elegant tower-shaped, richly sculptured monument of the Secundini family; Nennig, a villa remarkable for a splendid mosaic pavement; and Badenweiler, some thermæ, with their foundations still in a good state of preservation.

Of more importance than these, however, are the monuments of every description which represent the later Roman period in the East, because in them the dissolution of ancient architecture, under the influence of the fantastic Asiatic imagination, is consummated. Curved and often broken frontons, wall surfaces curved—now outward, now inward—united to the most grotesque changes in the details of construction, make up a style which may be described as the antique rococo. Extensive monuments of this kind are found in the midst of the Syrian desert, at Palmyra (Tadmor)—gorgeous works, which seem to have embodied, as if by enchantment, the splendid age of Queen Zenobia. No less important are the kindred monuments at Heliopolis (Baalbec), where an ancient cult of the sun-god called into existence countless magnificent structures; the Roman temples rising on the much earlier substructures. Even in the remote and rocky valleys of Arabia Petræa, at Petra, many varied remains of temples, theaters, mortuary monuments, and triumphal gateways bear witness to this mixture of late Roman art with Oriental fancy. All the bizarre peculiarities of this tendency are exhibited in the monumental façade which we have given under Fig. 216. In North Africa there exist the remains of cities of the Empire with often well-preserved structures. Of all the late Roman building the most interesting is that of Central Syria. Here a large number of private houses remain, so massively built in cut stone that nothing can much injure them as long as the country remains thinly inhabited. Some buildings of the third and fourth centuries remain, which were evidently built for public purposes, and the earliest churches of Christianity are there, in recognizable shape. The rapid changing of the classical forms and the formation and development of Romanesque building are well seen.

BAALBEK

GENERAL VIEW OF THE ACROPOLIS

3. *Sculpture Among the Romans.*

With the subjugation of Greece by the Romans, the national life of the Greeks had ceased, and with it had been extinguished the last spark of that loftiest inspiration which had created the ideal forms of an earlier period of art. But this revolution was insufficient to annihilate the inborn plastic talent of the Hellenic race; on the contrary, the Romans' newly awakened love for art aroused the slumbering art nature of the Greeks to new life, and gave them abundance of opportunity and stimulus for work—as has been pointed out in the chapter on Greek sculpture. It is true that this taste on the part of the Romans was founded, primarily, upon a passion for splendor among the wealthier classes, who craved the productions of the sculptor's art for mere enjoyment and for the adornment of a refined life; but never has luxury been practiced in greater perfection, or on a grander scale.

The tendency of sculpture corresponded to these outward conditions. New conceptions were no longer possible in the ideal realm of Hellenistic art, neither could essentially new creations be looked for; but a free reproduction of famous older works of the period of glory, a taking up again of the broken thread, was yet possible. And so we witness the rise of a new Attic school of sculptors in Rome, or working for Rome, whose works attain a perfection which it seems as though nothing could ever surpass. There are a delicacy of conception, a harmony of rhythmical movement and handling of lines, a melting softness, a tender transition of forms, and a complete mastery of technicalities, which, taken collectively, have made these works the objects of depeest admiration. Only since the works of true Hellenic art of the best periods became known in the course of the nineteenth century, has it been realized that these last, in addition to all those excellences, are instinct with an utterly unconscious *naïveté* and modesty, a loftiness and purity of imagination, beside which the later performances, with their conscious striving after effect, appear like cold reflections.

Apart from the finds at Herculaneum, and a few very recent discoveries, nearly all the famous statues in the museums of the Vatican, the Capitol, and the Palace of the Conservators at Rome, in the Uffizi at Florence, and in the museum at Naples, are examples of copied or modified Greek sculpture. Among the great accumulations of these works we can call attention to the most important only, some of which have been named above; see chapter on Greek sculpture. The Medicean Venus in the Uffizi; the Farnese Hercules at Naples; the Apollo

Citharœdos, the Ariadne, the Cnidian Aphrodite, perhaps the Belvedere Apollo, and that statue near it, in the Belvedere of the Vatican which has been called the Belvedere Antinous, or Hermes—these last-named sculptures being at Rome; the two important statues in the Louvre; the so-called Borghese Gladiator, and the Diana of Versailles, are all of this series (Fig. 217). It will probably be forever unknown whether these or any of them are faithful copies of the original work of the Greek sculptor. Some of them may even be the originals themselves. But the dividing line between the Græco-Roman sculpture of the first century A.D. and the pure though late Hellenic sculp-

Fig. 217. Ariadne. Vatican Museum.

ture is difficult to fix. On the other hand, there are some pieces which are less Greek than Roman. Thus, the fine recumbent statue of the Nile surrounded by children, which are supposed to represent each a cubit in the rise of the river in the years of great flood, may well be a creation of the Roman epoch (Fig. 218). It is only within the closing years of the nineteenth century that attention was called to the reliefs, which, partly in Rome and partly in Florence, may be almost certainly identified with the altar of Peace mentioned above in the section concerning Roman architecture. This work assuredly belonged to the reign of Augustus. In the Museo delle Terme or Museum of the Baths of Diocletian, at Rome, are several bas-reliefs executed in marble in the most delicate and refined style: not Greek, and yet comparable with Greek work for subtlety and refinement,

while even more descriptive in a sense—that is to say, more realistic in the way of gesture and pose and what seems like portraiture. In Florence there are others, these last containing in low relief a magnificently conceived procession of robed men and women mingled with children in considerable numbers, and thought to represent the passing before the altar of the whole imperial family and its connections; perhaps also the nobles of Rome, the members of the gradually forming court of Augustus. Nothing more interesting than the comparison inevitably suggesting itself between this and the cella frieze of the Parthenon can be found.*

There was a pause in the development of Roman sculpture which is not easy to account for, as the common ascription of it to the lack of

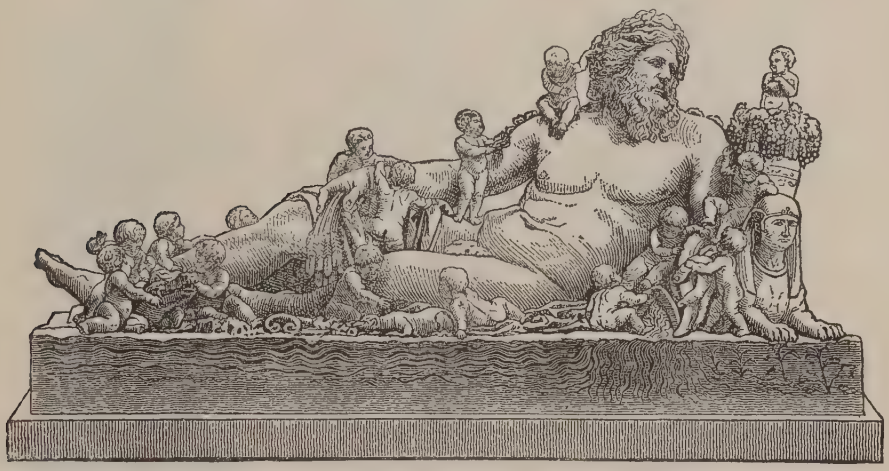


Fig. 218. Nile Surrounded by Children.

interest shown in art by the Flavian emperors seems insufficient. But under Trajan some magnificent work was done, apparently in connection with his vast architectural undertakings—the famous Forum and Basilica, and the Temple and Column erected by his successor in honor of that greatest of the emperors. These sculptures are to be found partly built into the Arch of Constantine in Rome, and partly preserved in the Lateran Museum. They show a natural and wholesome development from the Augustan art described above; the work is even more stately and dignified, the true Roman "senatorial" dignity appearing in the figures, which yet seem to be portraits—so far, at least, as the Emperor himself and his immediate followers are concerned. Some of the bas-reliefs in the arch are vigorous scenes of

* See Wickhoff, "Roman Art"; London, 1900. The text is translated from a publication of the Austrian imperial government, "Die Wiener Genesis."

battle and flight. His successor, Hadrian, carried to completion the Temple of Trajan and the famous Column, and in the sculptures of these columns, which will be described more fully below, there appears for the first time, in the work of the city itself, a certain curious rudeness which has been found to mark the provincial work of even the Augustan age. The story of the Dacian war is well told in bold and freely designed sculpture; but this sculpture is not in itself refined; it is not charming in an artistic sense; it is in fact spirited and instructive illustration—but plastic art in the highest sense it is not.

A new impulse was given to idealistic sculpture by Hadrian, whose predilection for all that was Greek gave manifold occasion for the

Fig. 219. Roman Portrait Statues with the Toga (*Togatæ*).

copying of antique productions, including those of the more severely classical style; thus developing by exercise a large amount of imitative talent. These works are invariably distinguished by rare, peculiar delicacy of form; but their treatment of subject aims at a polish which degenerates into soullessness, and noticeably falls short of the vivacity of earlier efforts. Numerous statues of this type are scattered through the various museums of Europe. Among the most interesting is the Pallas of Velletri, in the Museum of the Louvre, grandly conceived and severe in design, but insipid in execution. But even at this late epoch ancient sculpture produced a new ideal form, that of the Antinous, which occurs many times, and often represented with a high degree of artistic perfection. Antinous was a beautiful youth,

who drowned himself in the deep waters of the Nile as a mysterious propitiatory sacrifice for his master, the Emperor Hadrian. The Emperor honored his memory by founding a city called Antinoë, and by setting up countless images of the favorite, which idealized him in every conceivable way; though all were characterized by an expression of thoughtful melancholy in the drooping head, by brows overshadowed with clustering curls, and by a suggestion of sadness in the curve of the voluptuous mouth. Specimens may be seen in the Vatican and in the Lateran at Rome.

Fig. 220. The Pudicitia (Modesty). Vatican Museum.

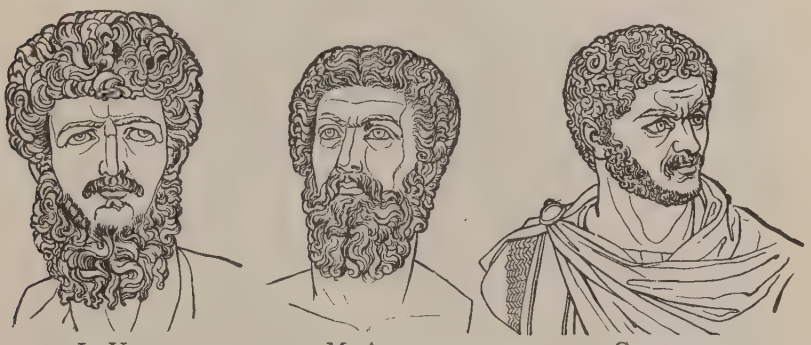
Although the stamp of Greek art may be unmistakably recognized in all these works, another branch of sculpture has its germ primarily in Roman manners and the Roman habits of thought; viz., portraiture. This is closely connected with the importance which the Roman mind attached to the individual citizen with his aggregate peculiarities. The tendency toward the preservation of particular likenesses was long before apparent in the old-time custom of setting up ancestral images (*imagines*), to which a special apartment was assigned in the dwelling of every noble family, a privilege distinguishing the patrician from the plebeian. These likenesses were molded in wax, and doubtless were more admirable in the matter of outward resemblance to the original than in lofty artistic perception; but with the growth of Hellenistic sculpture it came to be the custom in Rome to use the nobler materials of marble, and even of bronze, in the execution of these portraits. In this matter the Roman custom again differs sharply from the Greek. While Hellenistic art idealized the individual form, and only made such use of drapery, even in the airy disposition of it about the figure, as seemed to be demanded for the interpretation of characteristics, the Romans started with the idea of representing the individual appearance with the utmost exactness, either in the voluminous drapery of peace, the toga, or in complete warlike paraphernalia; hence the portrait statues are distinguished as *togatæ* (Fig. 219) and *thoracatæ* (Fig. 221). As the Roman style of dress is altogether heavier and more ungainly than the Greek, a more substantial, realistic expression, consistent with its other characteristics, is given to such work in consequence of this

habit of exact reproduction. But with the invasion of the manners of Greece her costumes likewise became fashionable among the Romans; and from that time began an idealistic treatment of portraiture. From that time the fashion of representing the emperors under the form of Jupiter or other divinities came into vogue; while their consorts

Fig. 221. Marble Statue of Augustus. Vatican Museum.

were delineated with the attributes of Juno or Venus. But quite apart from such idealization, the female portraits of this school were most successful; and one is frequently impressed by the matronly dignity, the grace and loveliness of the true womanly type, in the grave, nobly draped figures, sitting or standing, in the dainty though somewhat studied Greek garb.

The two seated statues of Agrippina, wife of Germanicus, preserved in the Museum at Naples and the Capitoline Museum at Rome, are of great beauty; and not less so are the figures, also seated, of the so-called Women of Herculaneum in the Dresden Museum—noble women, in whom an incomparable grace is equaled only by a womanly dignity and patrician bearing. To this class belongs also the statue called the Pudicitia in the Vatican (Fig. 220)—an embodiment of most attractive, chaste womanliness, cocmbined with a high perfection in the treatment of the drapery. Among the male statues of this kind may be mentioned the marble statue of Augustus (Fig. 221), found in the year 1863 near Prima Porta, not far from Rome, and unsurpassed for the nobleness of its conception and the delicacy of its artistic execution, besides being in an excellent state of preserva-



L. Verus. M. Aurelius. Caracalla.

Fig. 222. Busts of Roman Emperors.

tion. The two marble equestrian statues of M. Nonius Balbus and his son, found in Herculaneum, betray the same sort of excellence, and to a like degree a touch of Greek idealism, being full of refinement and polished distinction, and are probably productions of the Augustan epoch. Much less interesting, but still to be commended for a simple naturalness of finish and careful carrying-out of detail, is the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, a gilded bronze, which at present adorns the Piazza del Campidoglio in Rome. The vigorous stepping of the horse, the tranquil pose of the rider, who stretches out his right hand reassuringly, are well and strikingly expressed.

The multitude of statues and busts of the emperors and their relatives, as well as of other illustrious Romans of both sexes, is almost innumerable; but in none of them did the idealistic conception by any means do away with the distinct individual presentment, which appealed, after all, more strongly to the Roman mind. The character of the personality is, for the most part, delicately and accurately fixed

with unrivaled vivacity; so that the critical inspection of, for instance, the large collection of portrait busts in the Capitoline Museum is of high interest in a psychological point of view; one of the most complete sets of plastic illustrations to Roman history being here preserved to us (compare Fig. 222). Side by side with works displaying skillful, even masterly handling, we find many inferior productions. Many innovations were thus made in the course of time, such as the employment of precious colored marble for busts, so that the head and neck alone are in white, the drapery of the shoulders being carved in a lovely veined and clouded stone. Such an innovation is seen in the faithful copying of the fantastic headdress of the Roman ladies.

With plastic portraiture historical representation went hand in

Fig. 223. Portion of Relief on Trajan's Column.

hand, and the diligent cultivation of this branch of art found an independent school in Roman sculpture. The intense realism of the Romans is here preserved in full force; for, far removed from the high ideality with which Hellenic art conceived of even historic occurrences, the Romans aimed at the most accurate delineation of the actual, bringing out into bold relief the warlike enterprises, the battles, victories, and triumphs of the Imperator. Roman sculpture tells its story as fully and plainly as does the Oriental; but a touch of Greek beauty informs it, and dowers it with life and variety. It was necessary in this case, also, to glorify the individual; and the design and execution of the whole are regulated with this view. The necessity of grouping, for the most part, in as limited a space as was consistent with reality, a large number of figures, led to an arrangement of the relievo which is widely removed from the fine and polished

treatment of Hellenic art. Sculpture loses itself in the realm of painting, when, taking a varied background, it arranges its figures on different planes by gradations of modeling: those in the foreground often standing out completely from the surface, and thus retaining that substantial form which appeared so essential to the Roman conception; while the remaining figures appear crowded together.

The reliefs on the Arch of Titus in Rome belong to the earliest and most important works of this kind. On the inner wall, at the

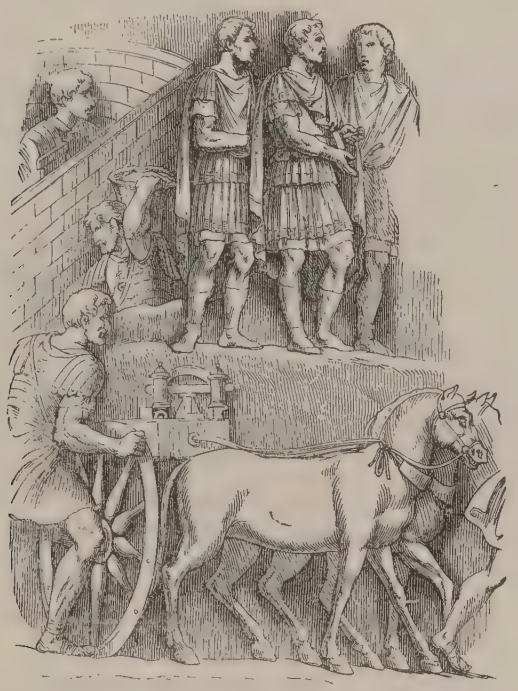


Fig. 224. Portion of Relief on Trajan's Column.

side, one sees the Imperator, crowned by a Victory, led by Rome, solemnly entering his triumphal arch in his chariot drawn by four horses; while on the other side the precious spoils of the Temple at Jerusalem, among them the Seven-branched Candlestick, are being borne along. The triumphal sacrifice is portrayed upon the somewhat diminutive relief of the outer frieze. A fresh, strong life, free movement, and noble dignity characterize this work.

The peculiar Roman manner shows itself still more decidedly in the historical relievos on the various monuments of Trajan, especially in the numerous remains of Trajan's Arch, which were worked into

the Triumphal Arch of Constantine; in the reliefs of the attica; the statues of Dacian prisoners on the postament, above the columns; the medallions above the side entrances; and the reliefs on the two outer ends and the inside walls of the archway. These last are most life-like delineations of the battles of the Emperor against the Dacians and the Parthians; while the first commemorate the procession that celebrated the triumph over these conquered peoples, as well as other public actions; and the medallions present scenes from the private life of the Emperor, such as sacrificial and hunting scenes. Very important in this connection are the continuous reliefs, wound like a

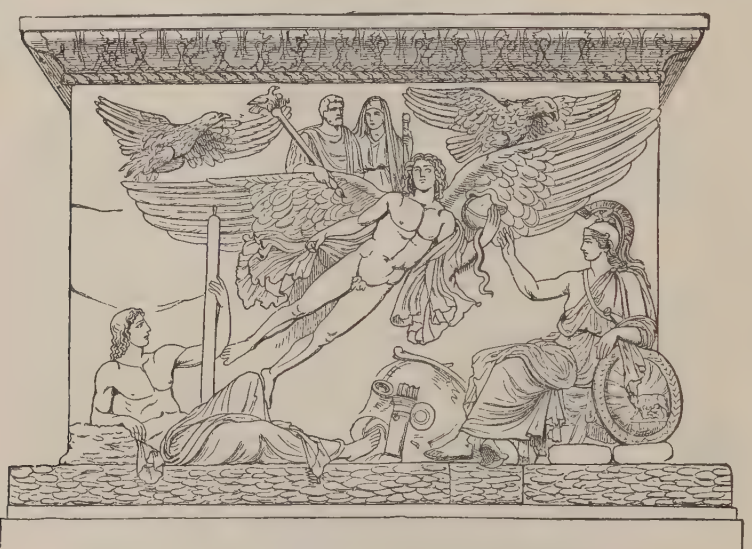


Fig. 225. Apotheosis of Antoninus Pius and his Empress. Relief from the Base of the Column of Antoninus Pius.

spiral ribbon—most unfavorably for purposes of observation—from the base to the summit of Trajan's Column, and containing an inexhaustibly rich delineation of the Emperor's warlike deeds against the Dacians (Figs. 223, 224). The various incidents of a campaign are here depicted, everywhere with singular life and accuracy: fight and repulse, passionate combat and humiliating overthrow, all have one purpose of characteristic expression; and, though no element of loftier idealism makes itself felt, the truth and force and the historic reality of the embodiment hold one spell-bound.

Some valuable remains have also been preserved from the reign of Antoninus Pius; as, for instance, two reliefs from a triumphal arch of this emperor, at present in the Palazzo del Conservatore at the Capitol. One commemorates the dedication of the temple to Faus-

tina, the colonnades of which still exist; the other the apotheosis of the empress, who is borne upward, out of the flames of the funeral pyre, by the goddess of victory. Akin to these are the reliefs on a postament now set up in the garden of the Vatican (Giardino della Pigna), which formerly belonged to a column of Antoninus Pius, raised to the memory of the deceased Emperor A.D. 161. In front, the apotheosis of the emperor and his spouse is represented, idealized, and with delicately executed figures, but cold and stiff, like most allegorical works (Fig. 225). On the two other sides are processions of galloping horsemen in lively movement, but wildly and irregularly grouped, without regard to architectural symmetry—a suggestive symptom of incipient decay.

The power of simple and forcible historic representation was reawakened under the dominion of Marcus Aurelius, as is apparent from a retrospective glance at the monuments of the time of Trajan;

Fig. 226. Relief from the Arch of Constantine.

though these latter are scarcely equaled in energy, and fresh, abounding vitality. The reliefs on the Emperor's monumental column, delineations of his wars with the Marcomanni and the Quadi, bear witness to a simple, healthy tone; likewise the four great reliefs in the stairway hall of the Palazzo del Conservatore at Rome, which also belong to a memorial monument in honor of this Emperor, and exhibit a clear, free, skillful treatment.

The predestined decadence in the historical sculpture of the Romans shows itself in the relief on the Arch of Septimius Severus (A.D. 203), which not only disdains all architectural rules in its wild, irregular divisions, but leaves a disagreeable impression by its entire treatment, which is dry and spiritless. Complete decay is proclaimed by those reliefs on the Arch of Constantine, which actually belong to his age, and come down to use in all their stiff ugliness, lifeless and spiritless, showing no knowledge of the human body, and being even at times barbaric in their crudeness (Fig. 226).

A remarkable and particularly numerous class of monuments,

which in more than one respect enlarge the scope of Roman sculpture, have not yet been alluded to; I refer to the sarcophagus reliefs. The custom of burying, instead of burning, the dead, never quite died out in ancient times, but became a universal rule only during the reign of the Antonines. The employment and artistic construction of sarcophagi, or stone coffins, is, of course, connected with this fact; and therefore they belong, almost without exception, to the period of decadence already set in (see Fig. 227). Moreover, we recognize in them for the most part, work of tradesmen, and they seem to have been kept in stock at the workshops, and display frequent repetitions of the same composition. Nevertheless these monuments arouse a deep interest, because a quantity of antique compositions of an earlier period are reproduced upon them. With a few exceptions, when incidents of real life are represented, the outsides of these sarcophagi are adorned

Fig. 227. Sarcophagus in the Capitoline Museum.

with an infinite variety of scenes illustrative of the ancient myths of gods and heroes. Occasionally the interest of the subject chosen is the only reason for that choice, as in some favorite objects of this kind, such as the scenes from the life of Achilles on the superb great sarcophagus in the Museum of the Capitol, or the frequently recurring battles of the Amazons. As a rule, however, such myths are employed as either contain or suggest a thought which bears upon death, separation, and reunion. Thus we often find presentations of the Rape of Proserpine, of the Return of Alcestis or Protesilaus from Hades; and symbols of the hope of reunion with those separated by death; and, furthermore, the profoundly thoughtful myths of Amor and Psyche, of Prometheus, of Luna and Endymion, or scenes from the Bacchic myths, which allowed of various symbolic interpretations, and many others. The artistic merit of these productions is usually of an inferior order, the grouping often confused and crowded, the drawing unskillful, the treatment of the forms of the body defective, the execution insipid, angular, and hard; but, on the

other hand, they are not lacking in a wealth of surprisingly beautiful and spirited motives, which suggest originals belonging to the best time of antiquity, and reflect for us, in a manner, many a lost work of noblest art. Besides these, a small number of such productions, even judging by their execution, must be relegated, most undoubtedly, to a better epoch.

Among the lesser arts, the cutting of precious stones was carried to a high degree of perfection by the splendor-loving Romans. In the time of Augustus, the Greek master Dioscorides enjoyed the highest reputation in the exercise of this profession. The two most famous and magnificent cameos, now extant, which in size and richness of workmanship surpass all others, are attributed to the best period of the art. One of them, in the Imperial Collection at Vienna —a sardonyx, of the astonishing size of nine inches wide by eight inches high—exhibits a richly executed allegorical glorification of Augustus, who appears as Jupiter enthroned beside Rome personified. Very similar is the design on the second stone, preserved in the cabinet of the National Library at Paris, except that it even excels the first in size and splendor. It measures thirteen inches in height, and eleven inches in width, and is cut from a splendid sardonyx having several strata of different colors. The same love of elegance among the Romans was the incentive to the creation of wonderful fabrics in many-colored glassware. The most celebrated work of this kind is the Portland Vase in the British Museum at London—a superb work in deep blue glass, ten inches in height, with an upper layer of white glass, upon which figures are cut, showing white on a blue ground. This work is of the nature of cameo cutting in a material artificially made instead of being naturally found in colored layers. A still more beautiful vase of the same kind, though somewhat smaller, is in the Naples Museum.

4. *Painting Among the Romans.*

Painting, as well as the other arts, was transmitted to the Romans from the Greeks; and we have already, in our review of Hellenistic art, made mention of the masters, who, up to the time of Hadrian, bear witness to a brilliant after-blossoming of this branch of antique art. It is a noticeable fact, however, that while among the sculptors of this era scarcely a Roman name occurs, there is no lack of Romans who are prominent as painters. When we consider that the art of painting flourished even among the Etruscans, it is entirely probable that the Italian nations may have had a decided talent in this direction. In the days of the republic, as far back as 300 B.C., Fabius

Pictor painted the Temple of Salus; and the poet Pacuvius (200 B.C.) seems to have done the same kind of work. Ludius was especially famous in the time of Augustus, not to mention other Roman names. But, as we know was the case with the works of the last-named painter, these productions must have been, for the most part, of a decorative nature: for the works of a higher order emanated invariably from Greek hands, and the Romans themselves conceded the first rank to the Hellenes. Portrait painting was specially popular;

Fig. 228. Cupid's Nest. (Wall-Painting from Pompeii.)

and even toward the end of the republic there was a certain woman-artist, Lala (properly *Laia*) of Cyzicus, who had made herself a great name in her profession.

The discovery and excavation of Pompeii and Herculaneum, the exploration of the Baths of Titus and of many subterranean tombs in the neighborhood of Rome, have brought to light numerous illustrations of an important branch of Roman painting; and the museum at Naples is a repository of the finest and most valuable specimens. The pictures from Pompeii belong, as do the buildings of this and the neighboring towns themselves, to an interesting transition from Hel-

lenic to Roman art, and may frequently be copies of old Grecian masterpieces, as is the case with the sculpture of the same epoch. They are executed on a dry ground in distemper, on a foundation of extraordinarily fine, smooth plaster. The symmetry of the whole witnesses to the predominance of a strict architectural arrangement. The wall surfaces are painted with a solid background, usually of a deep, warm red or a soft, subdued yellow; though occasionally, but

Fig. 229. The Parting of Achilles and Briseis. (Wall-Painting from Pompeii.)

much more rarely, black, blue, green, or purple, are used. A band of a different, darker color, is usually carried like a dado around the base of the wall; and sometimes the upper part of the wall is divided from the rest by a similar stripe, in the manner of a frieze. The central space, so bordered, is adorned by disconnected, airy figures, dancing-girls, genii, and the like, or else by complete pictures of some given subject. Incidents out of real life are very seldom taken as subjects for representation; but, when so employed, the result is often

charming, uniting a high order of beauty with graceful dignity. The figures are more frequently suggested by the world of fable, the Bacchic and other myths, centaurs and centauresses, bacchantes, satyrs, and similar creatures; the most important among these productions presenting scenes from the heroic legends or myths. There is, for example, the Sacrifice of Iphigenia, the Death of Patroclus, the Reunion of Ulysses and Eumæus, the Anger of Achilles, the Education of Achilles by Chiron, the Recognition of Orestes by Iphigenia, the Parting of Achilles from Briseis (Fig. 229), the Deliverance of Andromeda by Perseus, the Victory of Theseus over the Minotaur,

Fig. 230. Genre Subject. (Wall-Painting from Pompeii.)

etc.; in short, all the joyous, beautiful world of the antique legends and myths lives again before our eyes in all the glow and glory of lovely hues.

In this respect the representations of cupids, who are introduced in graceful pleasantry and sportive play, are especially popular. A wall-painting discovered at Pompeii, on which a young girl is showing an entire nest of little cupids to her playmates who are looking on curiously (Fig. 228), is especially charming. These winged messengers of love are often depicted in merry playfulness, like that little one sitting upon a portly langouste or crayfish, and preparing to fish (Fig. 230).

The coloring is bright and soft, now in warmer, now in cooler tints, the modeling sometimes only slightly suggested, sometimes carried out with greater precision; while in other respects the technical

treatment, as well as the spirit, value, and character of the composition vary greatly. But the invariable result is cheerily suggestive of a gay, charming existence of pleasurable ease.

This cheerful character of the whole is still further and more decidedly augmented by the frequent harmless, merry, and naïve genre pictures (Fig. 230), by landscapes carelessly introduced, by bits of still life, fruit, and animals; and, furthermore, by an imitation of architecture, painted in perspective, and built up with slender, delicate members; all this being nothing more than elegant trifling, and not done with any deliberate idea of illusion.

Essentially different from the character of these productions is an extended picture in mosaic, which once adorned the pavement in the so-called House of the Faun, and which is described above under Greek painting.

In Rome, the Aldobrandini Marriage in the Vatican, a wall-painting full of tender, spiritual grace, must be placed in the same category with the Pompeian works, by virtue of its light, clear execution. Many other such productions, some very lovely, are found in tombs in the environs. When the so-called ancestral house of Tiberius was excavated on the Palatine (in 1869), wall-paintings of rare excellence were discovered, such as light decorative works connected with pictures of independent meaning, ideal scenes, genre pictures, and ornamental subjects; as, for instance, wreaths of foliage of wonderful delicacy, and replete with artistic charm. On the other hand, we find the extensive mosaics from the Baths of Caracalla, which now form the pavement of a great hall in the Lateran, crude representations of gladiators, common in subject, and clumsy in technical detail. Of this class are the wild beast and gladiator combats in the principal hall of the Villa Borghese. To the most exquisite pavement mosaics belong those of Nennig and of Vilbel, the last in the museum at Darmstadt, which also contains the expressive Orpheus of Rottweil.

APPENDIX.

ARTISTIC HANDICRAFTS AMONG THE ANCIENTS.

IN order to gain a more complete idea of the artistic endowments of the peoples of classic antiquity, we will, in closing, cast a glance at the productions of those industrial handicrafts which border, as it were, upon the realm of creative art. All epochs of a healthy art life, developing itself without restraint from the national genius, agree in the fact that handicraft is indissolubly bound up with art; so that the latter is developed upon the solid technical basis of the former, to which it continually lends a nobler stamp, a higher consecration. But this union never attained to such perfection as with the Greeks. Had all the productions of their architecture, sculpture, and painting vanished, leaving no trace behind, the evidence given us by the utensils and household vessels, articles of ornament, and equipment of all kinds—found chiefly in the tombs, but likewise in the dwellings of Pompeii, would alone convince us of the incomparably fine artistic feeling of this highly gifted people. The important fact that in the speech of the Hellenes the same word, *techne,* is employed to express the activity and skill of the artist as of the handicraftsman, is in itself a proof of the intimate mutual relationship between them.

The Etruscans also shared in this gift for artistic workmanship; and their work in terra-cotta and brass, as well as their manipulation of the precious metals, was highly esteemed. We have already given specimens of it in the superb bronze mirrors with engraved designs (Fig. 198). The Romans at last fell heirs to a rich double legacy from both peoples, and were able not only to adorn their daily life with the creations of an earlier time, but to turn to account the talent of Grecian workmen for their own uses. The period following the end of the republic developed among them a luxury which, continually increasing under the emperors, attained to its most gorgeous culmination in the time of Hadrian. No era of history can rival the solidity and the noble type of that Roman splendor which constantly absorbed new life and freshness from the well-springs of the Grecian sense of beauty. Without even desiring to attempt a sketch of the history of ancient artistic handicrafts, we will content ourselves with hints as to their characteristics.

The dominant trait in the life of all classic antiquity was the desire to make all outward existence inhale beauty, as it were, with the air. The poorest household utensils, the most insignificant articles of daily

Fig. 231. Greek Prize-Vases.

use, give as clear proof of this real artistic instinct as the sublime creations of monumental art. Thence may be traced the origin of the plain law, everywhere apparent, that perfect fitness in union with a sense of ideal beauty should govern all modifications of form. Let us begin with the simplest—with the vessels and utensils, made of burnt clay, for the kitchen, the storeroom, and the every-day family table. A rhythmic undulation of outline, a perfectly clear and appropriate construction of parts, and a finely defined individuality, express, in all cases, the purpose and the use of the utensil. The shapes of the different vessels are as infinitely various as the Greek language is wonderfully rich in designations for them. It is a pure artistic delight for the eye to trace in the collections these hundred-fold varia-

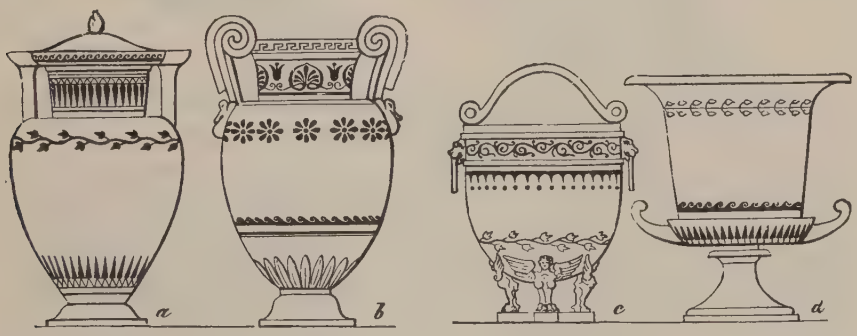


Fig. 232. Greek Amphoræ and Crateræ.

tions in the harmoniously undulating outlines. Eurythmia—a complete beauty of accurate and well-proportioned action—is the foundation law here, as in all Greek work.

But disproportionate interest is always felt in those objects upon which greater artistic elaboration has been lavished, and which were

intended for the use of the rich, or for gifts on festive occasions. To this class belong the precious vases which were intended as prizes for the victors in the Pan-Athenian games, and were remarkable for beautiful shape, felicitous adjustment of parts, and noble artistic decoration (Fig. 231, *a, b, c, d*); here, also, the graceful hydrias, receptacles for water at the fountain, favorite wedding-presents for a bride; here the capacious two-handled amphoræ for holding liquids (Fig. 232, *a, b*); here, especially, the great mixing-vessels (*crateræ*), in which, before the meal, the wine was mixed with water, and then cooled, and which play so important a part in the surroundings of the Homeric heroes (Fig. 232, *c, d*). Such vessels were by no means confined to clay, but were often fashioned in metal, sometimes even

Fig. 233. Greek Drinking-Horns.

in silver, gold, or electrum; for the most famous masters of the great art of sculpture not unfrequently delighted in turning their hands to such works of elegant skill. Splendid specimens of the best Greek style—sometimes in clay, with painted and gilded relievos; sometimes wrought in silver, and even in gold—have been discovered in the mound sepulchers of the Crimea, and placed in the museum at St. Petersburg. We have already given examples of the style and order of painting which adorned the greater proportion of the antique vases and utensils. To a special class, great favorites with the ancient artisans, appertained the drinking-horns (Fig. 233), sculpture vying with painting to endow them with beauty: the last adorning the rim with figurative representations; the first with an inventive genius which was simply inexhaustible—often transforming the points of the horns into heads of animals. We find the heads of a fox or a dog

(*a*), a greyhound (*e*), a mule (*d*), a horse (*i*), a hanged horse (*h*), a griffin (*f, g*), a panther (*k*), a lion (*c*); and even humorous combinations of two diverse half-heads of animals, like the sheep and boar (*b*), are of frequent occurrence.

Occasionally molding in clay rises to the rank of artistic creation in certain small, single objects intended as useful ornaments, as well as in little figures and groups. Of this description are the charming little figures, about a span long, found in Bœotian tombs at Tanagra, and those of similar character found near Smyrna, and in smaller

Fig. 234. Roman Marble Vases.

quantities in many of the Eastern Mediterranean lands.* Most of them are genre figures—as, for instance, that of a young girl who is caressing a bird sitting on her shoulder—or some other representation of a pleasant, cheerful, humorous, and simple kind; exquisite productions, admirable not only for perfect loveliness of form, but for the charming effect of color, given not only to the drapery, but also to the undraped portions, especially the tiny head, by painting the whole, and affording us, owing to the unusual state of preservation in

* R. Kekulé, "Griechische Thonfiguren aus Tanagra"; Stuttgart, 1877. A work of exceptional beauty. See also the *Gazette Archéologique*, January, 1877; Paris. Also *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1875. April, May, June. A collection of these terra-cotta figures is in the possession of the Boston Museum of the Fine Arts.

which they were found, a most unexpected specimen of the effect of antique polychrome in works of sculpture (Fig. 235).

Luxury in the construction of vessels for use and ornament, by the employment of precious material of all kinds, reached the highest point with the Romans. Vessels of gold and silver, others of precious stones cut and mounted in gold, vied with chalices of onyx

Fig. 235. Terra-Cotta Figure from Tanagra.

and agate, with costly glass goblets, with the famous Murrhenian vases, and last, not least, with those superb great crateræ of alabaster, marble, granite, and porphyry—made valuable partly by the difficulty of their mechanical execution, partly by their decoration with symbolical reliefs—and rising, by reason of their sculpturesque treatment, to the importance of original works of art (Fig. 234). We have fine specimens of noble richness and highly imaginative artistic decoration of vessels in metal discovered at Hildesheim, and now in the museum at Berlin.

In this class of articles should be included the beautiful bronze tripods, together with their accompanying censers (Fig. 236), which

were remarkable for noble form and artistic ornament; but above all the numerous candelabra, the largest collection of which, taken from Pompeii and Herculaneum, is preserved in the museum at Naples. Those among them which are of less finished execution may be distinguished as the work of Italian artisans; they are dull and monotonous in organization, or give evidence of a tendency toward Etruscan taste in the somewhat arbitrary introduction of little human figures climbing and sitting, or of all sorts of little animals. We see in others, on the other hand (Fig. 237, *b, d, e*), the systematic con-

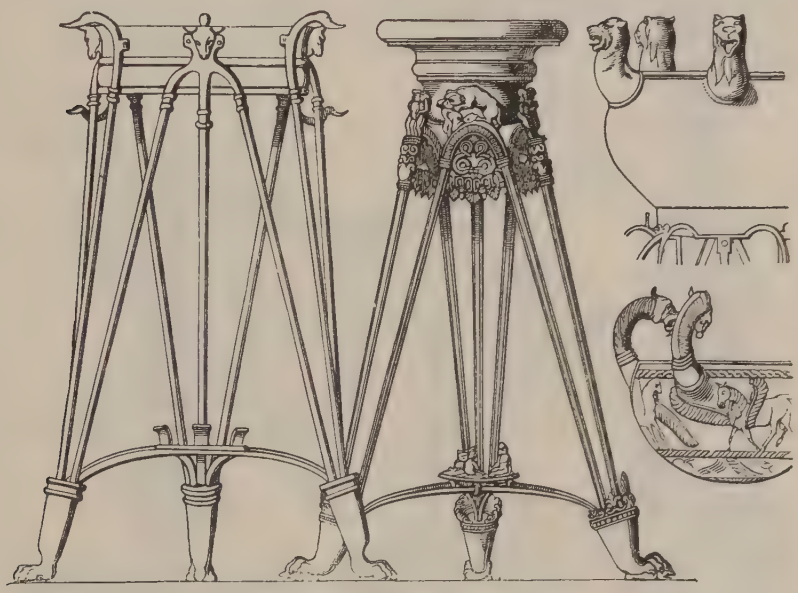


Fig. 236. Antique Tripods and Censers.

struction, the rhythmical symmetry, and the exquisite harmony of true Greek art. As an exceptional case, there may predominate a naturalistic motive, as in the design at *c* (Fig. 237), in which the single lamps are suspended by chains from the branches of a tree. According to its sensible fashion, ancient art always supports the base on the feet of animals, to signify the movability of these graceful pieces of furniture. When, in order that the light may be more widely diffused by being lifted up, the lamps belonging to these candelabra are placed upon their flat top, they, too, delight the eye by their elegant shape and manifold fanciful decoration. Of more stately proportions, with more abundant sculptured ornaments, were the great marble candelabra (Fig. 237 *a*), of which a great many fine specimens may be met with in the Galleria de' Candelabri of the Vatican.

The other articles used in daily life were not less beautiful and splendid; with this difference, that whereas with the Greeks the chief aim and object was the expression of beauty, the Romans laid most stress upon the elegance and cost of material. Not only the clothing of men and women, the equipment and armor of warriors, but utensils of the most varied uses—such as tables and chairs, vehicles, musical instruments, and everything beside—give evidence of that delicately cultivated sense of beauty which is only satisfied when it

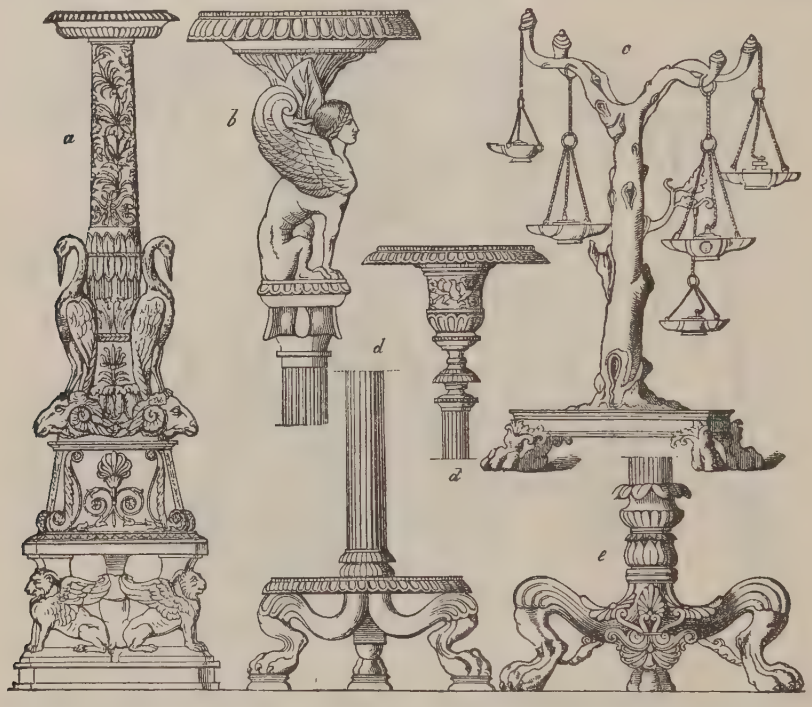


Fig. 237. Antique Candelabra in Bronze and Marble.

finds expression in noble form and artistic adornment. And everywhere we see that the ancient worker in artistic handicraft, especially the Greek, follows one golden rule of action—carefully to observe, in regard to any material used, the mode of treatment demanded by its peculiar characteristics, in the form of the whole, the construction of parts, and also in the decoration, so that one material may never mask its identity under the appearance of another, but that each may reveal itself artistically under its own special form of expression.

We would here bring into pre-eminent notice the incomparably beautiful antique personal ornaments, which, with their noble concep-

tion and imaginative symbolic execution, will serve as models for all time, in such profusion have they been discovered. The Romans, and much more the Greeks, despised the coarse, material pomp which bedizens itself with massive adornments in precious metals but of common workmanship. Even the barbaric Scythian tribes, of what is now the modern Crimea, did homage to the genius of Greek beauty.

The treasures recovered from the tombs of Kertsch (Pantikapaion), and preserved in the collections at St. Petersburg—golden wreaths and diadems, earrings and breastpins, necklaces, bracelets, and finger rings, even golden ornaments and dimunitive figures (which used to be fastened to the garments, so that they appeared to be interwoven with the tissue)—all belong to the most splendid speci-

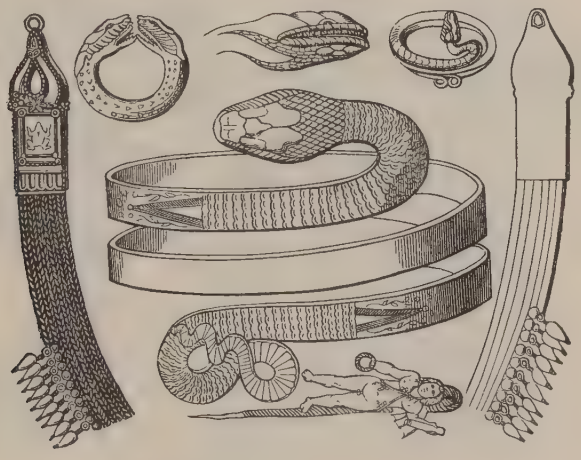


Fig. 238. Antique Gold Ornaments.

mens of their kind. There are choice examples of Etruscan ornaments in the Museo Gregoriano of the Vatican, in the British Museum at London, in the Louvre at Paris, and in the united collections at Munich. Under Fig. 238 we give a few specimens of antique ornaments, in order to afford some idea of the exquisite workmanship and graceful ingenuity which they exhibit.

The productions of the armorer and worker in weapons deserve to rank with these; for they wrought their superb fabrics not only in baser metal, but in gold and silver. Even with the Greeks, warlike equipment, particularly the breastplate and helmet, as well as the shield, was an object of rich, artistic adorning. As far back as the heroic age, great stress was laid upon the noble ornamentation of weapons and armor. Homer delights in pleasing the ears of his listeners by descriptive recitals; the shield of his favorite hero is

wrought by the very hand of Hephæstus himself, thus ennobling for all time the profession of the armorer. The accoutrement of the Romans differed from that of the Greeks, which preceded it, by being very practical, light, and easily adjusted, and all of steel or of highly tempered iron; but the armor prepared for the gladiators, and that for the guards of the palace, was sometimes stronger and heavier. Cuirass and helm were often of bronze and wrought into high relief; and in the apparent passion for almost overloading helm and harness with embossing, the late Roman spirit showed itself. The statue of Augustus of Prima Porta (Fig. 221) offers us a fine example of elaborate equipment; while in Fig. 239 are given other specimens of richly

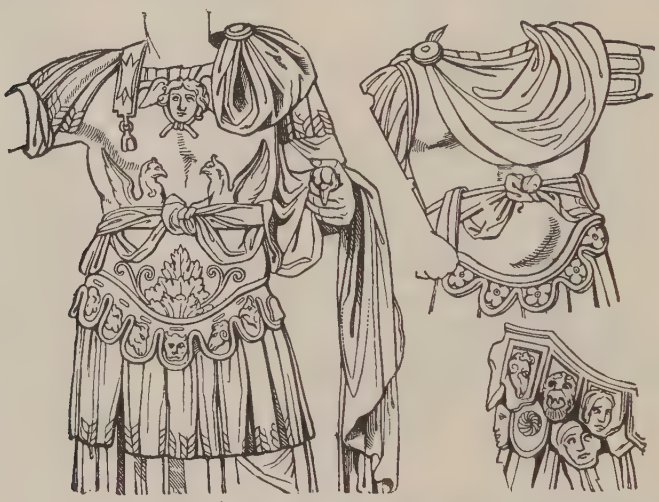


Fig. 239. Roman Armor.

embossed Roman armor. Another armorial relic most remarkable for excellence of chasing is a superb breastplate in the British Museum at London.

Finally, the rare specimens of work in wood which have come down to us from Greek antiquity must not be overlooked. They were found in the tombs of Kertsch, and now form part of the unrivaled antique collection from the Crimea, in the museum at St. Petersburg. There is one sarcophagus, with exquisite carving, another covered with pictures that have almost faded away, and fragments of some object, supposed to be a lyre adorned with fine reliefs. Thus we are struck, even here, in the most insignificant material, with the same fine artistic spirit that ennobles the poorest substance; lacking the stamp of which, the most costly material was of no value in the eyes of a cultured antiquity.

THIRD BOOK.

MEDIÆVAL ART.

Chapter I.

EARLY CHRISTIAN ART.*

1. *Origin and Significance.*

LONG before the public recognition of Christianity by Constantine, the inward thought of the young Church had found its expression in characteristic forms. But as all life still bore the impress of the dominion of the Cæsars, even that striving after the outward representation of the new theological ideas was obliged to satisfy itself at first with the forms already offered it by the art of Pagan times; and so it happened that the youthful, world-agitating ideas of Christianity were fain to put on the corporeal garb of ancient art. Although the new faith was destined to be the greatest single element in the changes which were destroying the ancient world and its art, it had to begin by using its forms and even its ways of expression. While the early Christian epoch was forced, out of sheer necessity, to make use of the antique art models, the only fundamental principles which could possibly have served as bases for the new structure were saved for the times of a future revival; and all that the new ideas could not conform themselves to, was stripped from the ancient treasure of art, leaving just that part, by way of sound kernel, out of which the tree of a Christian art was destined greatly and gloriously to unfold itself.

And here appear the historical position and significance of early Christian art work. It stands as mediator between the ancient Pagan

* Perret, "Les catacombes de Rome." De Rossi, "Roma Sotterranea." Krauss, "Die römischen Katakomben." Desbassayes de Richemont, "Les Recherches les plus récentes sur les Catacombes de Rome." "Monuments of Early Christian Art—Sculptures and Catacomb Paintings;" J. W. Appell, London, 1872. Schultze, V., "Die Katakomben, die altchristlichen Grabstätten." Bunsen, C. K. J., "Die Basiliken des christlichen Roms." Quast, "Die Basilika der Alten." Zestermann, A., "Die antiken und die christlichen Basiliken." Messmer, J. A., "Ueber den Ursprung, die Entwicklung und Bedeutung der Basilika in der christlichen Baukunst." Weingärtner, "Ursprung und Entwicklung des christlichen Kirchengebäudes." Mothes, O., "Die Basilikenform bei den Christen des ersten Jahrhunderts." Reber, F., "Die Urform der röm. Basilika, in der Mitt. der Centr. Arum. zu Wien"; 1869. Melchior de Vogüé, "Syrie Centrale, Architecture civile et religieuse du I. au VII. Siècle." Salzenberg, "Die altchristlichen Baudenkmale von Constantinopel." Lethaby and Swainson, "The Church of Sancta Sophia, Constantinople." Maskell, W., "Ivories Ancient and Mediæval." Kugler, F., "Von den ältesten Kunstbildungen der Christen."

life and the epoch of true mediæval art. Its beginning loses itself somewhere in the first century of Christianity; and its end reached towards the close of the tenth century, with the independent rise of German efforts at culture. In the first period we see the activity of the new art expressions under the influence of ancient Roman civilization; later, the Northern nations enter the arena, not without introducing a good many important changes into the traditional world of ancient models—heralds, as it were, of that thoroughly new and independent tendency which was destined to set a limit to early Christian art, already growing cold and formal, and to open a new path for the development of the race.

2. *Early Christian Architecture.*

A.—MONUMENTS AT ROME.

Nothing gives us so striking an idea of the condition of the early Christians as the plan of the catacombs. The word, of uncertain derivation, describes those extensive underground burial-places of the most ancient Christian congregations which are found especially at Rome and Naples. The use of subterranean tombs had been common from the earliest times throughout the ancient world. In Egypt as in Asia Minor, in Greece as in ancient Etruria, it was the custom to make a resting-place for the dead in rocks and caves; and in all the seats of primitive civilization, spacious underground cemeteries are met with. We find evidence of a similar usage among the Romans; and even now, nearly every new excavation outside of the gates of Rome brings to light some one of those ancient *columbaria,* which still, after thousands of years, keep uninjured the ashes interred within them, in urns ranged side by side, or on shelves one above another. These ordinary burial-places belonged, for the most part, only to slaves and freedmen; but even they exhibit in their design and furnishing all the care and elegance which seemed to be cherished by Roman art even in its decay.

What a contrast to these is offered by the catacombs of the first Christians! As in the narrow, stifling shafts and passages of a mine, one gropes his way alternately downward and upward for hours through the windings of labyrinthine corridors, broken in the blackish, porous tufa. They are, for the most part, only broad and high enough to allow one person to pass, and often so fearfully narrow that it is hardly possible to conceive how the dead could have been deposited in them; and yet this was undoubtedly their purpose. The walls to the right and left are honeycombed with long, low, narrow

openings, scarcely large enough to receive a human body. In these holes the corpses of the dead were laid. The opening was closed by a flat stone, inscribed with the name, or with some other designation, to mark the grave; a little flask of consecrated oil, and another of eucharistic wine, were placed within the cavity, and a small lamp added. When persons of especial distinction, like bishops, or perhaps martyrs, were to be buried, a longer and wider sepulcher was excavated, and a few modest decorative paintings added to the walls. In this way the first timid symbols of Christian faith were ventured upon, in the effort to give the place a worthier character. Besides these, there are occasionally found loftier and more roomy chambers, vaulted, and furnished with niches (*arcosolia*), the walls and roofs decorated with similar paintings; these were evidently designed for chapels, and set apart for the celebration of divine service.

But even this simple attempt at ornamentation avails but little to modify the harsh, gloomy, and dreary character of the catacombs. The picture of the first Christian congregations appears the more distinct to us against their somber background. We can see the persecuted believers, in the dark days of oppression and trouble, bearing in fear and trembling, and in the dead of night, the revered bodies of the fallen martyrs to their rest in those cave-like tombs; we can see them gathered together in common prayer here to unite beside these martyrs' graves for strength to endure and wait in patience; we can watch, as time goes on, the silent congregation of the dead, marshaled in deep ranks about the resting-places of these martyrs and bishops, new recruits continually added to their multitude, until a vast city of the departed has grown up around.

If we were compelled to designate the chief characteristic of these places, we should say that it lay in the almost utter lack of art and form. The inconceivably labyrinthine intricacies of these corridors, with their irregular plan and their insignificant burial-niches; the rude black tufa, the gloom of which is hardly perceptibly diminished, even in especially decorated places, by the modest roof-paintings—how positively and distinctly they contrast with the clearly-marked design, the cheerful decorations in color, the dainty ornaments, and the sculptured details of the ancient tombs!

The unadorned simplicity of the manners of the early Christians, the spirituality and purity of their conception of the divine, their conviction of the utter worthlessness of all earthly things, could not be more clearly shown than by these burial-places of the first Christian centuries.

Among the catacombs brought to light at Rome, the most remarkable is that of St. Claixtus, rediscovered through the ingenuity of De

Rossi. It consists of three interdependent systems, entered by separate stairways, and it contains in the first area not only the grave of St. Cecilia, and the five so-called sacramental crypts, remarkable for their symbolical cyclic paintings, but also the sepulcher of the popes—the burial-places of the popes of the third century—with remains of a rich marble casing of later date. The style of decoration of the second area points to the latter part of the third century; while in the third the crypt of Pope Eusebius (buried 311) is especially remarkable. In these catacombs is also the crypt of Lucina, with its very ancient paintings, as well as the tomb of St. Cornelius. Of the remaining catacombs, those of St. Nereus and Achilleus (or St. Domitilla), with their beautiful, richly decorated atrium, are among the oldest. Those of SS. Prætextatus, Agnes, Priscilla, and Sebastian are also noteworthy. As to the inscriptions found everywhere in the catacombs in great numbers, and now placed in the Museo Lapidario of the Lateran, the oldest of them dates back to the end of the first century. Though some of the paintings can be traced back to the second and third centuries, the greater portion must be assigned to the fourth and fifth. Besides the catacombs of Rome, those of Naples deserve notice, particularly the ones beneath the churches of San Gennaro de' Poveri, Santa Maria della Sanità, and Santa Maria della Vita.

A higher degree of development was only possible to early Christian art, when, with the recognition of the new doctrine by the state, came the opportunity to erect buildings suitable for general Chirstian services and the public worship of God. Notwithstanding the fact that the requirements of the case were altogether novel, it was not possible to avoid the employment of the old, established, mechanical methods of the forms of construction and of architecture which had been used by older times.

That even in some cases there was no scruple felt about fitting up Pagan temples for purposes of Christian worship is proved by the Pantheon and the Church of Maria Egiziaca in Rome. These, however, were and remained exceptional cases; for the church of the Christians was too widely distinct from the ancient temple in its object and exigencies to admit of such changes generally. True, the primary design in both cases was to serve as a house of God; but in the Christian church the whole congregation desired to gather about the altar in order to unite in the solemn celebration of the eucharistic feast. A spacious enclosure was thus necessary, of the whole of which an uninterrupted view should be had, and of which the plan should be such as to best correspond to the requirements of the service. The early Christian basilica completely fulfills these needs.

There has been a good deal of contention as to whether—or to what extent—these buildings had their origin in imitations of the old Pagan basilicas for the purposes of trade and justice. Some attempt has been made to deny the connection, in order to be able to attribute, if possible, an independent merit to early Christian architecture. It has been suggested, too, that the peristyle or columned court of a Roman dwelling, such as must have been used by many a congregation of believers, served as the type of the earliest churches. It would be doing an injustice to the acuteness of the earliest Christian architects to suppose that they could have overlooked the peculiar features of the antique basilicas which they had daily before their eyes. The very first suggestion may indeed have come from those ancient dwellings in which it is probable that the earliest Christian congregations secretly met, in the beginning, to solemnize their worship. Even the atrium connected with the Christian basilica seems to indicate the kindred apartments in the Roman private houses. Enough, that, in the variety of ancient architectural design, there lay more than one pattern for the assemblying places of the Christian congregations.

But it was precisely in the free transformation and the appropriate remodeling of the old styles to a new purpose that the true merit of the Christian architect consisted. The elevated tribunal with its apse was retained; and to it were joined the spaces of the longitudinal nave,* exception only being taken to the columnar arrangement, which formerly divided the tribunal from the main building. Insignificant as these alterations appear, they still sufficed to create a structure with an effect essentially new, and with a distinct stamp of originality. A short consideration of the basilica will prove this.

As, in the ancient basilica, the space dedicated to the dispensing of justice was set apart from those portions appropriated to the bustle of trade, so, in the Christian basilica, the apse was assigned to the bishop and his presbyters, in contradistinction to the main longitudinal portion, where the congregation assembled. The stalls for the priests were arranged semicircularly along the wall; while in the midst, at the back of the recess, the bishop was seated upon an elevated throne. The walls and vaulting of the apse were covered

* Nave: Originally, that part of the structure which rises higher than the lower aisles. Thus in speaking of the Ulpian basilica, in Rome, there is doubt as to whether the highest central part, or nave, was entirely roofed. When the Basilica with a transept was established, the nave was all that part of the church between the transept and the porch of entrance; but in taking this meaning the term had to be stretched to cover the aisles as well as the high central part of the longitudinal building. The choir of a gothic cathedral may be said to have a nave in contradistinction to its aisles; and yet the nave is properly that part of the church which is west of the transept in distinction from the choir which is to the east.

with solemn representations of the figures of Christ, his apostles and saints. On the boundary between apse and nave was raised by several steps, usually over the grave of a martyr, the so-called *confessio,* with its canopy, or baldachin, supported by pillars—the altar upon which the most holy sacrifice was laid open to all eyes, the solemn central point of the whole. Above the canopy soared the triumphal arch,* often resting upon two unusually massive columns, opening its wide span hospitably toward the main building; its inner surface (intrados) likewise glowing with representations of sacred figures. The auditorium itself consists of a broad and lofty central nave, with two or more low, narrow aisles, which are divided from each other and from the center nave by rows of columns, supporting the high clear story of the nave either upon a common architrave or upon strong semi-circular arches. This clear story is pierced at regular intervals by wide, high windows, enclosed by the arches, and affording a strong side-light from above to the whole space. Windows are also occasionally introduced into the lower walls of the aisles; but the apse, on the contrary, in ancient times, was windowless, and lay in a mysterious half-light, in which the gold mosaics shone fitfully in solemn splendor. Nave and aisles were roofed in with rafters, which originally took the place of a paneled ceiling adorned with paintings. The entrances to the nave are placed in the end wall, opposite the altar space: at least one special entrance for each nave, and in large churches, three for the central one. A vestibule is invariably connected with these entrances, usually forming a stately atrium, with an unobstructed quadrangular court and porticos; the court contains a fountain in the center, the whole offering opportunity for the free employment of fine architectural effects. The transept was originally interposed between the longitudinal nave, with its aisles, and the apse: but it is often absent, and in that case the apse opens directly from the end of the high central nave.

An edifice was thus constructed which, in connection with the utmost simplicity of ground-plan, was able to fulfill all ritual requirements, and in a most impressive fashion clearly and significantly to embody its ideal aim in proportions of monumental grandeur. The worshiper, on entering, is irresistibly drawn by the parallel lines of far-reaching columns to the one goal and central point of the whole structure, where the stewards of the divine mysteries served about the elevated altar; while from the high arch, as well as from the walls of the apse, the revered forms of Christ and his chosen ones shine down upon him with solemn grandeur. Should it seem desirable subsequently to enrich and extend this ground-plan—to introduce,

*A name even now given to the chancel arch in English churches.

for instance, a building at right angles to the main, between apse and auditorium, by way of transept; or, further, to add smaller side apses to this; or to build a story or gallery above the side aisles, carrying this two-storied arrangement above the entrance halls also—the ground idea of the basilica, undisturbed by any of these alterations, only proved itself capable of an infinite elasticity of extension, and variety of development.

To the inquiry as to what art types were employed in these new architectural creations, the answer cannot be doubtful. The antique art even when technically degenerate could still offer an inexhaustible treasure in the detail with which to clothe the new architectural framework. Ancient pillar-bases, shafts, and capitals, ancient entablatures with their rich and abundant ornamentation, were the elements from which the early Christian basilicas gathered their structure and their adornment. The greater the number of ancient temples and magnificent buildings that fell into decay and oblivion, the greater the quantity of precious spoils obtained for the beautifying of the basilicas; and whatever could be rescued from the immeasurable glories of the ancient world of the heathen gods, now fallen into ruin, was used, as far as it was applicable; hence the oldest basilicas are the richest and most beautiful in their architectural details. The later the date, the poorer, ruder, and more heterogeneous they become; since even in the earliest times, the builders did not hesitate to make use of columnar remains of the most varied size, material, beauty, and workmanship, from old temples and halls, crowding them side by side into the same arcade in their new Christian churches. Shafts too long for the purpose were cut off; those that were too short were lengthened by means of higher bases or capitals; while among the capitals themselves, all conceivable variations of the Corinthian, Ionian, and Composite styles were mingled in the same colonnade; so that ancient architecture appeared as though it had been resolved into its chaotic first principles.

That with such a mode of treatment every trace of ancient laws and proportions, of intercolumniation, pediment, structure, should have disappeared, follows as a matter of course. As far as that goes, the barbarians themselves could not have made away more recklessly with the remains of ancient art; and indeed, seen from the point of view of that primitive art, this procedure *was* barbarous. It was only by following this road, however, that it was possible for the new-born spirit—keeping its eyes fixed steadily upon the main point, and unconcerned about what must remain as yet of mere secondary importance—to pursue its purpose, and finally to reach its goal. For all it cared, the precious remains of ancient architecture might be shattered

to atoms, and then forced into new anomalous combinations. There was nothing either to retain or to change in what was already past and gone; and only while assimilating itself with a new organism was it possible to evolve from its ruins the germ of a new development.

Nevertheless, there were decided attempts made to arrive at a more artistic expression of the Christian idea, even in the form of the oldest basilica. Although its architecture, in its poverty, fed upon the crumbs which had fallen from the somewhat voluptuous board of ancient art, the paintings, on the contrary, which were liberally

Fig. 240. Interior of the Basilica of St. Paul Outside the Walls at Rome.

bestowed upon the interior of the basilica, and with which the builders delighted to cover the vaulting of the apse and the walls of the triumphal arch, soon became the means of giving expression, on a great scale, to Christian beliefs and conceptions; and by this means, though ancient art still furnished the prototypes and standards, the spirit and significance of the new productions very soon took on an original and definite coloring.

In the construction of the outside of the basilicas, the architect rested content with forcibly bringing out the fundamental design, without regarding ornate exterior as at all essential. Only the side on which the entrance lay was perhaps covered, like a façade, with

picturesque ornamentation, altogether independent, of course, of architectural proportion.

Among the basilicas* preserved to us, the most prominent in age, grandeur of plan, and magnificence of adornment, was the Church of St. Paul Outside the Walls (*extra muros*) at Rome, destroyed by fire in the year 1828, and lately restored, though, unfortunately, in a too modern style (Fig. 240). Built about 386 under Theodosius and Honorius, it outranks all the existing basilicas in the world in vastness of extent. The mighty apse, nearly 80 feet wide, has its effect increased by a lofty transept of the same width as the nave. The latter is built in five divisions formed by the immense central nave, accompanied by two lower side naves or aisles, parallel with it on each side. Eighty columns of granite rise in four lines, connected by circular arches, dividing the naves, and supporting the lofty clear-story of the center together with the rafters. The transept is entered from the nave by a broad and lofty triumphal arch, resting upon two colossal columns. Apse, transept, and the inner surface (intrados) of the triumphal arch are rich with the splendor of extensive works in mosaic; and the remaining wall-spaces of the interior are also covered with pictures. An extensive atrium, surrounded by colonnades in front of the structure, completes the perfect plan of a basilica of the first rank.

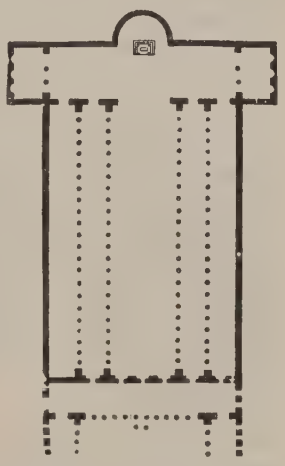


Fig. 241. Plan of the Old Basilica of St. Peter at Rome.

The old Church of St. Peter (Fig. 241), destroyed in the fifteenth century by the erection of the new St. Peter's dated back to Constantine's time, and was likewise a five-naved parallelogram, with an extensive transept and vestibule, and must have resembled San Paolo in its sublime simplicity, its power and dignity of construction. Of the remaining Roman basilicas, Santa Maria Maggiore, modernized in later times, but still very beautiful, dates it original founda tion back to the first half of the fifth century. Though containing

*Gutensohn and Knapp, "Denkmäler der christlichen Religion." C. Bunsen, "Die Basiliken des christlichen Roms." Essenwein, "Die Ausgänge der classischen Baukunst"; "Die Fortsetzung der classischen Baukunst im oströmischen Reiche" (in "Handbuch der Architektur"). Canina, "Ricerche sull' Architettura più propria dei Tempj Cristiani." Hübsch, "Die altchristlichen Kirchen nach den Baudenkmalen und äteren Beschreibungen" (the before-mentioned "Guide to Italy" by Gsell-Fels, in several volumes).

only three naves, it is very stately; and its rows of columns are still connected by a continuous architrave, instead of by arches, as was also the case with the old Basilica of St. Peter. Of the same period is Santa Sabina, on the Aventine, with twenty-four fine columns, which all originally belonged to the same ancient building; and San Pietro in Vincoli, an imposing edifice in spite of its modernization, with a central nave 50 feet wide. The two basilicas near the gates of Rome, San Lorenzo and Santa Agnese, are smaller, of elegant construction and graceful proportions, and date from the end of the fifth to the beginning of the sixth century. Both buildings are diversified, and made particularly attractive by the addition of a gallery story, with an upper row of columns.

Finally, we have San Prassede and San Clemente, belonging to the close of the ninth century. The rows of columns forming the arcade of these two churches alternate in rhythmic regularity with single isolated pillars; and in the former an even greater freedom of construction is employed, crossed arches with walls of masonry rising from these pillars, and serving to support the rafters. Thus new elements of architectural development arise even here out of the old fundamental plan, and we may trace in them a hint of later transformations. Then a new link begins to be supplied in these later basilicas, in order to counterbalance the antagonism between arched and columnar construction; that is to say, a broad projecting ornament, like an impost, is arranged above the Corinthian capital, serving as a fitting point of support to the arch of observably wider span. This is the arrangement in Santa Agnese and San Lorenzo.

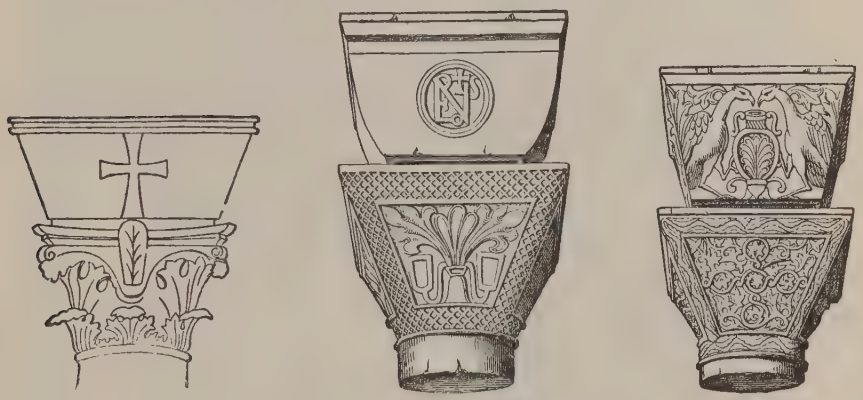
Beside the basilicas, other architectural types made their appearance at an early day, which in Rome, as elsewhere, were generally used for some special religious purpose. Prominent among these are round or polygonal designs of a more or less complicated kind, intended particularly for baptismal or mortuary chapels. One of the earliest round buildings is the mausoleum of the daughter of Constantine, mentioned above, and still in existence as the Church of Santa Costanza.

The important Church of San Stefano Rotondo is of much more noticeable dimensions, and of similar plan, but without arching. It was originally encircled by two low galleries, running between double rows of columns; so that, to a certain extent, the principle of the five-naved basilicas seems to have been employed here upon a circular structure of great size. The details, belonging to the end of the fifth century, are antique throughout; though the high ornamental impost over the capital may be considered a new element. The remarkable baptistery of the Lateran belongs to the number of bap-

tismal chapels, and also dates from the fifth century. It is an octagonal structure, with eight antique columns connected by elegant architraves; above them is a second columnar arrangement, whereby the high galleries and the still more slender central structure acquire a particularly light and airy appearance.

B.—MONUMENTS AT RAVENNA.*

The most important Italian city after Rome, at this period, was the ancient Ravenna. Promoted by Honorius in 404 A.D. to be the capital of the Western Empire, it was afterward adorned with superb monuments by Galla Placidia, the sister of that Emperor.



(A) (B) (C)

Fig. 242. Capital from Ravenna.

When, at a later day, Theodoric conquered the kingdom for the Ostrogoths, he zealously carried on the architectural works which had been already set on foot; and, after his death, his daughter Amalasuntha encouraged other similar undertakings. The artistic productions of this period are characterized by modifications which are perhaps outgrowths of the Northern mind, though in their essentials they remain faithful to the ancient models. A decided turn in the fortunes of the town occurred after the victory over the Ostrogoths by the Eastern warrior Narses, when Ravenna became the residence of the Byzantine exarchs. From that time artistic productions began

* F. von Quast, "Die altchristlichen Bauwerke zu Ravenna"; Berlin, 1842. Also Hübsch, "Die altchristlichen Kirchen," etc. Dr. Rudolf Rahn, "Ein Besuch in Ravenna," from Zahn's "Jahrbücher für Kunstwissenschaft," 1868. Edward A. Freeman's "Historical and Architectural Sketches," chiefly Italian; London, 1876.

to show the influence of Byzantine art, which had already made considerable progress.

The basilicas of Ravenna, though inferior to the Roman in extent and grandeur, and rejecting the transept in their plan, embodied a more vital development of the main architectural idea, and at an early period, added an independent bell-tower to the church building, which rose in a simple, cylindrical form, without any tapering or delicate

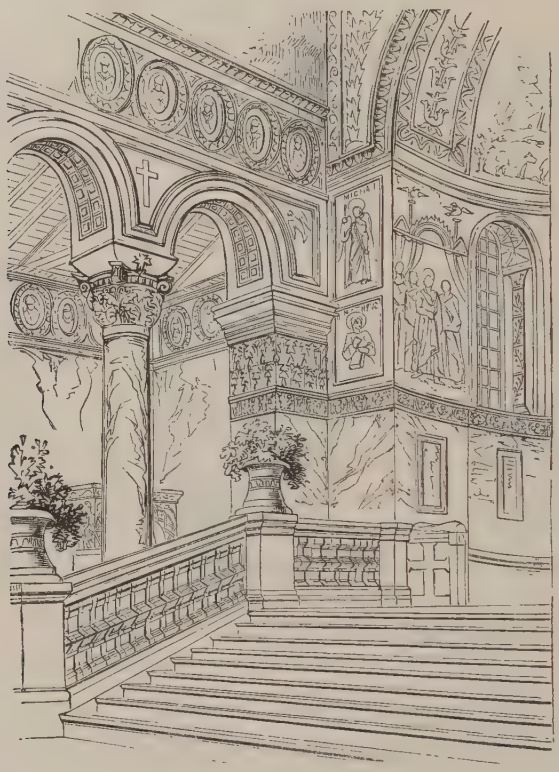


Fig. 243. Part of Apse in San Apollinare in Classe.

construction of parts, terminating in a somewhat flat roof. On the other hand, the development of the clear story of the middle nave showed a decided progress toward free and natural forms. Here, too, a new idea in the treatment of detail grew out of the old tradition, finding expression especially in the independent and elegant, even if somewhat uninteresting, conventional development of the capitals (Figs. 242 A, B, C.) as well in the impost ornaments above the latter, which are now fully perfected.

Among those edifices which have been preserved to us, the most important, since the five-naved cathedral had to make way for a new

structure in the last century, are the Church of San Apollinare in Classe (Fig. 243) (situated in the ancient port of Ravenna; Classis, now ruined and extinct, with only the church to recall its memory); and the church of San Apollinare, Nuovo, in the town (Fig. 244).

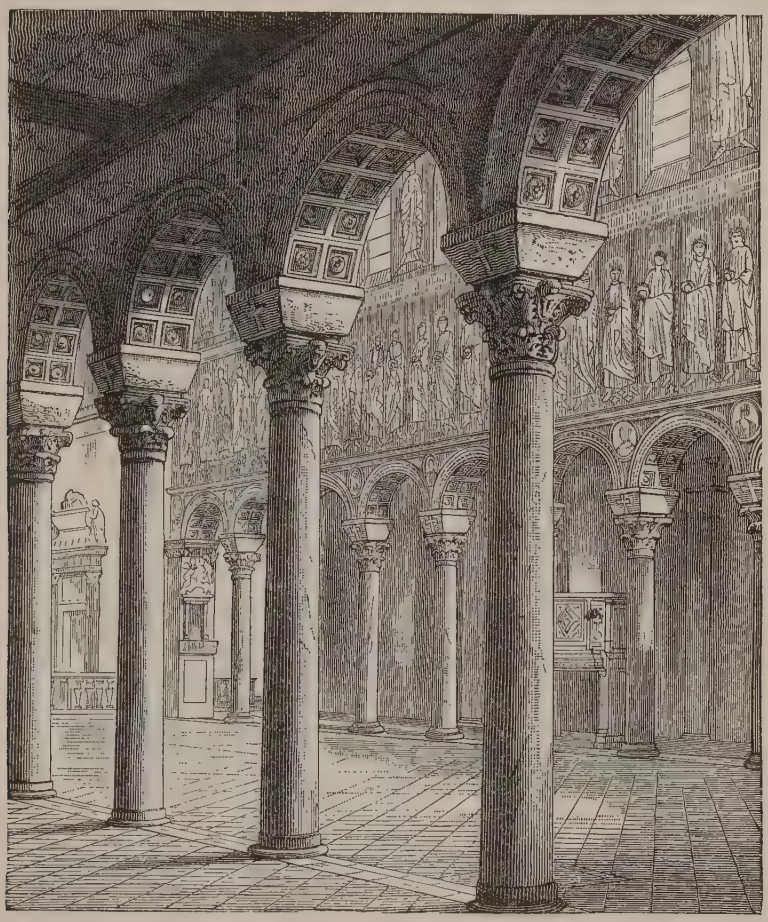


Fig. 244. San Apollinare, Nuovo.

The first of these was built between 534 and 549, and gives, with its twenty-four Greek marble columns and its rich mosaic decorations, and the ancient rafters of its nave, the impression, undisturbed by any incongruity in its construction, of a venerable early Christian monument. Its pillars are placed on postaments, the capitals bearing the perfected impost ornament; and above the richly adorned archivolts extends a mosaic frieze of medallions containing portraits. The tri-

umphal arch and apse are likewise covered with representations in mosaic. The other church is far richer in mosaic decoration.

Among buildings intended for other uses, the Mausoleum of Theodoric—the modern Church of Santa Maria della Rotonda—is one of the most original architectural works of its class. Suggested, without doubt, by the mighty tombs of the emperors still existing in Rome, it exhibits ancient architectural ideas expressed in the forcible, robust fashion of the Germanic race. It is a simple decagon, formerly

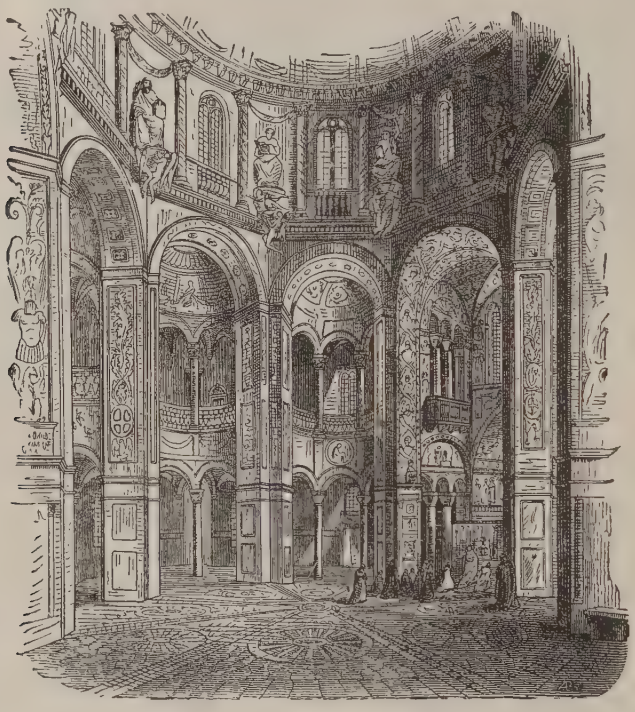


Fig. 245. Interior of San Vitale. (Ravenna.)

surrounded by an arcade gallery, and roofed in by a cupola 34 feet in diameter, hewn out of a single mass of stone. In the colossal construction and robustness of form of this monument one is reminded of the Germanic and Celtic nations of the North, where the grave of an illustrious leader is designated by a few gigantic stones heaped one above the other. Less imposing, but of no less interest, is the Mortuary Chapel of Galla Placidia, the little modern Church of SS. Nazario e Celso, begun by that Empress in 440. It is cross-shaped; the arms of the cross being roofed in by circular vaulting, covered by a dome at their intersection, the whole richly adorned with mosaics.

Probably the intention of depositing here not only the sarcophagus of the Empress, but those of her brother Honorius and her husband Constans, may have been the reason of the original design.

More important than the other buildings at Ravenna, and indeed, undoubtedly one of the most remarkable existing monuments of Christian architecture, is the Church of San Vitale, built 528-547 (Fig. 245). At the time of its foundation, Byzantine influences were already strong in Ravenna; and before its completion, the town had become subject to the Greek Emperor. It is no wonder, then, that we here see, for the first time in the West, a specimen of Byzantine tendency which marks a decisive point in the history of that branch of art. A central domed structure is here adopted as the main body of the edifice, its employment having been practicable hitherto only in buildings of inferior dimensions and importance. This form developed, however, such a delicate, rich, and intricate organization, that architecture, as hitherto practiced, would hardly have recognized it. The main space forms an octagon 47 feet in diameter, bordered by massive pillars, which support the clear story with the dome. Between these piers the central space expands into several great niches, with walls broken by two stories of columns, which establish the connection between the arcades below and the galleries above. Only toward the altar the space opens at right angles to the choir, which ends in an apse. Over the great arches spanning the eight pillars arises, at first octagonally, the lofty clear story of the central nave, broken by windows, which are divided, Byzantine fashion, by little columns built into the walls. Over all rises the circular dome, in whose construction the architect has applied a unique mode of treatment —also met with in ancient times—for lessening the weight of the lower portions as far as possible; that is, the vaulting is composed altogether of amphora-like clay vessels, fitting one into another, the pointed end of one inserted into the mouth of the other. When we add that the altar opposite one entrance hall is furnished with two little round towers with stairs, we have an essentially complete plan of this remarkable building. A superbly rich finish, impressive mosaic pictures in the domes, and casings of colored marble in the lower portions, increase the striking impression created by the whole. At the first glance, one remarks instinctively the contrast offered by the almost perplexing richness and refined development of the fundamental plan to the stern simplicity and intelligible character of the basilica type of church. We shall now inquire into the cause of the lighter and more complex type, and of the architectural tendency which it implies.

C.—MONUMENTS IN THE EAST AND IN BYZANTIUM.

Even before Christianity solemnized its victory in Rome by the erection of the impressive monuments we have described, great numbers of structures dedicated to the worship of God had sprung up, like peaceful oases of the new civilization, in the far-off regions of the East, upon the borders of the Lybian and Syrian deserts. They are nearly all of the type of simple basilicas, with the later Roman stamp in matters of detail, and marked by various peculiar modifications. The African churches, still numerous in Egypt and Nubia, as well as in the oases of the Lybian desert and the coast-lands of Algeria and Cyrenaica, are usually of small dimensions, but are not infrequently planned with five naves. The naves are separated by rows of columns or pillars. Above the aisles traces of galleries are occasionally found. The apse, which is sometimes repeated on the west side, does not generally project outward, but is simply inclosed within by walls placed at right angles to the end wall. The St. Reparatus Basilica, built 325, at Orléansville, was one of the earliest buildings of the kind; it had five naves with pillars, and the apse was raised above a crypt. A second apse was afterward added to serve as the tomb of Bishop Reparatus. A fine mosaic floor is the most important relic of this building. Ruins of a five-naved basilica, with seven naves divided by square piers, may still be seen in the modern Tefaced, recognized as the ancient Tipasa. A basilica with columns and three naves may be found at Deir-Abn-Faneh in Upper Egypt.

The Christian monuments of Central Syria, embracing the period from the second to the sixth century, are still more extensive, and have been recently opened to the world by careful explorations. There are two groups of them: the southern belonging to the modern Haurân; while the northern extends over the country between Antioch, Aleppo, and Apamea. There are the remains of more than a hundred towns, with entire streets and rows of houses, with churches, cloisters, cemeteries, villas, and baths, still in much the same condition as when deserted by their inhabitants at the time of the invasion of the Mohammedans in the seventh century. The most peculiar are those in the Haurân, where the utter lack of timber compelled a construction in stone throughout. The early basilicas of this region, especially one at Tafkha (Fig. 246), have their three naves formed by piers, which are connected by transverse arches for the reception of the massive granite plinths. Above the side naves, galleries are added; and, by their means, all three naves are carried up to an equal height. The horizontal stone ceiling forms the roof of this primitive

structure, which is built of granite in every part. The same style of building prevails in other edifices, especially at Chakka, where a basilica, apparently of the ancient type, and a large palace-like building, have been preserved. Later, Byzantine influences begin to be felt, as is proved by the octagonal, domed structure of the Church of St. George at Esra, dating from the year 510.

In the Antiochian group, the columned basilica with wooden rafters occurs most frequently. It is almost invariably three-naved, and without a transept; its apse is generally rectangular, and within the walls; and there are low side naves without galleries. As a rule, there is a vestibule, with an open portico, at the entrance side; occasionally, a second arcade arrangement is added above it; and sometimes even the tower is connected with the façade. The proportions of these buildings are disposed according to the classical laws of form,

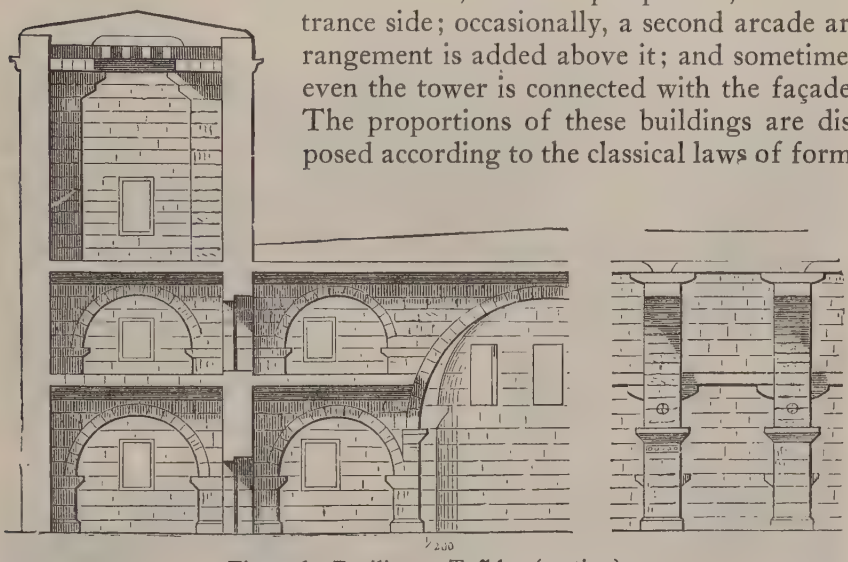


Fig. 246. Basilica at Tafkha (section).

although these are obviously in a transition state, tending too strongly, in the matter of ornament, toward mere lifeless designs, and gradually degenerating into an unrestrained, barbaric style of treatment. Basilicas of this class may be found at Kherbert-Hâss and Elbarah, connected at both places with extensive cloisters, at Kalat-Sema'n, and at Deir Seta. Others at Hâss and Behioh have perfectly rectangular choirs; and still others, at Baguza and Surmanin, have round or polygonal projecting apses, in which the recesses have a columnar arrangement that recalls the later Roman structures. Isolated instances of the basilica with piers are found at Rueiha and Kalb-Luzé. The grandest edifice of all, however, is the cloister-church of St. Simon Stylites, at Kalat-Sema'n—a columned building with three naves, in the form of a Greek cross, with arms of equal length, except the eastern one, which is slightly prolonged. The central point of the

cross forms an octagon about 90 feet wide, with low, arcaded galleries and apses in the diagonal angles, the whole forming one of the grandest of early Christian monuments.

Besides these churches there are numerous well-preserved dwelling-houses, built of great square stones, and containing few rooms, which open, through a long colonnade of two stories in height, upon a court that separates the house from the street. Fig. 247 gives such a group of buildings in Djebel-Riha. Whole cemeteries of splendid burial places are connected with these towns, consisting partly of rocky

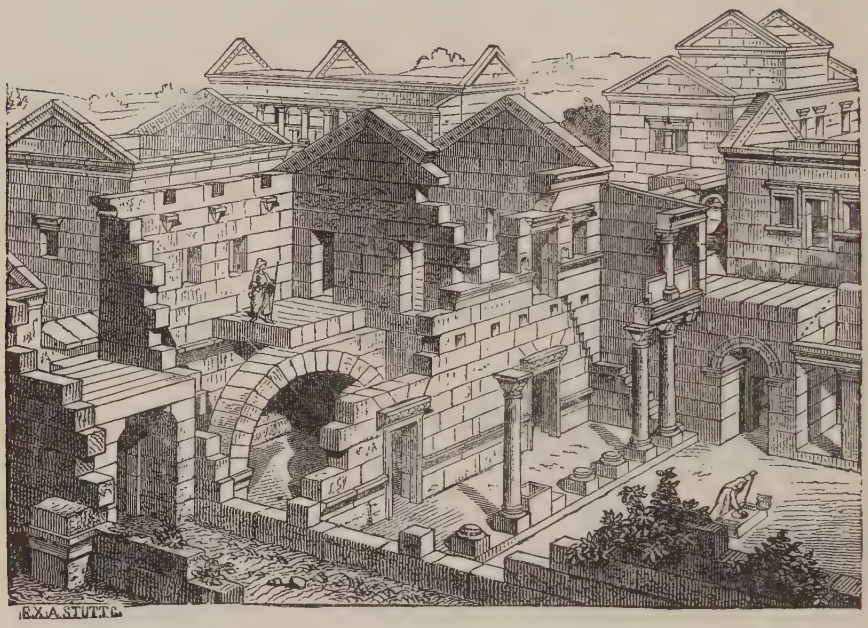


Fig. 247. Group of Buildings in Djebel-Riha.

tombs with porticos in the ancient style, and with vestibules or closed façades, and partly of tombs standing in the open; often uniting the Oriental pyramid with the elements of the classical columnar structure, occasionally resembling an imitation of the antique peripteros, and, in a few later specimens, carrying up the Roman dome-structure over a central ground-plan, generally square. In spite of the barbarism of their details, these structures still preserve a very successful imitation of the simple, noble, antique element in art; and the sculpture has a childlike directness and vigor which was lost in the more mature Byzantine art.

When Constantine transferred the central point of his Empire to the East, numerous and magnificent churches and palaces soon arose,

under his fostering care, in the new capital founded by him on the Bosporus. Here, too, it was the forms of ancient art which were to fix their stamp upon the new imperial city; and while old Rome gradually faded away, new Rome, by virtue of the art borrowed from the mother-land, rose to fresh splendor. So far as we have any knowledge of the ecclesiastical edifices of the East, they seem, in general, to have resembled the Western basilicas of that day. The church which Constantine caused to be erected over the Holy Sepulcher at Jerusalem was a five-naved basilica, with galleries above the lateral naves. The Church of St. Mary at Bethlehem, erected by St. Helena, mother of the Emperor, and still standing, is likewise a considerable edifice with five naves, and a stately transept with semicircular ends, but without galleries over the lateral naves. In Byzantium, galleries were, as a rule, retained, in order that, according to the Eastern custom, women might have a place apart in the upper story. The numerous churches of Constantinople in its earliest epoch were doubtless of this description. The love of pomp peculiar to the East and the luxurious and degenerate monuments of Asia Minor must necessarily have had a marked influence in bringing about a richer development of ornamental details. Byzantine art only began its higher flight and independent development with the first years of the sixth century. The splendid reign of Justinian (527-565) limits and defines this turning-point. The Byzantine state had, especially since the downfall of the Western Empire, defended itself vigorously against the inroad of the barbarians; and the old glory of Rome seemed to live again on the shores of the Bosporus, in the last asylum found for the civilization of the ancient world. The Greek power of reasoning and of logic in construction reappeared in its full force, and Byzantine architecture was added to the small list of styles which have individual character and self-derived charm. But the political tendencies of the time were away from a vigorous national life. The barbarians of the North and East constantly increased in strength and daring, the art tended downward with the nationality, and, with all its appearance of power, a gradual torpor was creeping over it. Those who, in modern times, combat these facts, forget that the isolated points of light in the civilization of the later Byzantine period were too transitory to modify essentially the collective characteristics of that epoch. It is certain that the summit of Byzantine development was reached in the sixth century; and that after that time, not a single new thought of importance, or a radical movement of mind ever disturbed the stagnation of the Eastern Empire.

Among all the phenomena of this remarkable condition of affairs, artistic—and especially the architectural—productions rank first in

real significance. The adoption of the domed church, with the strange and subtle forms of plan seen in S. Vitale at Ravenna and S. Sophia at Constantinople, was as daring a thing as was ever done in building. Combinations of bold originality, powerful effect, and impressive grandeur were produced, bearing splendid witness to the technical knowledge, the energy, and the skill of their authors. Though the dome design had before been employed for baptisteries, chapels-mortuary, and similar small edifices, it was not until now adopted as the dominating style in the building of the principal churches. Since divine worship had developed a particularly splendid ritual with the Byzantines, rendering a building of varied construction necessary, and since the dome did not assimilate well with the parallelogram, the plan of the church now became decidedly complicated. Thus a system of domes and half-domes, with every conceivable variety of wall niche pertaining to them, was connected with the most varied designs. A structure with piers, broad, flat surfaces, and mighty archings took the place of the columnar building of the basilica; and the rows of columns assumed a merely subordinate position to the great leading characteristics, being used as supports to the galleries and to define the side spaces. But, while all parts of the building were planned with strict reference to the crowning central point, the great principal dome, a decentralizing element appeared in the addition of the choir, which had become necessary in connection with the service at the altar—a witness to the inevitable discord between the purposes of the ritual and the design of the architect.

Fig. 248. Capital from Santa Sophia.

In the ornate finish of the buildings, casings of colored marble were lavishly employed upon the walls and piers; and glowing mosaic pictures beautified the vaulted hollows of domes, half-domes, and niches. Byzantine art in the true Oriental spirit has a special predilection for the utmost wealth of ornament, and keeps this end steadily in view in the adjustment of the different parts of the architectural design. The columns with their bases and capitals, the pediments, friezes, door and window frames, as well as the gallery railings, were all of marble, covered with ornamentation. These decorations, although founded upon ancient tradition, and full of delicate beauty, too often bear witness to the torpidity of art, and finally die out in weak, ill-defined surface ornaments. The form of the capitals is the most

striking exemplification of this point. They start from the antique Corinthian type; but in consequence of their convexity—the flattening of the projecting leaf-carving and its reduction to a fantastic arabesque, from which only the upper volutes awkwardly project—they acquire an entirely novel form, scarcely leaving the faintest suggestion of the beautiful antique (Fig. 248); while they also lack the vigor of Western Romanesque leaf-carving. Above these capitals appears that impost which we have already described as an element of Byzantine art.

Byzantine art of this epoch pays little attention to the exterior of its buildings; but even here its huge and heavy masses, with the round dome projecting in the center, have a characteristic look.

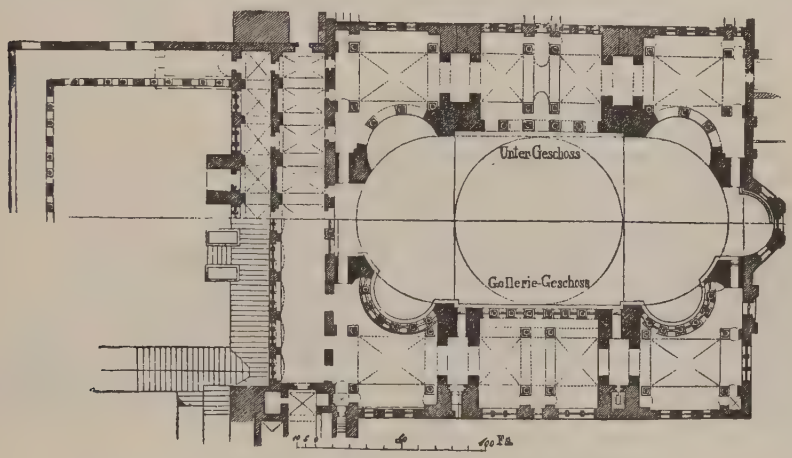


Fig. 249. Ground-Plan of the Church of S. Sophia.

We have already made acquaintance with an important monument of positive Byzantine architecture in the Church of San Vitale at Ravenna. Another noteworthy structure, dating back to about the same period, in the reign of Justinian, further illustrates the history of the development of the Byzantine centralized form of building. This is the former Church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus at Constantinople. As in San Vitale, the central octagonal space is inclosed by a dome and encircled by corridors two stories high. But the main space is extended on four sides by niches with recessed columns; and the outer walls form almost a square, the choir with its apse standing out from the main mass.

Though many fluctuations were noticeable in the treatment of outline at this stage; though the square and the polygonal ground-plan strove for the mastery; the system, nevertheless, produced its greatest

and highest result during the golden age of Justinian's reign, in a structure destined long to remain the highest type of Oriental architecture. This was the Church of S. Sophia at Constantinople. Constantine had already raised a church in his capital in honor of the Divine Wisdom, which, being destroyed by fire, was restored by Justinian with all imaginable splendor. Anthemius of Tralles and Isidorus of Miletus were summoned to serve as its architects. The most precious columns and other remains from the temples of Asia Minor were collected; and no pains were spared in the preparation for this great enterprise, or the carrying-out of the design. Owing to the tireless and stimulating zeal of the Emperor, the whole building was completed in the almost inconceivable short space of five

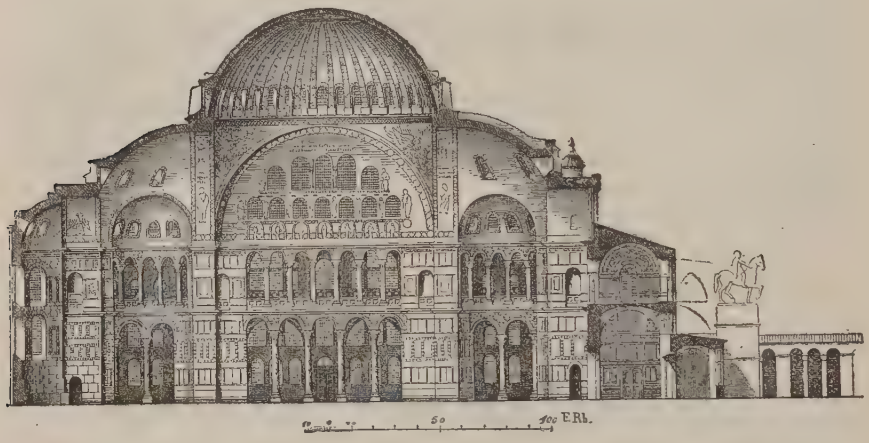


Fig. 250. S. Sophia, Constantinople.

years (532-537). Twenty years later, in 558, after the occurrence of an earthquake, the dome, which had been very much injured, was pulled down, and carried up again to a somewhat greater height on strengthened supports. The structure remained in this form until the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks, when it was turned into a mosque, and slender minarets were added to the four corners. In the interior the Turks were satisfied with merely covering up the mosaic pictures; so that, in essentials, the building still retains its original character.

Its ground-plan (Fig. 249) is founded upon the attempt to harmonize the rectangular design of the basilica with the development of dome architecture. The central point of the main space is the mighty cupola, 106 feet in diameter, and rising on four piers, placed at the corners of a square, to a height of 177 feet. The dome, not-

withstanding its height, is very flat, being constructed in only the segment of a circle. It rises from a very low drum, which rests upon the top of the four great arches joining the principal piers. Triangular pendentives fill up the spaces between the apexes of the arches and this drum. In this way the square space was covered; and, in order to elongate it, a mighty semicircular recess was added both in front and behind, with walls resting upon the piers at the angles of the dome and upon two intermediate piers. At the sides, however, a partition wall, supported by rows of columns, inclosed the nave; and by means of these arch openings communication between the nave and the side aisles was easy.

The two apses, whose half-domed vaults rest directly against the sides of the great central dome, and continue its lines, enlarge the space of the main nave to an elongated oval, corresponding in artistic design to the middle nave of the basilica. At the entrance end of the building this nave is connected with the great vestibule, equal to the width of the whole structure; and at the opposite end it terminates in a great altar apse and two side apses, necessary for ritual purposes; so that in this direction also there occurs a further departure from the semicircular ground-plan. The two long sides, on the other hand, have low aisles attached, which, however, owing to the varied strengths of the projecting supports and the variety of their vaulting, have not the character of side naves throughout, but seem like an aggregation of smaller spaces. Instead of the tranquil stability of the basilica naves, they present to the eye an attractive series of picturesque vistas. Galleries are carried over all the side spaces, opening toward the middle nave between rows of columns, and containing the places for women. Light is admitted through a circle of windows at the base of the principal dome, and through others in the half-domes and the great transverse walls, amply illuminating the interior. An almost quadrangular exterior, 252 feet long by 228 feet wide, incloses these variously grouped interior spaces. Before the entrance hall, with its nine great doorways, is built an atrium surrounded by colonnades, after the manner of the great basilicas.

The interior decoration of this imposing structure corresponds with its importance. All the wall surfaces and the great piers, up to the pendentives, are incased with precious and many-hued marble tiles. The rarest and most gorgeous specimens from the temples of Asia Minor were selected for columns; and all the vaulted spaces—dome, half-domes, and apses—glowed with a magnificent background of gold mosaic, enframed with bright-colored ornamental bands, and interwoven, like tapestry, with pictorial representations, strikingly set off by the gold background. This splendor shone with wonderful

brilliancy in the intensity of the illumination from above; filled all the building with an overwhelming radiance, and, added to the manifold variety in the ascending lines of the arches and vaultings, produced a most powerful impression. The inventive spirit which designed all this ventured upon a bold system of construction; and the effect of a dome whose broad span rises unfettered with so few supports is thoroughly imposing. The Church of S. Sophia, contrasted with the early Christian basilica, may be admired as a marvel of constructive science and inventive combination, yet whoever recognizes especially the beauty of simplicity, comprehensive clearness, and har-

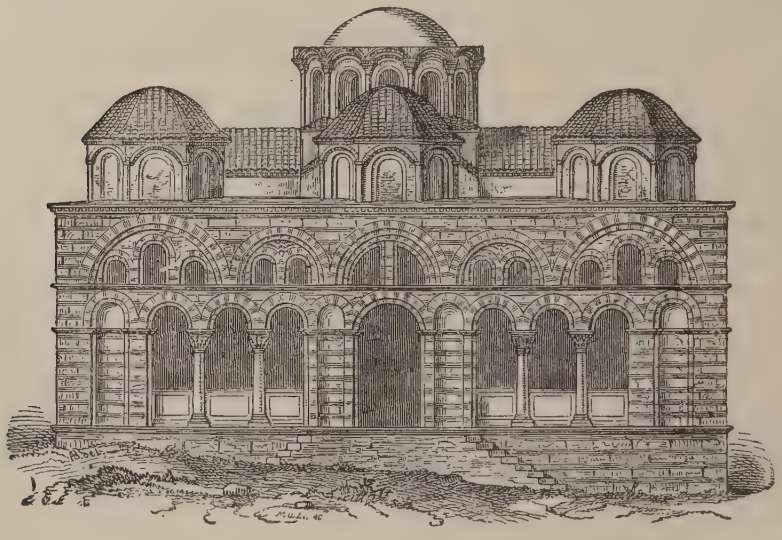


Fig. 251. Façade of the Church of the Mother of God. Constantinople.

mony of *ensemble* will award the palm to the basilica; though it must be admitted that in the basilica church the upper walls are defective, and the roof is not a necessary consequence of the other arrangements of the structure. In this direction the significance of S. Sophia is not to be undervalued, offering as it does a fully developed system of masonry roofing.

The form of the architectonic details is but little noticed under such a mass of surface decoration. Only the heavy Byzantine form of the capital gives us a decided proof of the character of the original architectural conception. The exterior has a disagreeable look of monotony; and the flat principal dome, with its adjoining half-domes, rises heavily, like a great natural mound, over the masses of piers and masonry. Only the minarets added by the Turks lend ornament—though of a foreign, inconsistent look—to the exterior.

BYZANTINE ARCHITECTURE

INTERIOR OF THE CHURCH OF ST. SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE

With the Church of S. Sophia Byzantine art reached its zenith. Henceforth it remained the highest type of art for the East, though in most churches a simplification of the ground-plan was demanded; and the builders were content with repeating the motive of the principal dome in lesser proportions, connecting it with an elongated main structure, approaching a square in shape, and generally consisting of three naves. As time went on, the interior of the larger buildings often assumed the form of a cross, with arms of equal length—the Greek cross, as it is called; while this central portion, both of nave and transept, was elevated above the lower parts of the interior. The great dome invariably rises at the point of intersection, often with the addition of smaller domes at the terminations of the four arms of the cross. A more slender tapering of the dome is also noticeable, owing to the fact that a drum is first built on a polygonal, or else round, ground-plan, thus offering a better place for the windows; and from its cornice rises the vaulting, still moderately flat. The three apses and the vestibule, extending the whole width of the building, its front wall resting upon columns, are also customary in Byzantine churches of this epoch. The interior is, as a rule, ornamented with frescos, in default of richer material; the exterior, on the contrary, bears an agreeable artistic stamp, in consequence of a more elegant columnar adornment, as well as through the employment of materials of different colors, arranged in stripes or bands. The church of the Mother of God (*Agia Theotokos*), built at Constantinople in 900 A.D., is an attractive specimen of this later Byzantine style of architecture (Fig. 251).

To all intents and purposes, however, the Greek Church had nearly exhausted the range of her artistic conceptions. The germ from whence sprang her architectural style was not simple enough to be capable of a richer, more prolonged development; hence it soon became hard and bare, like all the other attributes of Byzantine life.

D.—MONUMENTS IN THE NORTH.

The buildings of the Ostrogoths in Ravenna have already shown us how the Roman forms were apprehended by the Germanic peoples. In after times, when the Northern nations came into the foreground of history, and when, after the end of the great migratory period, they began to form new states, the artistic efforts connected with those new relations became necessarily of great significance; and it was the kingdom of the Franks that especially made itself the standard-bearer of this civilization. Its mightiest ruler, Charlemagne, ever cherished as

his loftiest ambition the restoration of the dominion of the Cæsars; and as the vast extension of his empire made the realization of this ambition a magnificent possibility, it was no wonder that in all artistic production the traditions of the antique world became the standard for this people. At this period, however, the sources of ancient art were more remote, both as to time and place, than before. The elements and implements of all his undertakings must be found among an almost uncivilized people; and all attempts were made immensely more difficult, even in merely mechanical matters, by the lack of worthy materials, of technical knowledge, and of every kind of necessary adjunct. Besides this, the spirit of his people, with all their freshness and strength, was not yet sufficiently aroused; the new demands of national life were too pressing to permit of that freedom of mind so necessary for artistic creation. All that we meet with in the way of art works among the Germanic peoples of this period is consequently but a copy of Roman style, not without traces of barbarous transformation wherever lack of comprehension or of practice appeared to make it unavoidable. In some cases, too, Byzantine influence is conspicuous—an influence which, even on Italian ground, affected the monuments at Ravenna.

Only isolated examples of this period have come down to our day. St. Lorenzo, in Milan, may be mentioned as a monument possibly belonging to early Christian times.* Though the remains of some antique thermæ were perhaps made use of in its construction, the similarity of the ground-plan to that of San Vitale seems to suggest this epoch. It has been rebuilt, to some extent, in later times; but the grand effect of the interior clearly indicates its original plan. The dome of the quadrangular central space soars, bold and free, above four wide semicircular apses, in which are columns supporting upper and lower galleries.

The Palazzo delle Torri in Turin, a mighty pile of brick, is a relic of the time of the Lombards, constructed in several stories, with pilasters and niches. Germany possesses, in the oldest portions of the cathedral at Treves, a later, perhaps a restored, specimen of the numerous splendid architectural enterprises of the sixth century; for this city, as the capital of the Austrasian kings and the seat of an archbishopric, stood in the first rank among the towns north of the Alps.

The numerous architectural structures with which Charlemagne adorned the cities of his broad empire, and above all, his capital and favorite town of Aachen or Aix-la-Chapelle, are of still more importance. Though no traces remain of his castles at Nimeguen or Ingle-

* Cf. Hübsch, "Die altchristlichen Kirchen," plate 16.

heim—of the palaces of his capital, or of the brilliant halls which he built at Aix, and which, as late as the fourteenth century, filled Petrarch with admiration when he made his journey into Germany—it may easily be imagined that they were modeled after the plan of the Roman imperial palaces then still existing. Only the imperial chapel of Charlemagne has been preserved, in all its essential parts, in the nave of the minster at Aix (Fig. 252). This structure, the building of which lasted from 796 to 804, combines within itself the best of what the mighty Emperor could command in the way of sumptuousness of material, technical skill, and richness of adornment. Ravenna was obliged to yield up the marble columns, and Ravenna also gave the ground-plan. Indisputably, it was the design of San Vitale which gave a motive to the Carlovingian architect. In this instance, too, there is a central octagon surrounded by low galleries; though, by renouncing the system of niches, a greater simplicity of plan was secured. On the other hand, the spaces between the piers are filled out with an upper and a lower colonnade, corresponding to an arcade and gallery. In this arrangement, the crudeness of the period betrays itself; for the upper columns, with their capitals and entablature, come awkwardly into contact with the intrados of the arch. On the other hand, forethought and technical skill are shown in the general construction. The middle space is roofed by a dome; the polygonal aisle that surrounds this space is roofed with cross-vaulting; while the lofty tunnel-vaulting of the upper galleries forms an effectual counterfort force to the side thrust of the dome. Nothing remains now of the mosaic decorations which once covered the vaulting; but the rich doors and parapets of the galleries, cast in bronze, bear witness to the solidity and splendor of the finishing, as well as to the influence of the strictly Byzantine type of ornamentation. The former rectangular altar niche made way later for a much larger choir, built in the Gothic style.

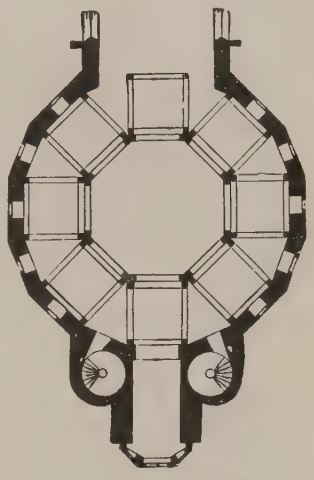


Fig. 252. Minster at Aachen.

The predilection for the Byzantine conception of fundamental forms appears in Charlemagne's Minster as in the Church of San Lorenzo at Milan; but there are also indications that in other respects the employment of the basilica model was considered altogether lawful at that time. As very few specimens have been pre-

served of structures of this class at that period, the remarkable building-plan of the Monastery of St. Gall, prepared about the thirtieth year of the ninth century by a monk at the Frankish court, and still preserved in the library of the monastery, is of deep interest to us in making our survey complete. We recognize the clearly accented plan of the basilica, with its broad central and two narrow side naves, as developed by the Romans; and only in the addition of a second choir, opposite the principal one, we perceive the further encroachment of the needs of the ritual, as well as an important enrichment of design in the addition of the two circular bell-towers. As a lesser work of the same epoch we may point out a hall at Lorsch, formerly open, and possibly belonging to some great ecclesiastical edifice, which betrays, in its columns, cornices, and other details, a constrained but careful imitation of ancient works; while the bright mosaic, and marble decorations of the wall-panels harmonize with the gaudy taste of the time. Remains of a simple pier basilica of the Carlovingian age have recently been pointed out among the cloister ruins at Steinbach in the Odenvald (possibly the cloister church at Michelstadt, consecrated by Einhardt in 821); and also of the Abbey Church at Seligenstadt, also founded by Einhardt in 828. Nieder-Ingelheim preserves a triumphal arch from the former palace chapel of Charlemagne; and the capitals of some isolated columns from the same building have found their way into the museum at Mayence.

3. *Early Christian Sculpture and Painting.*

The development of the plastic arts in early Christian times shows the same essential features as their architecture, with the one difference, that the tracing of the remarkable process by which a new life struggled to express itself through formal, antique, and traditional methods is still more interesting than in the former case, because the contrast between the essence and the form is even more strongly marked. Christianity, still in its youth, could only approach with fear and trembling that expression of a sensuous life which was characteristic of ancient sculpture down to its latest period. The danger of a return to the old, varied forms of idolatry was too serious. The stern admonition of the commandment to worship the Lord in spirit and in truth alone, fell with special emphasis just then, when to the veneration of the native divinities of Rome there had lately been added the fantastic cults of Egypt and the East; hence it was that the Christians only occasionally dared make use of the plastic art to express the new ideas in the most timid manner; though, in making such use, they willingly conformed to the laws of antique art. There-

fore there were no new forms and representative types produced in the sculpture of early Christian times: the genius of ancient Roman sculpture is the inspiration of all such work. Nothing is rarer than single statues of this period. With the exception of statues of the emperors—executed, as in earlier times, according to the traditional style of Roman art, though with a gradual diminution of artistic force—and setting aside memorial monuments which, like the columns and obelisk of Theodosius at Constantinople, followed well-known Roman models, there only remain for our information a few specimens of sacred figures. The great bronze statue of St. Peter,

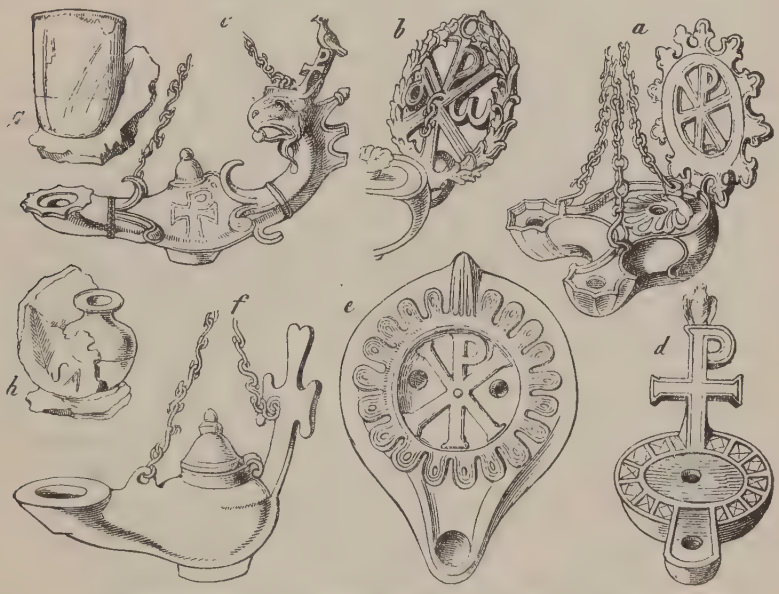


Fig. 253. Early Christian Bronze Lamps and Glass.

seated, in the main nave of St. Peter's at Rome—possibly a production of the fifth century—severe and full of dignity in its bearing and drapery, and conceived in the spirit of the antique portrait statues, is the most important among these remains. Another seated statue of St. Hippolytus, a marble of the same epoch, in the Christian Museum of the Lateran, has unfortunately been modernized in its most important portions. Nevertheless in its lower part, which is antique, it indicates a similar tendency. No examples have been preserved of statues of Christ, although we know that the Emperor Alexander Severus had one executed as early as the third century. A few isolated specimens of marble statuettes of the Good Shepherd have been preserved in the Christian Museum of the Lateran.

But the Christian idea was to find a more vigorous and general expression in the realm of painting; for in this connection there was less danger of an intermixture of ancient Pagan modes of presentation. The claims of the merely corporeal element were partly withdrawn into the background; and a greater facility for expressing the intimate social relation, the spiritual communion which united the members of the new society, was possible by means of the flexible element of color. Young Christian art availed itself more and more of this means, and conquered for itself a new field of activity, with artistic laws and technicalities of its own, which determined the direction and limit of its productions; hence this is the mold in which the art of early Christian times was destined to shape itself in the most original, most significant, and most unfettered form.

But before this consummation could be attained, a long series of stages had to be traversed, leading from an utter tastelessness in art to the rainbow-hued glory of the superb basilicas. The first picture-writing of early Christian times begins in an insignificant fashion with a few symbolic signs. At first these were only the Christian cypher, the Greek *X P*, or the alpha and omega, *A* Ω (the beginning and the end), which, of frequent recurrence upon sarcophagi, as well as upon vessels and utensils used in every-day life, recalled devout memories to the hearts of believers.

This simplest form of inscription is especially attractive when associated with a reminder of ancient decorative art; as in the case of the bronze lamps (Fig. 253, *a, b*) so many of which are found in the catacombs; or on the bottom of the glass jars (Fig. 253, *g, h*) which are also found there, and which it was a favorite custom to fill with the wine of the eucharist, and put into the tomb with the dead. In the same way the Greek word *ichthys* (fish) was employed instead of the name of Christ, or the simple representation of a fish was used in the same connection. Art expresses itself here, as in all primitive productions, in symbols which are full of meaning, and which substitute an arbitrary sign for the real subject, according to a universal agreement. The number of these symbols was speedily increased as the knowledge grew of the picturesque phraseology of the Holy Scriptures. The cross as the sign of the sacrificial death, and of redemption; the palm as a symbol of eternal peace; the peacock as a symbol of immortality; the lambs, the vine, the ship, all clearly referring to well-known passages in the Bible—these, and many others of the same kind, were soon found in great numbers on sarcophagi, as well as on walls, and on many vessels and utensils.

All these symbols use a language of which the form is thoroughly conventional and general, and the meaning is very apparent. The

element of literal pictorial representation of a personal and individual character is not contained within its scope. The first decided step in this direction is that representation of the Good Shepherd which has been so often repeated, and so much a favorite, where the shepherd is watching his flock, and bringing back the lost lamb to the fold. As Christ himself described himself under this allegorical figure, ancient Christian art took up the beautiful comparison with deep feeling, although contenting itself, even in this instance, with a general

Fig. 254. Ceiling-Painting in the Catacombs of St. Calixtus.

ideal allegorization, and in no wise attempting the delineation of a definite character. The shepherd is depicted as a graceful, beardless youth, in the short garment peculiar to shepherds, according to the ideal manner of antique art. But art did not stop here. The principal scenes in the life of our Lord, especially his miracles and his Passion, were frequently and lovingly dwelt upon, as well as prominent passages in the Old Testament which contain references to his Passion, and which were set forth as striking parallels; in this way the range of representation became ever wider and richer. The wonderful

deliverance of Daniel from the den of lions, of Jonah from the belly of the whale, the ascension of Elijah, the sufferings of Job, and many similar scenes, were plainly shown to contain references to the Messiah; particular allusion being also discovered therein to his sorrows, his persecutions, and to the promised redemption. The forms of ancient art were brought into play to represent his appearance, all further allusions being expressed merely by means of symbols. Sun and moon, day and night, rivers and mountains are simply given as personifications, side by side with the personages of the Old and New Testament, as a proof how their original mythological meaning had

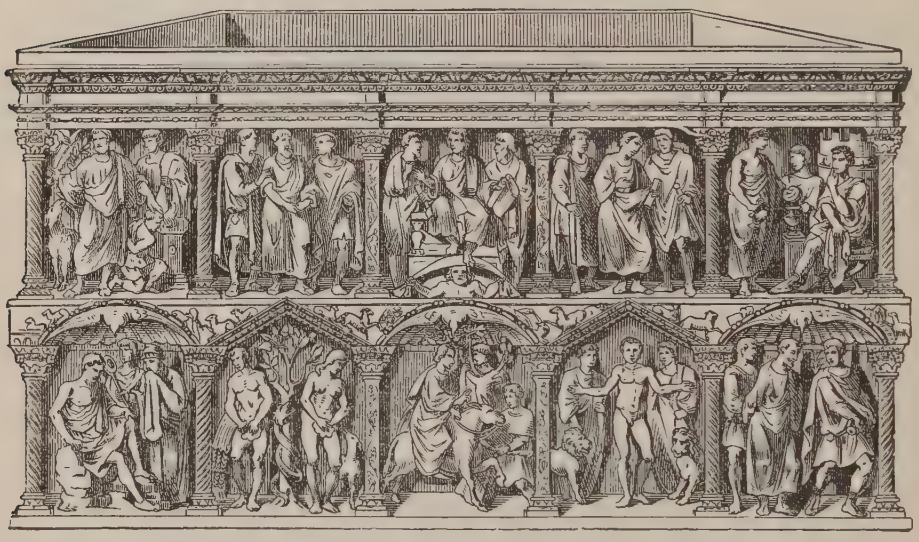


Fig. 255. Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus. (Rome.)

faded out in men's minds. This is even more distinctly the case when creations of Pagan mythology are made the subjects of Christian representation—when Cupid and Psyche are to be met with among Christian works of art, or when the artist goes so far as to represent Christ as Orpheus with the lyre. This occurs in the centerpiece of one of the most beautiful specimens of ancient Christian wall-painting found in the catacomb of St. Calixtus, which we give in Fig. 254. In the eight spaces surrounding the principal figure are small landscapes, containing alternately an animal or representation from the Old and New Testament: as Moses smiting the rock; opposite him Christ raising Lazarus from the dead, who is represented as a mummy; then Daniel in the den of lions; and, facing him, David with the sling.

The sarcophagi belong to the most important monuments which are brought to our notice in this shifting kaleidoscope of early Christian art. Their sides are decorated with reliefs, according to the old heathen fashion. Their artistic treatment indicates the character of Roman works of this description of a later period. As in the case of the latter, these display a superficial, mechanical character. They are sometimes overburdened with ornamentation; again they possess a simple rhythmical harmony; and again they recall the later art of Rome by architectural decorations of small columns with pediments

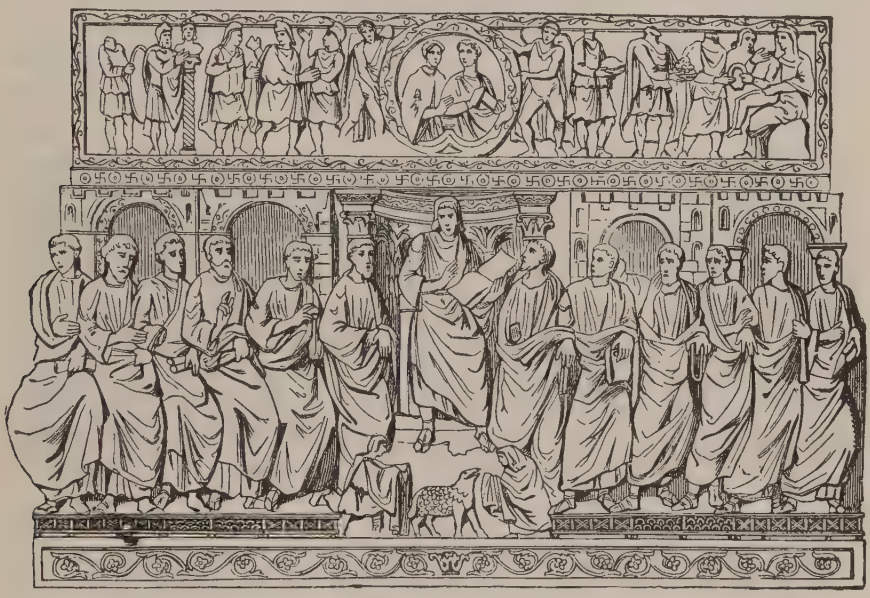


Fig. 256. Sarcophagus in the Church of St. Ambrose. (Milan.)

and arches. The miracles of Christ—the healing of the man with the palsy, the multiplication of the loaves, and the turning of the water into wine, and others—are contrasted with striking scenes from the Old Testament. Moses causing water to flow from the rock, the creation of the first man, the fall, and so on, all are, with slight variations, the constantly recurring themes of these sculptures. In some of these, there is a genuine utterance of the antique spirit; in others, the sentiment is dull and heavy, and there is an entire misunderstanding of the anatomy of the body—an illustration of the abrupt decline of this last relic of ancient art.

The catacombs contained a great number of works of this kind, which have been almost all removed to the Museum of the Lateran. Others, again, are to be found in the vaults of St. Peter's at Rome

(Grotte Vaticane), at Ravenna, and in several other places. One of the finest of these monuments is the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus (died 359), in the vaults of St. Peter's (Fig. 255). It contains ten subjects from the Old and New Testaments in two rows of figures, the meaning of which is not always clear. Much ruder is the sarcophagus of Probus (died 395), which is to be seen in the same place. In the Church of St. Ambrose in Milan, there is a remarkable sarcophagus under the chancel, in which there are striking reminders of ancient art. In the middle (Fig. 256) is Christ teaching, surrounded by his apostles; above him, on the border of the cover, are the figures, in medallion, of the dead inclosed in the sarcophagus; and near these, in obvious parallelism, the adoration of the magi, and the three youths before Nebuchadnezzar, who is vainly urging upon

Fig. 257. Ananias and Sapphira. (Ivory Tablet at Salerno.)

them the worship of idols. A work remarkable in conception and magnificent in execution is the porphyry sarcophagus of Constantia, the daughter of Constantine, which has been transferred from her burial chapel to the Vatican Museum. Its surface is covered with heavy branches of grape-vine, and with genii gathering and pressing grapes; the difficulty of working with the material employed contrasting finely with the exquisiteness of the workmanship.

The works in ivory open another field of investigation in early Christian art. Ivory had been employed by the Romans for many purposes of luxury; among the number, the diptychs of the consuls, which consisted of two writing-tablets fastened together, the covers of which were adorned with carvings. These were imitated during the Christian period, and adapted for use either as movable shrines or as book-covers for the Holy Scriptures. Scenes from the life of Christ were designed upon these tablets at an early day, as well as incidents in the lives of the saints. There is an ivory tablet in the sacristy of

the Duomo at Salerno, on which is illustrated, with antique spirit, the death of Ananias (Fig. 257). Sapphira is rendering the lying account of her stewardship to the apostle, who is holding up a warning finger, while her husband is meanwhile being carried out. Above, the outstretched hand of God is represented, as a material reminder of the fact that this is an illustration of his immediate interposition. There are also to be seen numerous boxes of ivory, which were doubtless originally designed to contain the consecrated elements, the surface of which is also covered with reliefs. The museum at Berlin contains a notable example of this kind; the Hôtel de Cluny at Paris, another; and there are several similar ones in Hanover, in the possession of Ph.D. F. Hahn, bookseller.

It was in a similar way that the conceptions of the new doctrine acquired an artistic expression in the earliest Christian times—by means of the wall-paintings in the catacombs. At a very early date a pictorial decoration of the simplest and most transitory kind began to be adopted in the vaulting, the niches, and on the walls of the more important chambers, in the chapels, and the resting-places of the illustrious dead. At first the type of antique wall-painting was carefully followed, save that Christian symbols and pictures take the place of Pagan forms. Still, their character in the beginning, as in the antique, was that of a light and cheerful decoration. The division of space, the treatment of color, and the style of drawing, do not differ from the heathen prototype.

Among all these representations, the favorite figure, and the one that most frequently recurs, is that of the Good Shepherd. He appears in a buoyant, youthful figure, with a short garment, tenderly carrying the recovered lamb upon his shoulder (Fig. 258). About him are grouped representations of other figures and important incidents, whose bearings upon each other are often thoughtfully expressed; while throughout the conception is usually clear, and the general arrangement corresponds to the rhythmic type of the antique. All these representations still exhale the pure, simple atmosphere of ancient art, which gave to the whole a certain dignity of ornament, without giving prominence to individual figures.

An air of deep spirituality, hallowed tranquillity, and peaceful calm makes these figures and scenes—most of them on a small scale—especially attractive, portraying as it does the typical expression of the essentially Christian temper. The catacombs of S. Calixtus are particularly rich in such works (Fig. 254); above all, the very ancient pictures in the crypt of Sta. Lucina and in the sacramental crypts, so called, as well as in those of SS. Nereus and Achilleus (or S. Domitilla), of S. Prætextatus, S. Priscilla, S. Agnese, and

others at Rome. The third, rather than the fourth century, was the period which brought this tendency to its full development; for this mode of representation had already begun to dissatisfy the succeeding epoch. In the course of the fifth century there came up, in place of that tranquil, composed, spiritually symbolic form of expression, a striving after a more distinct stamp of individuality, a more forcible conception of personality. The more antique tradition retired into the background, the less satisfaction was felt with a dignified and cheerful system of decoration in the spirit of the older art. The narrowly defined architectonic limits were broken down; and grander forms attained to more powerful, independent, and striking expression. While the individual figure had at first unassumingly proclaimed its symbolical significance merely as a part of the great whole, it was now to be more distinctly marked, and its personal characteristics indicated as history defined them. The scenes of the sacred legends were strikingly portrayed; and the figures of sacred personages, before all others that of the Saviour, were thrown forward in strong relief. It was not enough now to represent Christ under the allegorical figure of the Good Shepherd; men endeavored to reproduce the appearance of the Divine Teacher in the fullness of spiritual power and calm sublimity. Although the technical means were constantly growing more meager, and the artistic knowledge of form becoming indistinct, the spiritual power, the soulful grandeur, of these pictures often rises to a lofty significance, which more than makes up for poverty of form in depth and intensity of expression.

Fig. 258. The Good Shepherd. (From the Catacombs of Sant' Agnese.

Numerous specimens of this tendency are preserved in the catacombs of San Ponziano at Rome. The type of the head of Christ appears here already fixed in its more essential features. The noble oval of the countenance is shaded by long brown, flowing hair, parted in the middle; the large eyes look straight forward with a deeply thoughtful gaze; the nose is long and delicate, the mouth earnest and

gentle; the beard has almost the downy look of youth. The left hand holds the open Book of Life; while the right is raised, as though in solemn command and exhortation.

Though Christian painting was compelled to lead a hidden, subterranean life in the catacombs, it was called forth at an early day to a powerful and splendid activity. The basilicas which, after the recognition of Christianity by the State, were erected everywhere in great numbers, stood in need of a style of decoration appropriate to the present position of the Church. At first, the models of ancient art seem to have served as an inspiration for this purpose also. Whether, at last, that light decorative style did not appear suitable for the great spaces and solemn dignity of the ecclesiastical structures, or whether the necessity for a richer method was felt—perhaps giving an impulse to the tendency toward Byzantine modes of thought—we find, even in the fourth century, an art in use for the decoration of churches which, though undoubtedly originating in the antique, was now pushing its way up to an essentially new and loftier development under the influence of novel requirements. This art—that of working in mosaic—which was employed among the old Romans almost entirely for the adornment of the pavement, was called to fulfill a higher destiny in adorning the walls of the Christian temples with the grandly solemn figures of Christ and of his saints. To be sure, this technical form was far surpassed by wall-painting in lightness and play of design; the more delicate lines of the physique, the softer shades of expression, did not lie within the compass of its possibilities. But early Christian art laid but little stress upon the charm of physical grace or the idyllic expression of sentiment. What it wanted was great and powerful fundamental features, forcibly expressed types of the sacred figures, which should declare themselves unmistakably at a distance, and fill the soul of the spectator with devout reverence. To this end, the art of mosaic, quite apart from its singular durability and indestructible strength, was eminently suited; and its very want of adaptability was an advantage, because the type, once secured, was easily held fast without fear of any special innovation, and developed into a distinct canon. To be sure, therein again lay the danger of petrifying into typical formalism, as eventually came to pass in the case of Byzantine art, which split upon this very rock. Even aside from this, the Byzantines could not have escaped from their languid formalism; while, on the other hand, Italian art of this time gave proof of a depth and vital strength of feeling which cannot but make itself evident even within the bounds of the technical difficulties of mosaic.

The strict architectonic arrangement of space was a necessary con-

sequence of this mode of artistic expression. The law of arrangement, however, differed widely from the principle which regulated ancient wall-painting. In the early Christian mosaics, the law of decoration, which is all-important in ancient productions, passes into the background, and gives place to a strict harmony of forms. These balance one another like different parts of an architectural structure, fully occupying the space at command with their massive proportions. There is a rigidly preserved unity in their order, their pose, and their relative position, producing an effective and dignified impression. Ornamental details are used but sparingly; and where the ancients sought to divide up minutely the flat surface of every wall or niche by elegant adjuncts, imitation of architectural forms, and festoons, the great surfaces of the apses and triumphal arches are here treated as a whole, and as such inclosed in an ornamental framework. Only the great extent of surface in the clear story of the nave seems to call for a division of parts, which successfully repeat the effect of the harmonious arrangement of the arcades.

Through all these elements, early Christian mosaic acquires a character of simple grandeur and sublimity, certain of its independent artistic effect. In the impression made by these qualities, it is of little consequence that much remains to be desired in the formal treatment of the figures, and that the artist is deficient in a knowledge of the physical organism and the play of its parts. One is still strongly reminded, in essentials, of that dignity which the Roman antique knew so well how to impress upon its senatorial figures; and even in drapery, posture, and action, ancient art long remained the guide which the Christian mosaic pictures followed. A special definiteness and variety of characteristics is observable in the heads. Christ is represented as the catacomb pictures had shown him, except that the expression of his head is more impressive, graver, and more earnest—more like that of a mature man.

The range of representation is a narrow one: Christ with his saints and apostles, as well as with the Ancient of Days of the Apocalypse; also the Madonna and Child, frequently surrounded by angels. To these may be added a few symbolic figures—the lamb, the palm, the cross, the peacock, and so on. The whole story is told with a very few touches; but the appearance of reality is the last thing that is considered. The persons represented tread on a blue ground, or float on clouds; only in rare instances the ground is green and colored flowers are suggested.

The chronological sequence of the monuments shows, in the case of the mosaics, a series of transformations and variations of style; as a result of which follows, however, not a higher development, but

a gradual decay, until finally, at the end of the sixth century, deteriorated Italian art is replaced by the typical forms of the Byzantine. The most ancient mosaics which have survived to us are those which exist on the wall of Santa Costanza in Rome, the burial-chapel of the daughter of Constantine. Here are branches of grape-vine in the manner of ancient art, but evidently—as on the sarcophagus of Constantia—employed to embody Christian doctrine. The execution, it must be admitted, is formal and crude. In the same style are the rich wall-mosaics in the Chapel of San Nazario and San Celso in Ravenna, the burial chapel of Galla Placidia, designed in the early part of the fifth century. Here are magnificent clusters of grapes, interspersed with symbolic forms—such as the heat, referring to the soul thirsting after righteousness. Other impressive forms, such as the Good Shepherd, belong to this category.

The succeeding period shows a still further departure from symbolism, and in its stead an increase in the power of representing the human figure, with costume, the whole treated in a very effective way, and with a noticeable deepening of the characteristics of painting; as, for instance, in the remarkable mosaics in the baptistery of San Giovanni-in-Fonte at Ravenna, built in the first part of the fifth century. The baptism of Christ occupies the center of the dome, surrounded by the figures of the apostles, the whole encircled by profuse ornamentation which is more or less interspersed with symbolic designs; the entire subject treated in a style of solemn grandeur, and carried out with wonderful splendor of color.

The masterpieces of the latter part of the fifth century were the mosaics on the wall of the triumphal arch in San Paolo outside the walls, near Rome, which have been restored, since the fire of 1823, in accordance with remains and drawings. The colossal torso of Christ towers in the center, in a medallion; extremely impressive, though with a terrible and unlovely expression. Above this are the symbols of the evangelists, which even then were established; as the angel, the eagle, the ox, and the lion. Arranged in two rows on either side are the twenty-four elders of the Apocalypse, in white robes, with crowns in their hands, bending adoring knees. There is little difference between these figures—the motive is limited; but, nevertheless, the conception of the whole is exceedingly significant. About half way down, on a similar space on the sides of the arch, are the two apostle-princes, St. Peter and St. Paul—the former designated by the key, the latter by the sword. The line of division between the two groups is effected with all imaginable simplicity by means of a horizontal line drawn under the row of the elders. Rolls containing inscriptions constitute the frames, which are without

further decoration. Thus does the rich play of fancy of antique decorative art give way before the earnest severity of pictorial representation.

The mosaics in the apse of the Church of San Cosmo and San Damiano may be regarded as the last—as they are certainly the most splendid—in the series of great mosaics of that early period in Rome, and belong to the years 526-530 (Fig. 259). The figure of Christ is presented at full length on a blue ground, supported by colored

Fig. 259. Mosaic in the Church of SS. Cosmo and Damiano. (Rome.)

clouds, carrying a mantle on his left arm after the ancient fashion; in his left hand a roll, while his right hand is outstretched expressively, as though in solemn command. On both sides six figures are symmetrically arranged—five saints and Pope Felix IV., the patron of the work. These figures, with the exception of the latter, which is a restoration, are admirable instances of a style formed upon antique models, although, perhaps, become a little stiff. The earnestness of the heads, the repose of the attitudes, and the superb grouping give a character of great solemnity to the whole such as is expressed by no other work of the kind in so great degree. Beneath this representation a broad frieze is drawn, on which are lambs, the

symbolic representations of Christ and the apostles. On the wall surrounding the tribune may still be seen traces of angels and of the elders of the Apocalypse.

At the beginning of the sixth century the last relics of the ancient social order in Italy had been so entirely destroyed, and life had been so shaken and confused by the changing march of events that Italy was no longer capable of originating artistic work. But a new culture had sprung up in Byzantium, which attained to its highest pitch of splendor under Justinian. Its foundations rested upon antique principles; but it had, besides this, derived a decided coloring from the influences of the East and also from a court ceremonial of a very high order of civilization. This so-called Byzantine style, from this time forth, began to exert a profound influence upon the Christian world. Italy was especially subjected to this influence from the fact that she had been subjugated to the kingdom of Greece by Narses and Belisarius, and in any case was utterly incapable of exercising spiritual culture and artistic endeavor. It followed that Byzantine art succeeded in producing the precise result which the Church had aimed at accomplishing with her splendor of external representation; that is, a canon of forms and figures already elaborated, and having all the advantages of a completely mastered technique, worked out in magnificent materials. At this period the division, arising from difference of dogma, between the Eastern and the Western Church, had not yet taken place; so that Byzantine art met with no opposition, even from this quarter.

The central idea of Byzantine art is a gorgeous execution, kept within bounds by the fixed laws of the Church. Not only did the Oriental feeling demand the most costly stuffs, as well as pearls, gold, silver, and jewels, for the decoration of altars, of chancels, and of shrines—a custom which speedily spread throughout all Christendom, and instituted an extraordinary transformation in the construction of ecclesiastical edifices—but also, dating from this period, a gold ground was commonly employed in mosaics, in the place of the blue ground formerly in universal use. By the small, almost innumerable bits of which these great wall-pictures were composed, the light was now broken up into countless reflections, which gave an incredibly brilliant effect. In this way the gold ground itself sparkled, and also changed in color and intensity in larger surfaces, and figures represented stand out in bold relief, in their symmetrical strength, from this background. Nor did the simple coloring of early Christian art, with the ancient garment of white forming its most elaborate costume, any longer suffice; on the contrary, there was taken as a model

a rich, gay court costume of the prevailing fashion at a luxurious Oriental court, often overlaid with gold and other ornaments in elaborate patterns.

Nor was the influence of the splendid ritual less marked in the disposition and arrangement of the figures than in their dress; and though a statuesque calm was aimed at in the early Christian art adopted in the West—an effect of solemn withdrawal from the ordinary things of life—this tendency, when under the influence of the outward forms that marked the Church in Byzantium, crystallized into mere formality limited by rule and line. Even the laws of physical development were made to yield to this effort after external dignity and sublimity; and the human form is made to assume a disproportionate length far beyond that of its natural proportions for the sake of producing a more powerful impression. In accordance with this idea, an effort is made to give to the faces an expression of grave and dignified composure; but it generally only succeeds in making them harsh, gloomy, and unamiable. A narrow oval face, large eyes—often set quite obliquely—a long, thin nose, a pinched mouth, and a narrow chin are the ordinary characteristics of the Byzantine countenance; to which are usually added a gray head and beard, generally trimmed and arranged in the conventional and prevalent court-fashion. Bound to these forms and laws of an external ceremonial, Byzantine art soon grew stiff and rigid, and offered a new proof that real original development can only proceed from a true spiritual life, and that mere dogmatism is death to intellectual progress. But as that which is so firmly and dogmatically fixed is most easily handed down from one to another, and we are too apt to go to formulæ and external rules for our instruction, it was just what was formulated and accurately limited in this art which tended to recommend it. Particularly when its technical forms became perfected by long practice, its work tended more and more toward delicacy of execution, while its value as decoration was never lost; and later artists began to beautify its austere type with noble inspirations. Especially is this the case in miniature painting, which long preserved many beautiful and expressive traces of the ancient spirit.*

As for the subjects treated the new design goes far beyond the limitations of early Christian art. The principal theme is generally

* A series of fine examples will be found in J. Labarte's "Histoire des arts industriels." See also Middleton, J. H., "Illuminated Manuscripts in Classical and Mediæval Times." Shaw, H., "Illuminated Ornaments of the Middle Ages." "The Art of Illumination." Silvestre, "Paléographie universelle." Westwood, J. O., "Palæographia Sacra Pictoria."

Christ triumphant, and judging the world, surrounded by his angels, the apostles, the saints, and the Madonna as queen of heaven—all severe in bearing, and solemn in their calm repose. But Byzantine art, guided by imperial influence, often adds pictures of worldly ceremonies, in which the emperor with his retinue appears in the full splendor of court costume. The purely historical seldom appears; and the representations of life are without any pretension to

Fig. 260. From the Mosaics of San Vitale. Ravenna.

dramatic animation. The purpose of the work is symbolic and decorative, nor has traditional art been carried further in these two respects.

The earliest and most important works at Ravenna, dating back before 550, are in the tribune and the choir of San Vitale. In the vaulting of the apse, Christ, enthroned amid his saints, still wears a youthful form, as early art always represents him; but the golden background indicates the transition to the Byzantine style—an indication which is decisively confirmed by the gorgeous pictures of state ceremonial on the lower wall of the chancel. Here we see the

Emperor Justinian, and opposite his consort Theodora, both in magnificent court costume, and surrounded by their suites, by spiritual and temporal dignitaries, and a bodyguard, all depicted in the act of taking part in a solemn religious procession. (Fig. 260 gives part of the empress's retinue.) Scenes from the Old Testament, most of them symbolical of the sacrifice of the New Covenant, are portrayed upon the choir walls, rather meagerly executed upon dark ground, and surrounded by symbolical figures and emblems. Among the scenes given are the Sacrifice of Abel, Abraham with the Angels, Abraham and Melchisedec, Abraham's Sacrifice of Isaac, and others of like nature. The extensive mosaic frieze in the central nave of S. Apollinare Nuovo belongs to the same period. Processions of saints and martyrs—the men on the left, the women on the right hand—are issuing from the cities of Ravenna and Classis, and moving in long procession toward the altar, filling in admirable order all the spaces between the arcades and windows, and following the lines of the colonnades toward the holy of holies. The effect is throughout lofty and sustained, carrying out the main idea suggestively and happily.

The mosaics with which S. Sophia at Constantinople was adorned, probably about 560 A.D., are, however, the most extensive work of this epoch. The pictures in the choir and the great representation in the dome of Christ judging the world have disappeared. The remaining mosaics are well preserved under the whitewash with which Turkish orthodoxy has covered them; on the occasion of some repairs, about the middle of the nineteenth century, they came to light, and were copied, and they can now be seen in part. Thus in the pendentives of the great dome, fantastic figures of cherubim, with their threefold pairs of wings, admirably fill the spaces. On each side of the walls of the drum, beneath the dome, saintly bishops and prophets are ranged between the windows. In the arched vaulting of the gallery, among other remains there is a Descent of the Holy Spirit, conceived on a grand scale; and finally, in the vestibule, in the arch panel of the chief entrance door, there is a Christ, seated upon a fancifully adorned throne, beside him medallions of the Madonna and the Archangel Michael, while at one side of the throne an emperor in magnificent costume kneels on the ground in an Oriental posture of devotion, possibly Justinian himself (Fig. 261). This figure shows most clearly the rigid type of this school of art, with its rejection of free movement; while in the other figures there is a hint of antique influence, though of degenerate kind.

From this time forth, the influence of Byzantine art spread irresistibly throughout the West. There are, indeed, isolated works in Italy, which, without a marked impress of Byzantinism, repeat the early Christian school of painting in a crude, barbaric way; but the predominant character rests upon the Byzantine form—rigid in type, almost like a servile copy, and constantly growing more lifeless and dreary. The first works of any importance from the latter part of the seventh century (671-677) are the mosaic pictures of Sant' Apollinare in Classe, at Ravenna. The altar apse follows the model of S. Vitale in its representation of Old Testament scenes, as well as in a picture of a solemn ceremonial. A number of early Christian symbols are introduced in the main nave, between the arcade arches,

Fig. 261. Mosaic in the Vestibule of S. Sophia.

by way of suitably filling up the space; above these extends a frieze of medallions of the archbishops of Ravenna, which aids in giving an original and varied arrangement to the flat surface. In Rome, the apse of San Teodoro displays a mosiac of the same century, in which there is a repetition of early Christian models, especially pictures of SS. Cosmo and Damiano; while the mosaics in the apse of Santa Agnese (625-638), on the other hand, appear to be Byzantine in tendency, and are remarkable for the circumstance that the patron saint of the church himself appears, between two other saints, in the place usually assigned to the Saviour or to his mother.

Another most striking mosaic picture, from the apse of the Triclinium Lateranensis (the refectory of the old Lateran Palace of Leo III., in 800), was removed at a later period to the chapel of the Scala Santa. In the apse Christ appears standing, and

surrounded by his apostles. In his right hand he holds the book of life, while with the left he delivers the symbols of supremacy to Peter, who stands nearest him. This idea is further carried out upon the two wall surfaces beside the apse. To the right, the Lord is represented as conferring the keys upon Pope Sylvester, while he bestows the banner with the cross upon the Emperor Constantine; to the left, Peter awards a stole to Leo III. and a banner to Charlemagne, as symbols of spiritual and temporal power.

The mosaics of San Prassede are among the most extensive remains of this period. In the apse Christ appears, surrounded by six saints; while beneath is a frieze on which lambs are depicted; and on the walls of transept and triumphal arch are seen the evangelists and the elders of the Apocalypse, surrounded by angels; the whole being, in short, a repetition of the early Christian school of painting, only smaller in proportions, and with a Byzantine hardness of expression. Besides these, the little chapel of S. Zeno is a perfect specimen of mosaic decoration of this period.

Outside of Rome, the mosaic work in the apse of Sant' Ambrogio, at Milan, is a valuable work of this epoch, though it has been to a great extent restored. In the center, a singularly rigid figure of our Lord is enthroned between the archangels Michael and Gabriel on one side, and the Saints Gervasius and Protasius on the other—these latter not without a certain solemn grandeur of aspect. Angels hover above, in the act of crowning them. To the right, the city of Milan is seen, with Saints Ambrose and Augustine seated at reading desks; to the left the City of Tours, where Ambrose is conducting the funeral service of St. Martin. The coloring, especially in the draperies, is bright and gaudy. The whole execution is crude, and the composition somewhat confused and disordered.

The important architectural enterprises of Charlemagne falling in this epoch, a fine opportunity was afforded for the use of wall decoration. Unfortunately, nothing remains of these works; but we know that the colossal figure of Christ enthroned, and surrounded by the Apocalyptic elders, on a background of gold with red stars, filled the dome of his minster at Aix-la-Chapelle; that the Basilica at Ingelheim was adorned with scenes from the Old and New Testament; that the palaces at the latter place and at Aix boasted of frescos portraying the history of the Frankish Empire and of the reign of Charles—an indication that here, perhaps, in spite of rigid form and Byzantinian presentation, a breath of fresh vitality and independence had begun to permeate art.

The style of the mosaics executed in the second half of the ninth

century in S. Sophia at Constantinople testifies to the state of art in Byzantium at that period. They represent a bust of the Madonna, framed by other sacred figures, in the severe formalistic treatment of later Byzantine art, but not without dignity and even a certain austere grace. A revival of the older types may be observed in these and kindred works—a revival which ushered in a new era, though only one of external development, following upon the intermediate stage of that violent iconoclastic controversy which ended with the rejection of sculpture and the acceptance of painting. The study of the further petrifaction of this art, until it finally degenerated into mere lifeless imitation, can be of no possible interest to us.

Fig. 262. Chair of Bishop Maximianus. Ravenna.

Beside these great lasting works, a series of minor productions in the artistic handicrafts may be traced through the different periods of the early Christian epoch, an idea of which is requisite to complete our survey of the gradual development of early Christian art. First in order comes the work in ivory, which constituted a most important article in ecclesiastical as well as worldly luxury in Byzantium. The consular diptychs—small double tablets fastened together, the inner side intended to be used for writing, while the outside was adorned with carved work—used to be given as presents, in great quantities, whenever a new consul came into office; and many specimens of them are still extant. They usually display the image of the consul in the act of giving the signal for the beginning of the public games. The most ancient official diptych in existence, it is supposed, is one in the Imperial Library at Berlin, but this is not "consular;" and several in the British Museum are thought to be of the third century, their exact purpose being unknown further than that they are highly adorned tablets for writing. The Imperial Library at Paris owns a tablet of Flavius Felix, 428 A.D.; and there are two in the treasury of the church at Monza. That of Areobindus, in the town library

at Zurich, is of 506 A.D.; and another in Paris dates from 517. These tablets were subsequently employed as decorations for the costly bindings of books used in the churches; many were destroyed and lost in this way; other tablets were then carved especially for book covers, and from this originated the custom of adorning such minor works of art with scenes of religious significance. The Byzantine productions of this kind are remarkable for neat and elegant technical execution, and for many lifelike traits. The most magnificent work in ivory which has come down to us is the throne of Bishop Maximianus, in the sacristy of the Duomo at Ravenna, assigned to

Fig. 263. The Emperor Lothair and Charles the Fat. (Frankish Miniatures.)

the year 550; it is entirely covered with carved plates of ivory, a splendid piece of sumptuous decoration (Fig. 262). Among the relievos, those on the arms, descriptive of the history of Joseph, are designed with a good deal of the antique spirit. The vinelike friezes, too, exhibit much natural freshness, with their lions, deer, peacocks, etc.

After these, an important place must be assigned to the illuminations in the parchment missals of the time. Even this kind of art seems to be based upon ancient prototypes now lost, as is evident from the illuminated manuscripts of Virgil and Terence in the Vatican Library, and those of Homer in the Ambrosian Library at Milan—copies of antique compositions, though with an ever increasing degeneracy of style. The sacred writings of the Christians,

notably those of the Old Testament, began to be illustrated in a like manner at an early date; for example, the parchment roll, thirty-five feet long, in the Vatican Library at Rome, with representations from the life of Joshua; the manuscript of the first eight books of the Old Testament in the same library; and the manuscript of Genesis in the Imperial Library at Vienna, probably of the fifth century. The influence of the antique can clearly be traced everywhere in these works, both in conception and treatment, even to the minor details of the work.

In later periods, the Frankish illuminations, especially, confirm the impression that the methods of antique art were revived for the last time in such productions, although through the medium of a rigid Byzantine interpretation, and with a somewhat barbarous style of treatment. A solid richness of execution accompanies it, analogous to the architectural productions of a similar school and epoch. The earliest works of the time of Charlemagne are also the most vigorous, as is shown by several manuscripts in the town library at Trêves and in the Royal Library at Paris. Other works, to be found in Paris, and executed for Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald, already give evidence of a decay of artistic power; particularly a copy of the Gospels of the Emperor Lothair, preserved in the same place (Fig. 263 *b*). A still more decided degeneracy and rudeness is exhibited in works of the time of Charles the Fat, as proved by the richly ornamented manuscripts of the Vulgate of St. Calixtus, now in the Benedictiue Monastery of San Paolo at Rome (Fig. 263 *a*).

Besides the Frankish illuminations of this late period the Irish productions deserve special prominence, as presenting a strong contrast to the style founded on the antique, and bringing, for the first time, a distinctly Northern national element into Christian art. They are, however, of such a curiously fantastic description, and admit such singular deviation from the laws of organic development, that they distort the lines of the human form into a mere combination of chirographic twists and turns, and tangle it in ribbon-like mazes, mingled with fanciful ornaments of snakes' and dragons' heads (Fig. 264). A perfect wealth of inventive power seems to be solely used to obliterate all traces of the natural development of the human organism, causing the lines of structure to deviate into all kinds of novel and curious complications. The oldest work of any importance illustrating this tendency is found in the evangelarium of St. Wilibrand, of the beginning of the eighth century, in the Paris Library. The illuminations of the so-called Cuthbert Book, an Anglo-Saxon evangelarium in the British Museum at London, belong to about

the same period. A good many other specimens, from the eighth to the tenth century, may be found in English libraries, as well as in the former Monastery of St. Gall, which was a colony of Irish monks.

The illuminations of the Anglo-Saxon school occupy a prominent position between the Frankish and Irish productions, adopting the fantastic methods of the Irish artists, though limiting it to the decorative adjuncts, and following in the symbolic figures the Byzantine conceptions then in use.

Fig. 264. Irish Miniature.

The Byzantine illuminations of this closing period give evidence of a surprising advance in mere technical skill. While their execution carries the neat and delicate elegance of this school to its highest state of perfection, the conception of figure and form betrays a decided reaction toward antique types, often reproducing them in a wonderfully spirited and attractive manner. We find again all the ancient personification of mountains and rivers, of mental conditions and moral attributes, often combined with freedom and vivacity of movement, which is only occasionally limited by deficient knowledge, or by conventional exaggerations of form. Among the numerous works of this description still to be seen are a manuscript of the sermons of Gregory of Nazianzen, dating from the ninth century, in the Paris Library, and an illuminated manuscript of Isaiah in the Library of the Vatican, from the close of the century following. A gradual decline in technical skill and in conception begins with the eleventh century, and the sinking Christian civilization of the East left all such art work to the narrow world of the monastery, though sometimes we encounter isolated works at later periods in which the traditions of ancient art are pervaded by a loftier energy.

The decorative work intended for the adornment of the sanctuary and the utensils employed in divine worship should be mentioned in conclusion, as especially indicative of the spirit of this epoch. It has already been observed that the Byzantine love of pomp delighted to make use of the most costly materials—precious metals, pearls, and gems—for such purposes. We are told of the Church of S. Sophia at Constantinople that the choir was screened off by silver columns and rails; that the golden altar, richly set with

precious stones, was crowned by a lofty silver tabernacle; and that hangings embroidered with gold veiled the openings between the tabernacle pillars. This love of splendor, beginning at Byzantium, quickly spread over Western Christendom. Everywhere the churches vied with each other in the costliness of their furnishing; everywhere the supreme desire to display the most sumptuous material resulted in subordinating artistic workmanship to the material employed. In the beginning of the ninth century, when, through the liberality of the Carlovingians, the bishops of Rome had come into possession of worldly power and an extensive realm, the churches in

Fig. 265. Crown of St. Stephen of Hungary.

Rome especially had a profusion of decoration lavished upon them. The Church of St. Peter was fitted up with a costly magnificence that defies description. The doors were overlaid with silver plates; so also the pavement before the crypt of S. Peter, and the cross-beam beneath the triumphal arch; while the crypt itself was paved with plates of gold, not to mention countless utensils in gold and silver, and lamps and candelabra, altar vestments and images, of the same precious metals. Although figures in relievo and sculptured ornaments of different description were of frequent occurrence on these articles, the impression they made was more picturesque than plastic; and the combination of various precious metals, pearls, and variegated gems, added to the frequent ornaments in exquisite enamel proved the delight that was felt in glowing effects of color. The frontal of the high altar of Sant' Ambrogio at Milan—dating

from the first half of the ninth century, and ascribed to a certain Master Wolvinus—and the Pala d'Oro of St. Mark's in Venice—made at Constantinople in the eleventh century—give some idea of these magnificent objects. The so-called Dalmatica of Charlemagne, in the treasury of St. Peter's at Rome, may be mentioned as a specimen of the gorgeous vestments of this period, as it certainly does not date back farther than the twelfth century.

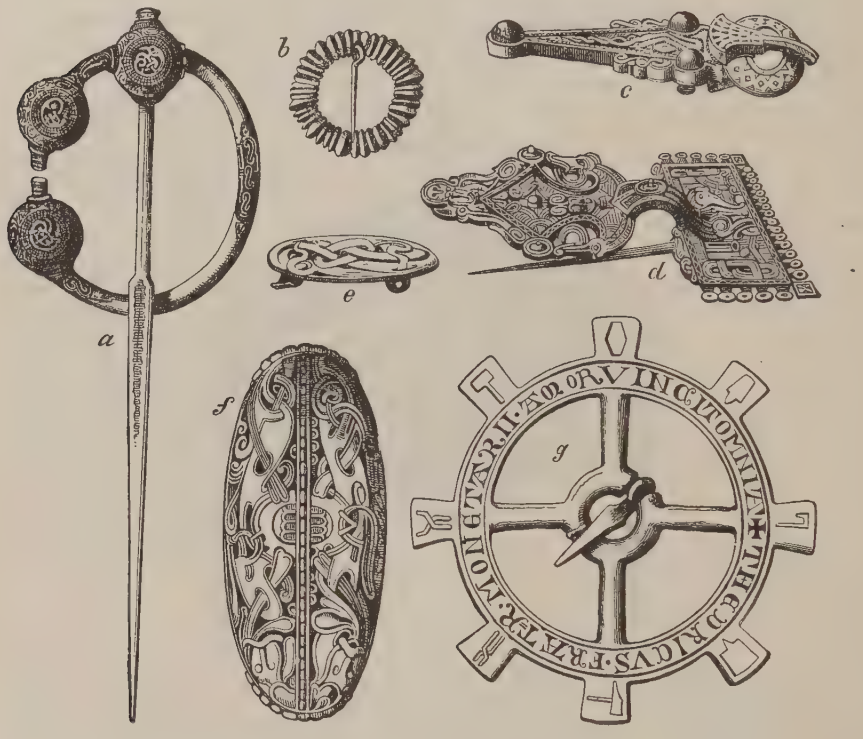


Fig. 266. German Pins and Brooches.

The same love of pomp soon spread among the Northern peoples —the German, Slav, and other nations—not confining itself to ecclesiological purposes alone, but also entering into the needs of secular life. Byzantine art, with the advantages of technical perfection and splendor of its goldsmith's work, was admirably fitted to satisfy all such demands; and it was well calculated to enchant the eyes of the half-civilized peoples who were crowding upon the borders of the Empire by its use of pearls and gems, colored enamels, and *nielli* (metal inlaid with ornaments or figures in black), as well as by its filigree work (metallic threads of great delicacy soldered

in an infinite variety of patterns), producing a rich polychromatic effect, conceived after the model and in the spirit of old Eastern art; pleasing the barbarian with these, just as it still affords the keenest pleasure to the cultivated taste by the harmony of its effect and the skill of its masterly execution. The crown of St. Stephen of Hungary, the first Christian king (Fig. 265), carefully preserved in the Royal Palace at Ofen (Buda), on the right bank of the Danube, is a specimen of the work in question. To all appearances, the golden hoop at the base, with the battlement ornaments above, forms that part which was sent to Hungary in 1075 as a gift from the Byzantine emperor, Michael Ducas; while the perhaps more ancient crossing arches, with the rest of the upper portion, were doubtless a later addition. The circlet is a most superb piece of workmanship, in true Byzantine style, set with sapphires alternating with enameled decorations. The crown, supposed to have been Charlemagne's, in the imperial treasure chamber at Vienna, is a similar production of Byzantine workmanship.

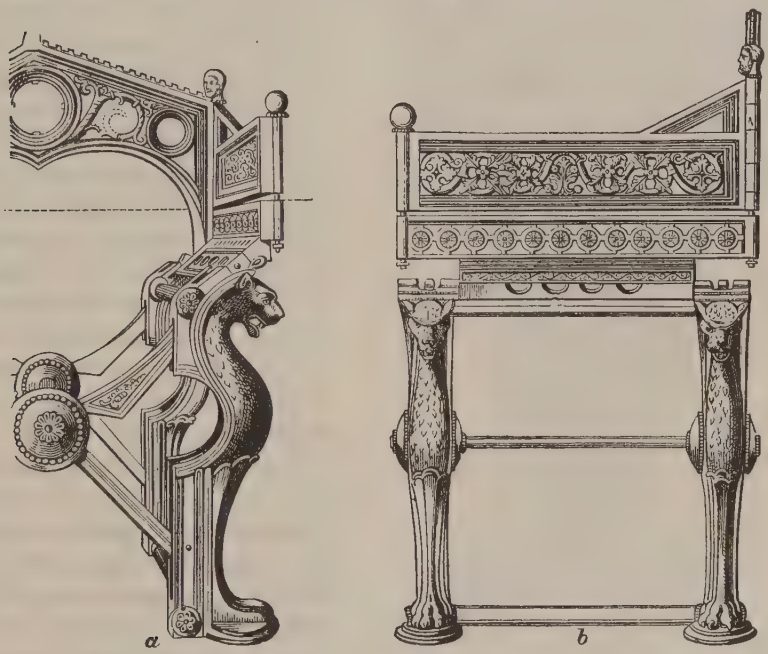
In the case of the Northern nations, however, this Byzantine art is connected with an original, individual decorative style, the earliest examples of which we find in the many bronze, gold, and silver utensils and ornaments discovered in Germanic and Celtic tombs. A great quantity of such objects have been found in Germany, Switzerland, England, and the Scandinavian North, which must be assigned to the epoch extending from the downfall of the Roman power to the Carlovingian age. We have already met with a suggestion of this Northern tendency in art in the Irish illuminations, though it is true that these furnish a most extreme and one-sided illustration. Nevertheless, the same order of taste, even apart from these exaggerations, was common to all the Northern nations—to the Germans as well as the Celts—and called forth productions in the field of artistic handicraft to which we cannot deny a certain ornate fascination and the merit of original conception. This style is particularly well exemplified in the personal ornaments—diadems, necklaces, and bracelets—which it produced, especially in the large pins (*fibulæ*) used for fastening the mantle upon the breast or shoulder, and in the various brooches and belt-clasps. Their shapes are generally imitated from Roman models; but, in ornamentation, a style predominates that is so far a departure from the antique as to be almost the opposite of it. While the antique aims at a fine plastic development, adapted to a massive sculptured decoration, in imitation of natural objects—such as leaves, flowers, and figures—these Germanic ornaments incline to a form with many flat surfaces, adapted for decoration of a more grotesque character. Every variety of

geometrical figure—curves, points, zigzags, circles, and spirals (Fig. 266 *c, d*), was brought into play for this purpose; though most frequent use was made of those twistings and windings of scroll-like ornamentation which play so conspicuous a part in the Irish manuscripts. The primitive craft of plaiting ribbons or thongs is evidently the origin of this design; though its surface character, strictly adhered to, shows that the style was first introduced into the realm of art through wood carving. The speculative character of Northern nations, their delight in anything fantastic, their predilection for combinations which should give expression to their subjective mood and disposition, evidently gave rise to this tendency, with its capacity for infinite variation, leaving the inventive genius the utmost liberty; while the realm of natural organism, on the other hand, restrains the creative faculty by its fixed laws. When snakes and birds, heads of men or animals, are occasionally brought in, it is done in a fantastically capricious way, as an altogether subordinate portion of the whole.

Fig. 267. Gold Tankard from Nagy Szent Miklós. (Vienna.)

The technical skill and the traditions of Byzantine art began to be employed upon this ornamental style as the Northern nations attained a certain capacity for culture, and came into closer contact with the ancient civilizations, especially as represented by Byzantium. Whether Byzantine artists endeavored to assimilate this Northern taste, or Northern goldsmiths appropriated the Byzantine technical methods, amalgamating them with their native ideas of form, the fact remains, that in many different places, from the Rhenish provinces deep into the steppes of Hungary and Roumania, ample and most certain proofs have been found that this combination did take place. They offer a visible commentary on the accounts of contemporaneous writers, who could not say enough of the absorbing passion

for gold, costly raiment, and barbaric pomp. The ornaments of the Frank king, Childeric (died 481), found in his grave at Tournay, and preserved in the Louvre, are of this description; and so are the Merovingian golden ornaments of Wienwerd, now in the Museum at Leyden; the treasure of Gourdon, which probably belonged to the Burgundian monarch Sigismund, now in the Museum of the Louvre; and, above all, the magnificent treasures of Guarrazar, near Toledo, found about 1860; a part of which have also found their way to Paris, and are in the Cluny Museum. The principal pieces in the last-named collection are several golden crowns, designed to be sus-



a, Front view of one-half of Throne; *b*, side view.

Fig. 268. The Throne of Dagobert. Louvre.

pended over the altars, one of which bears the inscribed name of Receswinth, king of the Visigoths (died 672). Similar objects discovered in the same place, among them a crown with the name of King Svinthila, found their way into the royal collection of arms at Madrid.

Some recently discovered treasures in more easterly provinces fairly rival these Western remains, displying the same decorative motive—the whimsical contortion of lines, the heads of birds and snakes—combined with the use of colored glass and with precious stones.

As specimens, we may name the ornaments in the Museum at Pesth, discovered on the Puszta* Bakod, and those dug up some time since at Petrossa in Wallachia, in the Museum of Bucharest; especially, however, the so-called "Treasure of Attila," found at Nagy Szent Miklós in Hungary in 1799, now in the Imperial cabinet of antiquities in Vienna,† comprising no less than twenty-three gold vessels, with a total weight of 1678½ ducats; splendid specimens of embossed work, with remnants of decoration in enamel, richly adorned with figural and ornamental representations, in which antique reminiscences, Oriental influences, and Northern barbaric elements are curiously blended (Fig. 267).

Fig. 269. Tassilo's Goblet. Kremsmünster.

That there was no lack of native workers in gold, capable of producing all these splendid objects, is evident from the history of St. Eligius, who, in the seventh century, served the kings Dagobert and Clotaire by his artistic labors; and whose virtues not only raised him to the rank of a bishop, but made a saint of him as well. Since he is said to have made a golden seat for the first-named king, the conclusion has been arrived at, without any further foundation, that the chair preserved in the Louvre — originally from the Abbey of S. Denis, and described, according to an old tradition, as the throne of Dagobert—is the very one that came from the hands of St. Eligius. However that may be, this exquisite piece of bronze (Fig. 268) is an evidence of the artistic skill of the period and at the same time of the still vital influence exercised by classic ideas; for the shape of the folding stool, and the noble modeling of the whole, especially the

* Puszta, the great Hungarian Plain.

† Published in the work by Arneth, and again, with due regard to all works of the same kind, in J. Hampel's "Der Goldfund von Nagy Szent Miklós"; Budapest, 1886.

supports formed like panthers' heads, follow ancient tradition, while the only original motive is found in the ornamentation of the back and arms.

Another production, bringing before us the metal work of the Carlovingian epoch, is still more remarkable. This is the chalice belonging to the convent at Kremsmünster in Upper Bavaria, with an inscription representing it as a gift of Duke Tassilo, who, as he was deposed in 788, must have founded the monastery before that date. The chalice is of copper, with inlaid work of silver *niello*. At the foot are the half-figures of four saints, while on the upper portion Christ and the evangelists appear; all the intermediate spaces being filled in with line patterns and intricate scroll work, while fantastic images of dragons decorate the upper rim (Fig. 269). This style of ornament, as well as the barbaric crudeness of the figures, betrays the hand of a native artist, affected by the artistic influence of the Irish monks, just then potent in Southern Germany. The Lombard master who, somewhat later, executed the ciborium above the high altar for Sant' Ambrogio in Milan, already mentioned, was more moderate and more in accord with antique traditions. But even he delights to make use of the Germanic scroll and braided decorations in the ornamental setting of his work—a new proof of the still-existing strife between ancient methods and the Germanic tendency of idea, an artistic mean between them not having yet been discovered.

If we survey early Christian art as a whole, it cannot be denied that, upheld by a fresh inspiration, it starts vigorously on its course, creates grand fundamental forms, and produces a new world of ideal subjects; but, losing its force too soon, degenerates alike in spirit and performance dragged down by the growing barbarism of the people, the loss of national life, and the breaking up of the antique social order with no new system to replace it. The civilized nations of the ancient world had exhausted themselves; and it was out of the question for them, even under the inspiration of a new religious idea, to shape out a radically fresh life. Yet they were able to produce, as types for the future, a plan for churches suited to ritual worship, and countless plastic and artistic forms; and that they were able to do this with the means still offered by ancient art is perhaps the most striking proof of its exhaustless vitality. Herein, however, lay the limits of their capacity.

The Germanic peoples had developed too little, as yet, to be able to cast a decisive weight in the scale of artistic progress. Even in political life they fell back upon reminiscences of the Roman ages, as is evident from Charlemagne's restoration of the empire of the

Cæsars; how much greater reason that they should have succumbed in art to the preponderating influence of ancient tradition in its early Christian mold and setting! And even in cases where we notice a first influx of the peculiarly German artistic spirit, it was still too unschooled, too fantastically lawless, to rise to any noble and thoroughly consistent creations. To satisfy the spiritual needs of an independent artistic system, an epoch of a different character was needed—one in which the rule of ancient civilization should exercise a less universal influence, and in which the independent strength of the Germanic races should make itself felt in new political relations. It is the great merit of early Christian art that it established, for that later period, those great fundamental laws out of which was to be developed a creative system of inexhaustible richness and variety.

Chapter II.

MOHAMMEDAN ART.*

1. *Character and Artistic Faculty of the Arabs.*

MONOTHEISM was to be presented to the Orient in a different form from that in which it was introduced into Christendom. It is true that the East had not been absolutely closed to the Christian doctrine; but numerous quarrels and heresies had soon disfigured its original form, and it was reserved for Mohammed to spread the belief in a single God among Oriental peoples.

From time immemorial, the faith of Abraham had formed a part of a curious mixture of beliefs which prevailed in Arabia and the neighboring lands of Syria and the Sinaitic peninsula. Many Arabs traced their descent from Abraham, while their language, too, belonged to the Semitic group. A rude idolatry, and side by side with it the Chaldean worship of the heavenly bodies, had become generally prevalent; and even believers in the Mosaic and Christian doctrine were not wanting. In religion, as well as in other respects, the people of Arabia were split up into many, and for the most part hostile, races, that wasted their strength in the most bitter feuds. Then it was that Mohammed, with his fiery enthusiasm, fanned the pure ancient faith of his race into a flame, and by strength of conviction and the power of the sword spread it, under the form of a new doctrine, throughout Arabia.

The character of the country and of its inhabitants was favorable to such an enterprise. A rocky, barren plateau, without rivers and without good harbors, Arabia lies removed from the ocean, although surrounded on three sides by arms of the sea. Thus it was that the spirit of its people was not drawn away from home by the pursuit of navigation, but turned naturally to the roving life of the nomad. In the boundless dreariness of the desert, under a brilliant and cloudless firmament in which glowed both the constellations of the northern

* Prisse d'Avennes, "L'art Arabe d'après les monuments du Caire depuis le VIIème siècle jusqu'à la fin du XVIIIème." Bourgoin, J., "Les arts Arabes." Gayet, Al., "L'art Arabe"; "L'art Persan." Lane, E. W., "Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians." Lane-Poole, S., "Art of the Saracens in Egypt."

and the southern hemisphere, a type of mind was developed equally capable of fantastic enthusiasm and keen, acute metaphysical speculation. Just as no definite lines mark the horizon of the son of the desert, and no varied configuration of the ground and no rich vegetable world offer a resting-spot for his gaze, the contemplation of which would lead him to establish any laws of form; so, too, his spiritual eye sweeps over a boundless realm, his fantasy dwells on what is formless and limitless, wandering restlessly from one point of view to another without finding that repose which is necessary to the creation of lasting, definite figures.

In this lies an intimate relationship to the character of the Israelite race; in this the origin of that abstract monotheism which was common to both nations from the earliest times, and of that cult without pictorial symbols that became firmly established among them both. That primitive black stone in Mecca—which tradition connects with Adam, and which the Arabs honored long before the time of Mohammed in the holy sanctuary of the Kaaba—was an expression of this worship that renounced pictures; and although, in the course of time, the large number of three hundred figures of idols had gathered about it, the worship of these was, after all, merely a relapse of the surrounding heathen tribes into polytheism—just as the Israelites had succumbed to a similar temptation. But that the belief in the supremacy of an undivided godhead still continued to live in Arabia in the hearts of many, though it had become mixed with Pagan and even Christian elements, only proves more decidedly how necessary a monotheistic religion was to this people.

In the doctrine of Mohammed that religion received more definite and intelligible shape, and exhibited in its essentials, and especially in regard to the belief in a resurrection and an immortal life, a foundation closely allied to that of Christianity; but in its expression it was adapted to the life of the Orient, at the same time more abstract and more sensual than that of the West. The former characteristic was satisfied by the absolute unity of the Divine Being in the religious system of Mohammed; the latter by the acceptation of the fatalistic principle, and by a thoroughly sensual description of the other world, often accepted as literally accurate, however symbolical its purpose. Notwithstanding the fact that a moral direction is not wanting to Islamism, and that bravery, generosity, hospitality, truth, and magnanimity are inculcated in every Moslem, this singular mixture in the religion of Mohammed makes it lack that higher moral consecration which is inherent in the teachings of Christ. Quite in accordance with this was the manner in which the Prophet spread his belief, by calling to his aid not only peaceful

propagandism, but fire and sword, and by exciting the fanaticism of his followers to a bloody religious war. Once carried away by the fiery excitement of religious ecstasy, and tempted by the immeasurable treasures of the empires which were to be conquered, the Arabs burst like a destroying storm upon the decrepit Byzantine powers, as well as upon the effete Oriental empires; and so irresistible was this attack, that at the death of Omar, the second successor of the Prophet (in the year 644), thirty-four years after the first appearance of Mohammed, the possessions of Islam stretched from the Indian Ocean to the Caucasus, and comprised not only Arabia, Syria, and Palestine, but also the great empire of the Persians, Egypt, and the northern coast of Africa. And scarcely a hundred years had passed since the first weak beginnings of Mohammedanism, when it had conquered, besides, the huge region of India as far as the Ganges on the east, and the whole of North Africa, Sicily, and Spain on the west.

When the Arabs overflowed the extensive region, in parts of which a mighty and peculiar civilization had already erected its magnificent monuments, they were still a simple, primitive people, half warlike and half nomadic, and lacking in all higher education. It is therefore no wonder that they yielded to the influence of foreign culture; and thus this influence was especially supreme in all that regarded building and fine art. They themselves no more possessed a national art of their own than did the Israelites, and for the same reason. As a consequence of this, they often made use of Christian churches for their worship, or employed architects from the court of Byzantium to build their mosques. But they refrained from all pictorial representations; and a law of Mohammed forbade their use with no less severity than the tables of the Mosaic law had done. It was not alone the fear of relapsing into heathen worship that occasioned this prohibition; but it was, like their whole inartistic religious system, a result of the abstract bent of mind of the Arabs, as well as of the incapacity of their measureless, wandering fantasy to crystallize into a plastic conception. These sharp contrasts in the character of the Arabs created similar contrasts in their spiritual life. Burning sensuality and severe asceticism, passionate love of action and profound lethargy, follow closely one upon the other. These qualities made them especially inclined to poetical contemplation; and indeed, we find poetical contests among them even in the earliest times, at which their poets related to the assembled people the deeds and the fame of their race; while the poems victorious in these competitions were worked on silk, and hung up in the Kaaba.

The peculiar bent of mind of the Arabs had, on the other hand,

no conspicuous capacity for plastic art. In consequence of the prohibition of pictures—and still more of plastic representations of natural form—all artistic enterprise was confined to architecture. But in respect to this, they adopted, for the most part, the style which they found already existing and in use in their conquered territories. Thus in Egypt they ignored the ancient monuments, and adopted everything from the native or Coptic form of Byzantine art, while in India the Hindoo and Buddhist arts, neither of them wholly foreign to the practice of the time, are found mingled in the Moslem monuments. In the same way as their religion, their style of architecture was a mixture of different elements; and just as the world of their fancy was a restlessly moving and unlimited one, so is their architecture full of fluctuation and arbitrary whim, as if it were

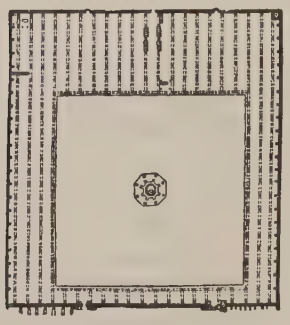


Fig. 270. Mosque of Amru in Old Cairo.

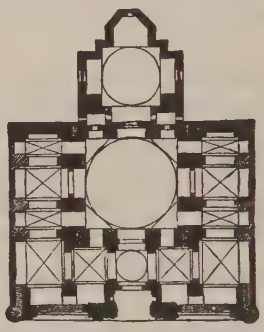


Fig. 271. Mosque at Tabriz.

altogether without laws. That sharply defined type is lacking which can only be produced when the creative faculty, aided by carefully trained study, becomes crystallized in definite forms. Instead of this, the architecture of Mohammedan peoples exhibits exactly the same combination of sharp contrasts which belong to their intellectual nature—bald, dry exteriors with fantastic and over-ornamented interiors; monotonous, dreary masses, and an enchantingly variegated, brilliant ornamentation; a death-like rigidity, and an inexhaustibly rich life.

2. *Mohammedan Architecture.*

The development of Mohammedan architecture had its origin in religious needs, which corresponded, in many respects, to those of Christianity. A special hall (*mihrab*) for prayer, with a separate holy place (*kiblah*) where the Koran is kept, is a first

requisite of every mosque. Connected with this is a large court, with a fountain for the ablutions of the pilgrims. Towers, called in Europe minarets, from whose tops the muezzin might summon the faithful to prayer, were introduced at a somewhat later time; and in many cases, moreover, a mausoleum of the founder is joined to the rest of the building. But Mohammedan art has never succeeded in developing from these first principles any definite and striking model for its houses of worship. If the most important requisites of a culture are satisfied—if, especially, the general direction of the hall of prayer only points toward holy Mecca—great freedom is allowed in the further development of the plan. In spite of this, however, it is possible to reduce the forms of mosques to two types—either those having a large and almost square court, surrounded by corridors that have a greater depth on the side of the interior sanctuary — like the Mosque of Amru at ancient Cairo (Fig. 270); or those built according to the Byzantine model, around a central dome—like that at Tabriz (Fig. 271). The first of these types allows of the effect producible by constant depiction of one form, monotony, a valuable motive of design, and giving a sense of unlimited space within the other is not necessarily less valuable than was the Christian design which it followed; but no new constructive system is exhibited in the artistic execution of these plans. The artistic sense of the Moslem conquerors was not constant enough to benefit architecture much in a constructive sense; while the very mobility of their fancy caused them to add many original devices to architectural tradition. Details were new, if the structure was not. In the halls and arcades demanded by the mosques, a multifarious style of column and pier architecture was employed; but the connection was seldom made by semicircular or segmental arches. Bolder and more complicated forms were more acceptable to their restless fancy; and thus arose the pointed arch, consisting of two united segments of a circle, permitting either a sharply tapering form or a more extended breadth of span, and seen

Fig. 272. Arch at Tarragona.

to be stronger than the semicircular form. The horseshoe arch (Fig. 272) consists of a segment of a circle extending beyond the semicircle, thus gaining in lightness and fantastic spirit, and it was easy to combine these two forms. Finally, we have the four-centered arch, ending in a point (Fig. 273). The partiality of the Orient for rich, flowing, luxuriantly swelling lines shows itself in all these forms.

In covering their structures, they either followed the system of wooden roofs that prevailed in the primitive Christian basilica, or

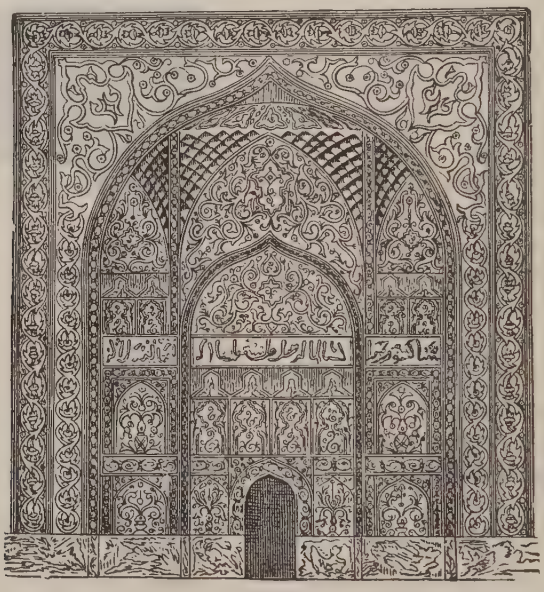


Fig. 273. Portal at Iconium.

the Byzantine system of domes. Domes were employed in connected rows to cover arcades and extensive halls, as well as over the principal room, the fountain in the court, or the tomb of the founder. In all these cases they follow the construction made use of by the Byzantines; and only the form of the exterior, when it is so placed as to be especially conspicuous, has a sharply tapering, or frequently an undulating, convex outline, which, agreeing with the lines of the arch, is a new evidence of the peculiar fantastic tendency of the Oriental mind.

Together with these plain, traditional styles of roofing, there sprang up among the Mohammedans, at a very early date, a form of vaulting that belongs exclusively to them. It had its origin in a group

of separate vaulted niches that ranged in overhanging tiers, combined to form a richly proportioned and brilliant whole, not unlike the cells of bees or a stalactite grotto. They were employed in various ways, especially to fill out the pendentives of the domes and to afford a pleasing transition from a square to a circle; but often the whole sides of arches, and even entire ceilings and domes, consist of these exquisitely fanciful stalactite vaultings. The idea is carried out, in later buildings, in a purely ornamental way, the stalactite corbels and arches being generally made of light material, like plaster and stucco; but their decorative effect, heightened by a variegated wealth of color and by gilding, is all the greater on this account. They are, however, seen to advantage in connection with the entire decorative system of Mohammedan buildings; and it is in this system that the peculiar life of the Mohammedan style consists.

The ornamentation of this style does not, as in antique art, form a part of the development of the real architectural framework, but tends to expend itself upon the decoration of the surface only. The walls are covered with an inexhaustible wealth of charming forms of variegated patterns; so that one is reminded of the gorgeous carpets of the Orient and of the light tents of the nomadic wanderers. The imagination of the Western Asiatic, however, is too mobile and superficial to permit him to conceive and to complete in detail actual material figures, whether taken from the animal or the vegetable kingdom. The forms of plants and animals are treated, as a rule, in a conventional and fantastic manner with all sorts of mazy lines and richly intermingling geometrical figures (Fig. 273). One figure melts into the other; there is that perpetual flight and pursuit, jostling and turmoil of forms, in which the restless fancy and the speculative brain of the race take such delight. Gilding and gorgeous colors, generally in strong, well-defined tints, accompany these caprices of form; their tapestry-like regularity and repetition giving the eye, as it were, a consciousness of repose. This rich system of ornamentation is so arranged, in combination with the general features of the structure, as to follow the lines of the arches; so that the frieze-like stripes formed by the decorations give a frame and border to the arched openings, while sometimes the whole surface of a wall is surrounded by such intertwisted patterns. The separate openings in the arches also have rectangular borders of richly designed patterns; so that, although no severe constructive law is apparent, there is a kind of system, a certain graceful proportion, that maintains law and order in this bright play of ornament. All the wall surfaces, the intrados of the arches, the borders of the separate arches in the arcades, and

the frame that encloses them (see Fig. 273) are covered with this brilliant decoration; and among them are scattered numerous passages from the Koran and the poets in the plain, sharply defined Kufic character, or the fantastic letters of the later Arabic running hand, so arranged as to form friezes and frames, and to delight the eye as well as to satisfy the contemplative mind. All this richness adorns the interior only. The outside is generally treated with severe simplicity; so that a sharp contrast is apparent also in this matter. Yet the architecture of Islam knows how to produce a vigorous artistic effect, when this is necessary, even in exteriors, by means of lofty niches at the sides of the portals, which are often richly ornamented by fantastically shaped finials, and occasionally by open corridors or stately domes.

3. Its Monuments.

A.—IN EGYPT AND SICILY.

All that has been preserved of the most ancient monuments of Moslem architecture in Palestine and Syria gives evidence of the uncertain and dependent condition of this still youthful art. Thus the Kaaba at Mecca is thoroughly primitive, and built after an entirely archaic fashion; while the Mosque El Aksa, on the Mountain of the Temple at Jerusalem, which originally had five, and afterward seven, naves, imitates in its essential features the model of Christian basilicas, although with the addition of a small cupola at one end. And this is likewise the case with the great Mosque of Caliph Walid at Damascus, which is considered an imitation of the former. These two are of the first century of the Mohammedan era, which begins with the Hegira, the flight of Mohammed from Mecca to Medinah, 622 A.D. The so-called Mosque of Omar—that is to say, the Sachra-Mosque (Kubbet-es-Sahra) at Jerusalem, built by the Caliph Abdelmelek, in the year 688, on the site of Solomon's Temple—must be regarded as one of the most important works of this early period. As we now see it, the design is of the ninth century A.D.; for the restorations by Saladin after the Christians were finally expelled (1187 A.D.) may be thought to have changed the artistic character of the building. It seems to be, at least, possible to detect Byzantine influence in its model and construction. Around the celebrated rock with the "noble cave" there extends a rotunda 66 feet in diameter, the modern wooden dome of which, together with the upper walls, is supported by twelve Corinthian columns and four piers placed between them. A broad

octagonal corridor, divided into two naves by an octagonal wall resting upon eight piers and sixteen columns, incloses the interior structure. These outer rows of supports, the columns of which are surmounted by imposts, and which are connected with the piers by architraves, and above these, again, by supporting arches, betray a pronounced Byzantine style.* A gorgeous mosaic decoration, a part of which belongs to the time when the building was erected, adorns the interior.

It was in Egypt that the newfound art first crystallized into a settled and clearly defined system, and showed really imposing results. Here, in the presence of the deep impressiveness and solidity of the works of the Pharaohs, Mohammedan architecture attained a surprising greatness. A massive structure of squared stone, with heavy piers, is the general form of these remains, in which the clear, well-defined form of the pointed arch is seen for the first time. A number of magnificent structures sprang up here, and made Cairo, the new capital of the country, one of the handsomest cities of the empire. Among the mosques which at this early period followed the simple ground-plan of a court surrounded by halls, one of the most important is that of Amru, which was founded immediately after the conquest of the country (in the year 643), and which was considerably enlarged in the succeeding period. About a quadrangular court, the sides of which are nearly 245 feet long, and in the middle of which there is a fountain (see plan, Fig. 270), stretches a corridor, the columns of which are arranged on the front, in a single row, on the left in four, and on the right in three; while in the Hall of Prayer they stand in six rows. They are all taken from ancient buildings and differ in form and height, though the latter is now made uniform by means of pedestals or bases of different sizes. That a greater height may be attained, tall cubical imposts are set upon the capitals; and from them rise the arches of the arcades, horseshoe-shaped, but pointed at the summit (Fig. 274). The stability of the columns is secured by wooden braces stretching from one to the other. Since we find in this case ancient architectural materials employed as we have seen it in the primitive Christian basilicas, we can but consider the Mosque of Ibn-Tulum, of the year 885, a specimen of greater

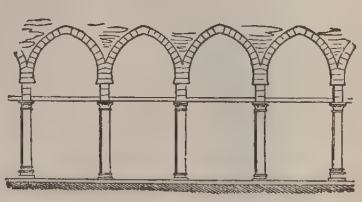


Fig. 274. Arcades of the Mosque Amru.

* See de Vogüé, "Les Eglises de la Terre-Sainte." Fergusson, "History of Architecture in All Countries," ed. 1893, vol. ii., p. 32 ff.

importance; for in the latter we find a complete example of a new and original architectural form in the building of a huge pier structure, with columns gracefully built into the corners of the piers, and richly ornamented arches. The model of the whole building corresponds to that of the one mentioned above, as is shown by Fig. 275, which gives a view of the court surrounded by arcades, of the powerful arches, the rich parapet work on the tops of the walls, the minaret rising in several tiers with its spiral outside stairway, and the solid monumental form of the dome.

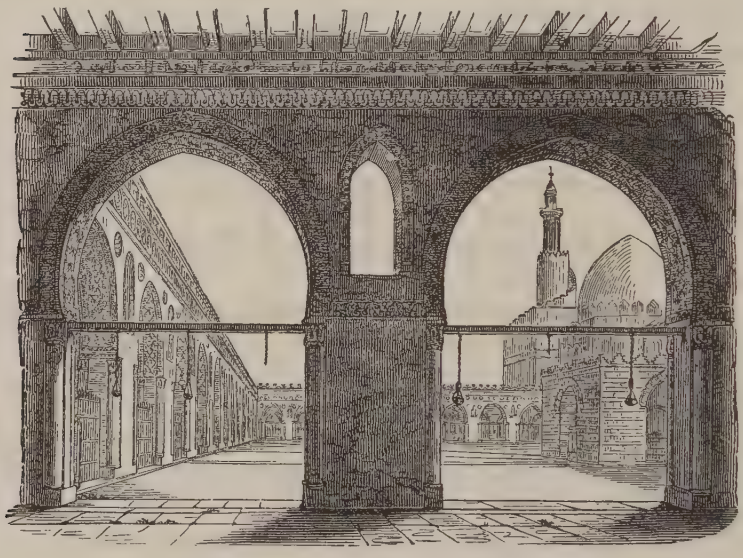


Fig. 275. From the Mosque Ibn-Tulum.

The magnificent mausoleums of the caliphs near Cairo date from the eleventh century, and are stately domes of a simple model resting on square foundations. A delicate parapet borders the quadrangular wall, from which begins, in a series of fantastic forms, the transition to the overarching rounded dome. A lofty portal, richly ornamented with stalactite vaulting, forms the entrance. As works of a later period we may mention the Mosque of Barkauk, of the year 1149, whose arcades are crowned with domes; the exceedingly magnificent Mosque of Hassan, of the fourteenth century; and finally the Mosque El Moyed, of the fifteenth century, in which the spacious halls are supported by columns, and the ceilings and walls are brilliantly decorated.

The Arabs forced their way into Sicily* as early as the year 827, and there founded a civilization which for nearly three centuries steadily continued to increase in splendor. The few remains, however, which have survived the storms of ages, cannot even be traced back to the time of the Arab supremacy, though their character would indicate that they belong to that period. The most important relic of the kind is Zisa, a villa situated in the neighborhood of Palermo. In spite of modern changes it is impossible to mistake the expression of Eastern architectural spirit in the arrangement of the ground-plan (Fig. 276), and in the general character of the whole. Masses of bare, unbroken wall rise to a height of about 88 feet. Pavilions project like balconies from the two shorter sides; while in the middle of the façade, which is 112 feet long, there is a lofty portal bordered by double pillars. It leads to a vestibule somewhat resembling a

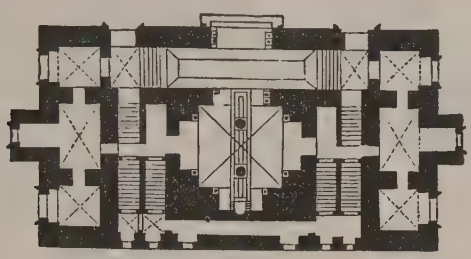


Fig. 276. Ground-Plan of Zisa.

corridor, and from this to a quadrangular saloon provided with niches and a fountain, and having a ceiling vaulted in the form of a cross. Although it has been for the greater part destroyed and afterward restored, this room, with its stalactite vaulting, its mosaic frieze, the rich panelling of the walls, and its marble columns let in at the corners and at the sides of the portal—evidently bearing a close resemblance to the method used in the Mosque of Ibn-Tulum —gives evidence of the former charm of its arrangement, which is heightened in its artistic attractiveness by the soft murmur of the fountain and by the luxuriance of the surrounding country, fair as the garden of Paradise. The Villa Kuba, also situated near Palermo, is a smaller building of a similar kind. According to its Moorish inscription, however, it only dates back to the time of the Normans, and was built by King William II.

* Gally Knight, "Saracenic and Norman Remains in Sicily"; London. Hittorf et Zanth, "Architecture Moderne de la Sicile." Salazaro, "Studi sui Monumenti del' Italia Meridionale."

B.—IN SPAIN.*

Mohammedan art nowhere exhibits so varied splendor as in the Pyrenean peninsula. The conquest of the country took place as early as the beginning of the eighth century; and until the fall of Granada, in the year 1492—a period of over seven hundred years—it remained in uninterrupted possession of the Moors, who founded

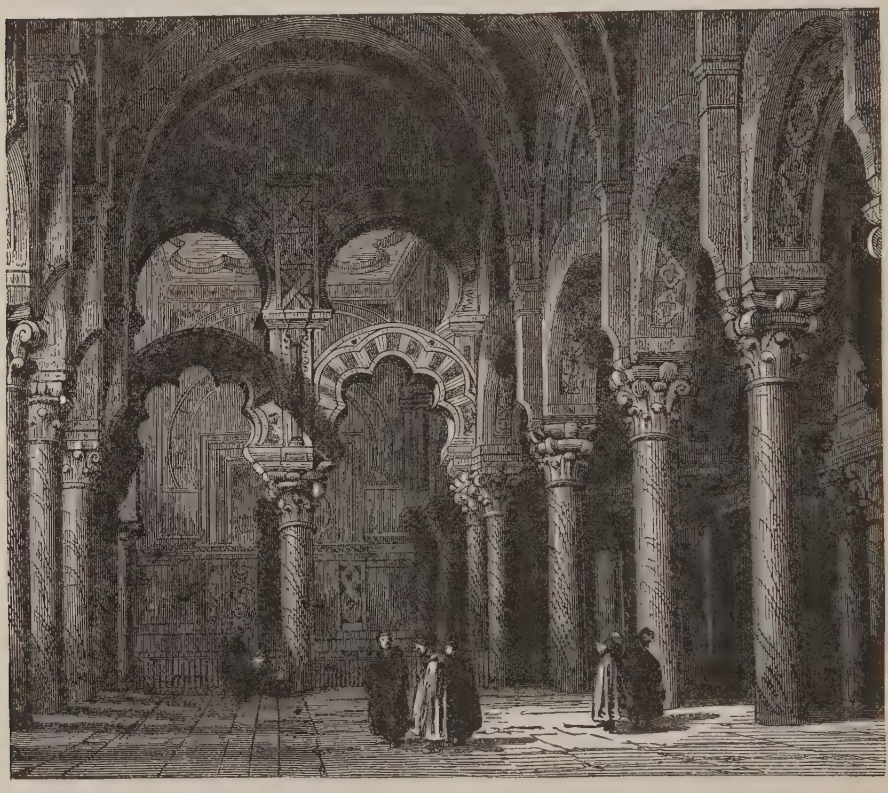


Fig. 277. Mosque at Cordova.

there an independent caliphate under Abderrhaman. The proximity of the Christian Occident, and the constant intercourse, both warlike and peaceful, with the Christian knights, gave a strong infusion of Occidental spirit to Moorish life, and at the same time brought

*G. de Prangey, "Essai sur l'Arch. des Arabes en Espagne, en Sicile," etc. Al. de Laborde, "Voyage Pitt. et Hist. de l'Espagne." Villa-Amil, "España artistica y monumental." Caveda, "Ensayo sobre los diversos Generos de Arquitectura en España"; German trans., ed. by F. Kugler. See also the "Monumentos arquitectónicos di España." Murphy, "Arabian Antiquities of Spain." Jones, Owen, "Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Details of the Alhambra."

about a more logical process of development than Moorish art had ever before passed through. A noble, genial, and high-hearted spirit characterized the epoch of Moorish supremacy in Spain, and found its expression in chivalry, in the high cultivation of the country, in science, in poetry, and in art. Architecture shared to the full in these notable advantages.

Soon after the conquest of the country, Abderrhaman, who came to the throne in 786, built in Cordova, the capital city of Moorish Spain, a magnificent mosque, which he resolved should equal the celebrated sanctuaries of Jerusalem and Damascus (Fig. 277). It consisted of a great hall, having a depth of eleven rows of columns, and a central nave somewhat broader than the others. All these

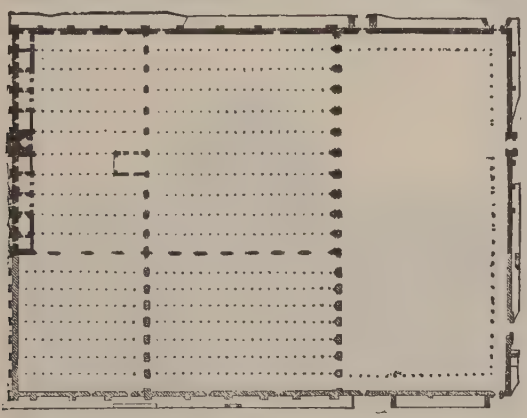


Fig. 278. Ground-Plan of the Mosque at Cordova.

naves opened on an inclosed court which measured about a third of the entire length. In the tenth century, eight more naves were added; so that the whole breadth then comprised nineteen, and the ground-plan of the building measured 560 feet in length by 400 in width. Notwithstanding these vast dimensions, the height of the naves, which are about twenty feet broad, is only about 30 feet; and even this height is only made possible by an exceedingly ingenious and artistic construction. As the antique columns used in the work were only about ten feet long, an ingeniously composed superstructure was added to them. Heavy arches with five-lobed (cinqfoil) inner edge, and having the alternate stones of each arch carved in low relief, spring from the capitals. Between each pair of these arches is a heavy pier adorned with a half-column on either face, and from the classical-looking capitals of these, and from the keystones of the

arches between them, there spring the arches of two other arcades which interlace. This is the system of the central nave; that of the rest of the mosque is simpler but is in like manner piled up with arcade above arcade, so that the short principal columns form only one-third of the height from floor to roof.

The forms of this construction are much more richly developed in the room at the end of the central nave, the so-called chapel Villa Viciosa, which is considerably higher, and crowned by a dome. Here the arches intertwine still more gracefully, and are fantastically formed of a scallop-like series of separate segments of circles, built of white stone and red brick alternating—a design which, in connection with the magnificent ornamentation of the walls, the variegated mosaics, and the rich gilding, produces a most brilliant effect. At the back rises the little octagonal kiblah, the dome of which is peculiarly curved like a shell, and is carved from a single block of

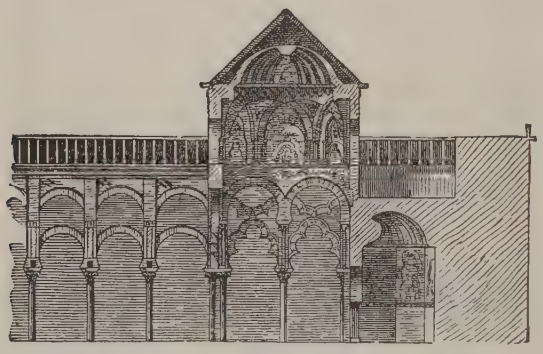


Fig. 279. Section of the Mosque of Cordova.

marble (Fig. 279). These splendidly executed parts belong to a later period of architecture—to the tenth and eleventh centuries. Nevertheless, their details show a decided Byzantine influence; and in like manner the columns of the whole extensive building are copied partly from the antique, and partly from the Byzantine treatment of the antique. Although the mosque was turned into a Christian cathedral after the capture of the city, the changes made were chiefly in the construction, exactly in the middle of the building, of a choir and great chapel in a totally different style. It retains, in all important respects, its original characteristics—a certain severe solemnity and mystic dignity, which receive an enchantingly picturesque and fantastic charm from the wonderfully rich perspective effect of the eight hundred and fifty columns in their double and triple tiers of arches. The outside, on the other hand, is here, as usual, without

ornamentation, cold and bare, only relieved by powerful buttresses, and crowned by a parapet of forked battlements.

The buildings of Seville, where a magnificent mosque was erected toward the end of the twelfth century, the remains of which are still preserved in the northeast part of the cathedral, belong to a second stage of architectural development. The so-called Giralda, the original minaret of the mosque, which, with the exception of a modern bell-chamber, is still in a state of preservation, is a still more important relic than the other portions (Fig. 280). Differing from the slim and graceful and generally round or polygonal shape that is customary in minarets, this building rises up in a heavy, quadrangular mass, and, with a breadth of 43 feet, attains a height of 174, which is increased to 260 by a modern top. The body of the masonry is composed of brick, and is divided into panels by perpendicular and horizontal bands, the surfaces of the panels being exquisitely adorned with rich ornamental patterns worked in bricks. Extending upward from the columned niches, these designs spread like a net over the whole surface, with a constant repetition of the same figure. In the center panels are windows, which are divided by pillars supporting arches of the horseshoe pattern, and bordered by scallops.

Fig. 280. Portion of the Giralda at Seville.

The Moorish style, however, reached its highest state of perfection in the building which shed luster on the brilliant closing epoch of Mohammedan supremacy in the kingdom of Granada. Forced back by the advancing Christian arms to this last southern bulwark, the Moors seem to have once more put forth, in this narrow territory, their whole creative power—the spirit of their civilization seems to have once again burst into brilliant flame before its final extinction. The fortress of the Alhambra,* built on the precipitous rocks overlooking Granada, has towered above the town since about 1250; and the palace which is inclosed by it received its final form in the second half of the succeeding century. After the conquest, a great deal of it was destroyed; and Charles V. removed a large part of the building in order to erect in its place a palace in the renaissance style. That which has been spared, however, suffices to present to the imagination a picture of the most glorious epoch of a poetic and noble chivalry,

* Girault de Prangey, "Souvenirs de Grenade et de l'Alhambra." See also above bibliography of Moorish art in Spain.

and to seem like the realization of an enchanting Oriental fairy tale.

The buildings of the castle are grouped, according to the custom of Southern countries, and especially of the Orient, about two great open courts, whose basin, fountains, corridors, and far-projecting roofs afford coolness and shade. Entering from the side of the old chief entrance, which is now bordered by parts of the palace of King Charles (indicated in our plan, Fig. 281, by more lightly traced lines), one finds himself in the Court of the Alberca, 70 feet broad and 126 feet long, which is bordered on the two shorter sides by corridors. Opposite the entrance on the north side, lies a vestibule, and

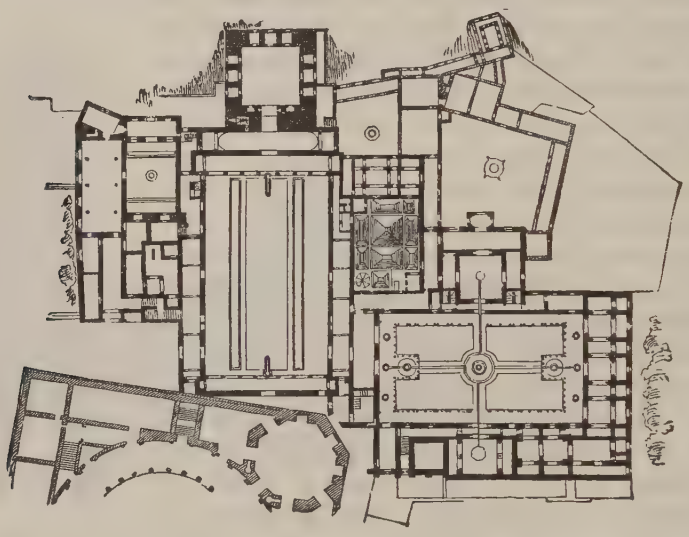


Fig. 281. Ground-Plan of the Alhambra.

behind it, in a massive four-cornered tower, the Hall of the Ambassadors, which forms a square of 34 feet, extended on three sides by deep window-niches in the walls, which are more than 9 feet in thickness. A rich stalactite vaulting forms a dome that rises to a height of 58 feet. These parts were evidently devoted to ceremonial presentations and other public occasions. Very little of that part of the building which borders the Court of the Alberca, on the west side, is still preserved; but the section on the east offers a much more rich and comprehensive picture. The central point in it is a second open court, somewhat smaller than the first; it being 61 feet broad and 108 long, but surpassing the former in richness, finish, and brilliancy of ornamentation. It is also ornamented with fountains, especially one in the center—a huge basin of alabaster, which rests upon twelve

lions of black marble, and which has given to the place the name of the Court of Lions. Corridors with slim pillars extend around the court, and broaden, in the middle of the two shorter sides, into quadrangular, projecting pavilions that also contain fountains. The columns are here placed in the most varied irregularity—sometimes singly, sometimes in groups of two or even three, as if every severe architectural rule must give way to charming caprice. Proceeding easterly, one arrives in a corridor-like room, with five deep window-niches—the Hall of Justice; while in the middle of the longer sides of the Court of Lions lies, on the north, the hall of the Two Sisters (so called from two great marble tiles in the pavement), and on the south a smaller hall, which takes its name from the assassination within its walls of the family of the Abencerages, murdered at the command of Boabdil. These rooms are the most beautiful and most elegant parts of the castle, and their walls and stalactite domes are covered over with an inexhaustible magnificence of divers-colored ornaments; the Hall of the Abencerages, moreover, being ingeniously connected with two adjoining cabinets by means of graceful arches supported by a slim central pillar. Conduits convey the water of the great fountain in all directions to smaller fountains, which complete the charm of luxurious ease and the dreamy, poetic spirit of the place. A row of bathrooms, which are connected with the living rooms, fills the corner between the Hall of the Two Sisters and the Court of the Alberca.

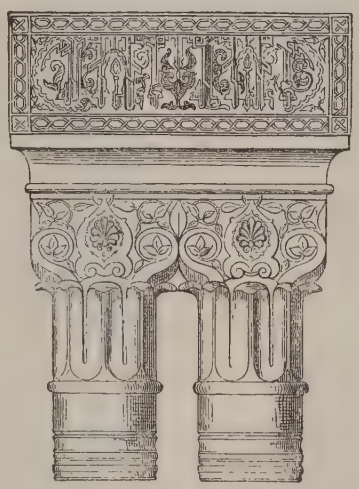


Fig. 282. Coupled Capitals from the Alhambra.

The artistic execution of this ground-plan is everywhere characterized by the greatest delicacy and grace. The seriousness of a fixed system is everywhere lost in an extreme lightness and ease which would surpass the bounds of possibility, but that the material, except of the columns, is of light woodwork covered with stucco, and dependent for its effect on chromatic decoration. It is also small in its parts. Thus the columns of marble shoot up like slender reeds, only connected, as it were, with the foundation by a slight ring; while even the capitals themselves have this same graceful, slight character. A

number of rings encircle the lower part, which is merely a continuation of the shaft; then the form expands on all sides, and forms a cubical top, which is covered with intertwining arabesques, lace-like tracery, leaves, or stalactites. The whole is terminated at the top by a projecting neck under a slab, crowned by a massive impost, the sides of which also exhibit a rich treasure of ornamentation. Where two columns are connected, as in our example (Fig. 282), they have an impost in common. It can be seen at a glance how diametrically this form of column differs from all antique tradition; how it stands out as an original product of the perfection of Moorish style. From the columns rises perpendicularly a massive pier, ending in a frieze that forms a frame, in which the arch appears merely as a necessary complement. It rises with a graceful spring in a round or horseshoe-like shape, its sides and corners so enveloped with open-worked, filagree-

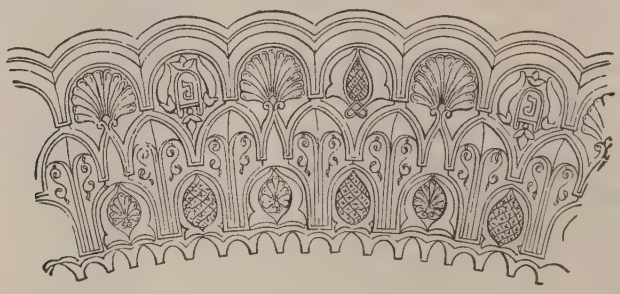


Fig. 283. Border of Arch. (Alhambra.)

like plaster ornaments, intertwining arabesques, scallops, and stalactites, that it appears to the eye like a delicate web, sparkling gorgeously with a wealth of colors (Fig. 283).

To perfect the system of decoration, there is associated with all this rich movement of form an ornamentation of the walls which may be said to stand alone in decorative art. The lower part consists of a dado of glazed tiles, about four feet in height, in simple, subdued colors. The upper surfaces of the walls are separated by broad stripes, having golden inscriptions upon an azure ground, and are marked off into separate panels, whose surfaces blaze with magnificent arabesques in gold, blue, and red.

The Generalife, built upon an opposite cliff, and distinguished for its attractive porticos, fountains, and gardens (Fig. 284), follows a similar model, and has an equally pleasing finish. The technical excellence of these buildings consists largely in the light but admirably worked material of which they are composed. The body of the wall, which rests on columns, is composed of a kind of *pisé*—a mixture of pebbles, earth, and chalk; the vaulting and arches are of

ALHAMBRA

THE COURT OF LIONS

plaster and stucco laid over a light wooden framework, the ornaments being stamped upon fine plaster.

How liberal Moorish art had grown through close intercourse with the Christian Occident is especially shown in the varied and original artistic decorations of the Alhambra. It is true, the lions of the fountain are clumsy, crude examples of an uncultivated sense of form, these being probably taken from an earlier building. But the paintings on parchments, on the vaulting of the Hall of Justice, ap-

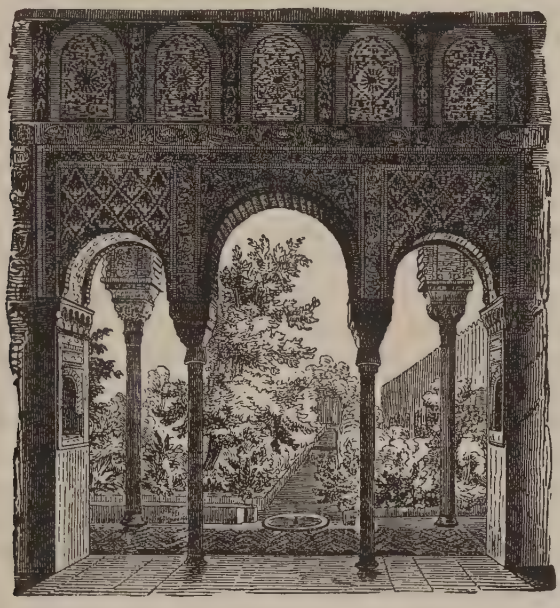


Fig. 284. Portico of the Generalife.

pear to be much more important, being partly representations of Moorish rulers, partly scenes of chivalry that show us the Moors and Christians in various situations; full of *naïve* attractiveness, closely resembling contemporary works of Florentine masters, and probably painted by foreign artists. These, however, appear to be of a late period, not long before the Christian conquest.

C.—IN TURKEY, PERSIA, AND INDIA.*

The Oriental empires were likewise conquered by Mohammedanism at an early period; yet their most gorgeous monuments represent

*See Texier, "L'Asie Mineure;" "Description de l'Arménie." Parvillée, "L'architecture et Décoration Turques."

the last epoch of independent Mohammedan art, and mark the close of a civilization as rich as it was varied.

The edifices that sprang up in Asia Minor under the reign of the Seldschucks, from the latter part of the eleventh to the end of the thirteenth century, indicate a preparatory stage to that which was approaching. They show the influence of Byzantine, and especially of Armenian architectural works, from which they have borrowed the dome and the pointed stone roof. This relationship is also to be seen in the bareness of the walls. They have adopted the ornamental treatment, and even the spreading, wedge-shaped arch, from the Persians; but traces of antique art are also observable—as, for instance, the Victories above the portals of the arches. The pointed arch appears as the most conspicuous form. The interior of these buildings gains a vivid and picturesque charm from its magnificent covering of Persian ceramic tiles, and the outside after the fashion of later Byzantine art, from the use of many-colored stones. The ancient capital Iconium (Konieh) contains important remains of mosques, schools of learning, and so forth. Other remains are to be seen in Cæsarea (Kaisarieh), in Nigdeh, Erzerum, and other places.

The monuments which were called into existence in these regions by the supremacy of the Ottoman Turks after 1326, follow next in the process of development. They were admirably built of squared stone; and the use of variegated material, a marked grace in the division of flat surfaces, and especially a deliberate acceptance of the fundamental idea of Byzantine art, are their architectural characteristics. The fourteenth century saw the most brilliant period of this style, and the reign of Murad I. (1360-89) was its most shining epoch. The green mosque of Nicæa (Isnik), with its tendency toward the Byzantine fundamental form, and the great mosque at Brussa, that goes back to the plan of a vaulted corridor, are to be classed among the most important of these structures.

With the capture of Constantinople, in the year 1453, a turning-point occurred in architectural development.* The magnificent Church of S. Sophia was turned into a mosque, offering in its gigantic domed structure a model for other architectural works to which Oriental architecture surrendered itself the more readily because even before this, the dome was a familiar form in the Orient, and because Byzantinism had, even in the earlier epochs of Arab art, acquired a great influence over the Mohammedan mosques. An imposing central structure, covered by a dome, becomes henceforth the model of these buildings in Turkey; the slight, slender, needle-like,

* Ali-Bey (pseud.), "Voyages en Afrique et en Asie." J. von Hammer-Purgstall, "Constantinopolis und der Bosporus." F. Adler, in the "Deutche Bauzeitung."

and pointed form of the numerous minarets forming a striking contrast to the heavy mass. The most imposing of the imperial mosques —that is to say, of the houses of worship founded by the sultans (Djami-i-Salatin), nearly twenty of which are to be counted in Constantinople alone—express this governing thought in two principal types. The first is to be found in an arrangement of the central domes, to which two half-domes are added on the longer diameter of the building, this being the great type of S. Sophia; the second, which still more sharply defines the fundamental motive, consists of a principal dome, inclosed by four smaller ones in such a manner as to form a cross. This last form makes its first appearance in the Mosque of Mahmud II., which was built by a Byzantine architect in 1463-69. Both forms prevail by turns in Turkish architecture. Thus the form of the Church of S. Sophia was used in the Mosque of Mahmud Bajasid II. (1497-1505) and in that of Solimanieh (of which we shall make further mention); while the shape of the Mahmudieh appears again in the Mosque of the Princess, the work of Sinan, between 1543 and 1548, as well as in the great Mosque of Achmet I. (1609-14). All the brilliancy of the ornament is generally concentrated in the mosaic decoration of the interior, while the exterior is as a rule, neglected. The powerful arches of the domes, and the slender minarets—of which there are generally four, one rising from each corner (only the Mosque of Achmedieh has six)—make up a characteristic exterior. Among the brilliant works of this kind the chief are the Mosque of Selim II. at Adrianople (1566-74), a dome resting on eight colossal polygonal pillars; and especially the magnificent Mosque of Soliman II. at Constantinople. This is an imitation of the Church of S. Sophia, with pointed arches. Near it rises the mausoleum of the Sultan, an octagonal dome, simply executed, with groups of pointed windows, and surrounded by corridors with pointed arches. These three works were executed by Sinan, the most celebrated of the Turkish architects.

Under the supremacy of the Mohammedan faith, to which it had been subject since the days of Osman, Persia* experienced a long epoch of high moral and material civilization. The only important monuments, however, that have been preserved, belong to a later epoch—to the time of the conquest of the country by Timur, toward the end of the fourteenth century. They give evidence of a splendid development of Oriental art. Ottoman architecture acquired a decided influence over the Persian from the time of the conquest of Constantinople, when it found in the Church of S. Sophia a model

* Texier, "Description de l'Arménie," etc. Cose et Flandin, "Voyage en Perse." Sarre, "Denkmäler Persischer Baukunst."

which led to a most important progress in mosque-building. Thus Byzantium, even in its downfall, exercised a beneficial influence upon the Orient as well as upon the Occident. The Persian mosques also adopted the dome resting on a polygonal or square foundation, and succeeded in producing a splendid effect by means of it. The main characteristics of Persian buildings are high portals and rich minarets, a pleasing realism in their ornamentation, which introduced figures of flowers and plants, and finally the use of soft, cheerful tints.

One of the most finished of these works—now lying in ruins—was the mosque at Tabriz, erected in the middle of the fifteenth cen-

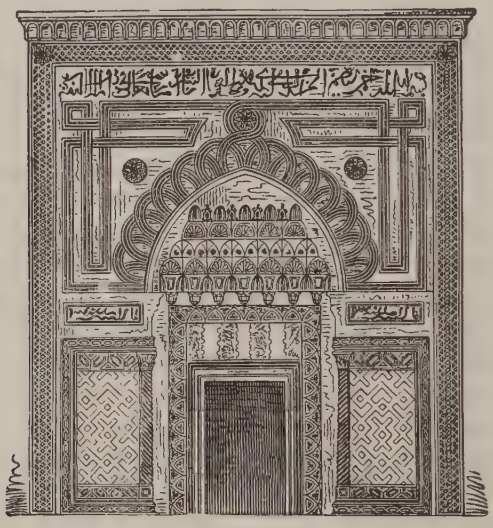


Fig. 285. Portal of the Mosque of Ispahan.

tury (Fig. 271). It consists of a domed nave about fifty feet in diameter, surrounded by vaulted aisles, whose decoration combines most costly magnificence and harmonious beauty. Flowers and plants in vivid green and white intertwine on an azure ground; golden inscriptions of Arabic letters, on a black ground, are interwoven with them. As a whole, the Persian patterns have rather a realistic character, while those of the Spanish Moors have rather a formal architectural style. The ornamental buildings which sprang up at Ispahan, the capital city of the Sufi dynasty during the sixteenth century, are also remarkably gorgeous. The most noteworthy ones are grouped around a gigantic square, the great Maidan, which is surrounded by a two-storied, vaulted arcade with pointed arches, and which has in the middle of each side a very high gateway flanked by

minarets. One of these portals leads to the great mosque (Fig. 285), which, as well as the whole structure, is a work of Shah Abbas the Great (1587-1629). Deep outer courts and a succession of ornamental doors with minarets prepare the way for the effect of the interior, the chief apartment of which is surmounted by a dome, that exhibits, with its convex and striped profile, the fantastic character of the Orient. All these forms are concealed on the outside and inside with a network of the most exquisite ornamentation; and even the

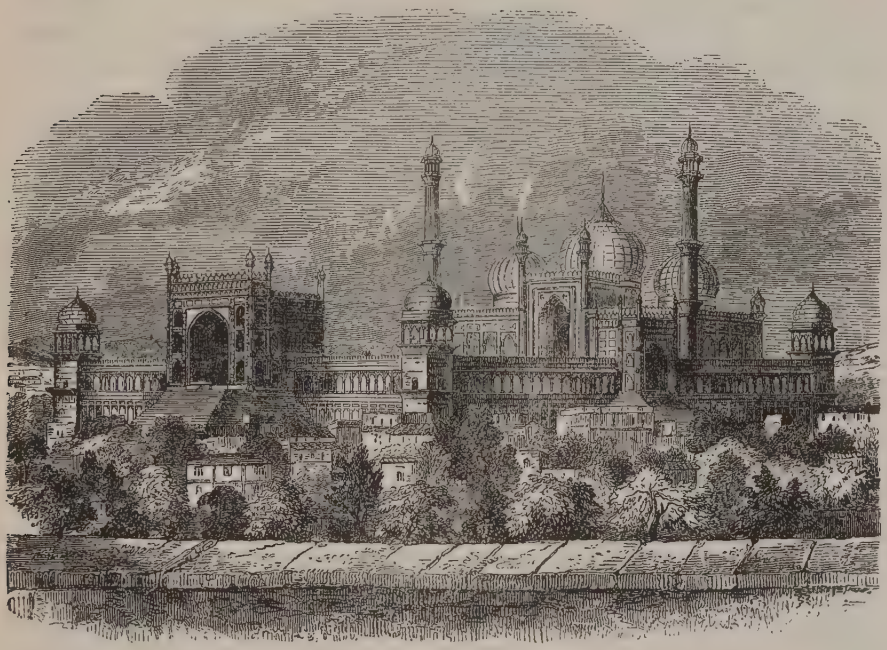


Fig. 286. Great Mosque (Jumma Kusjid), Delhi.

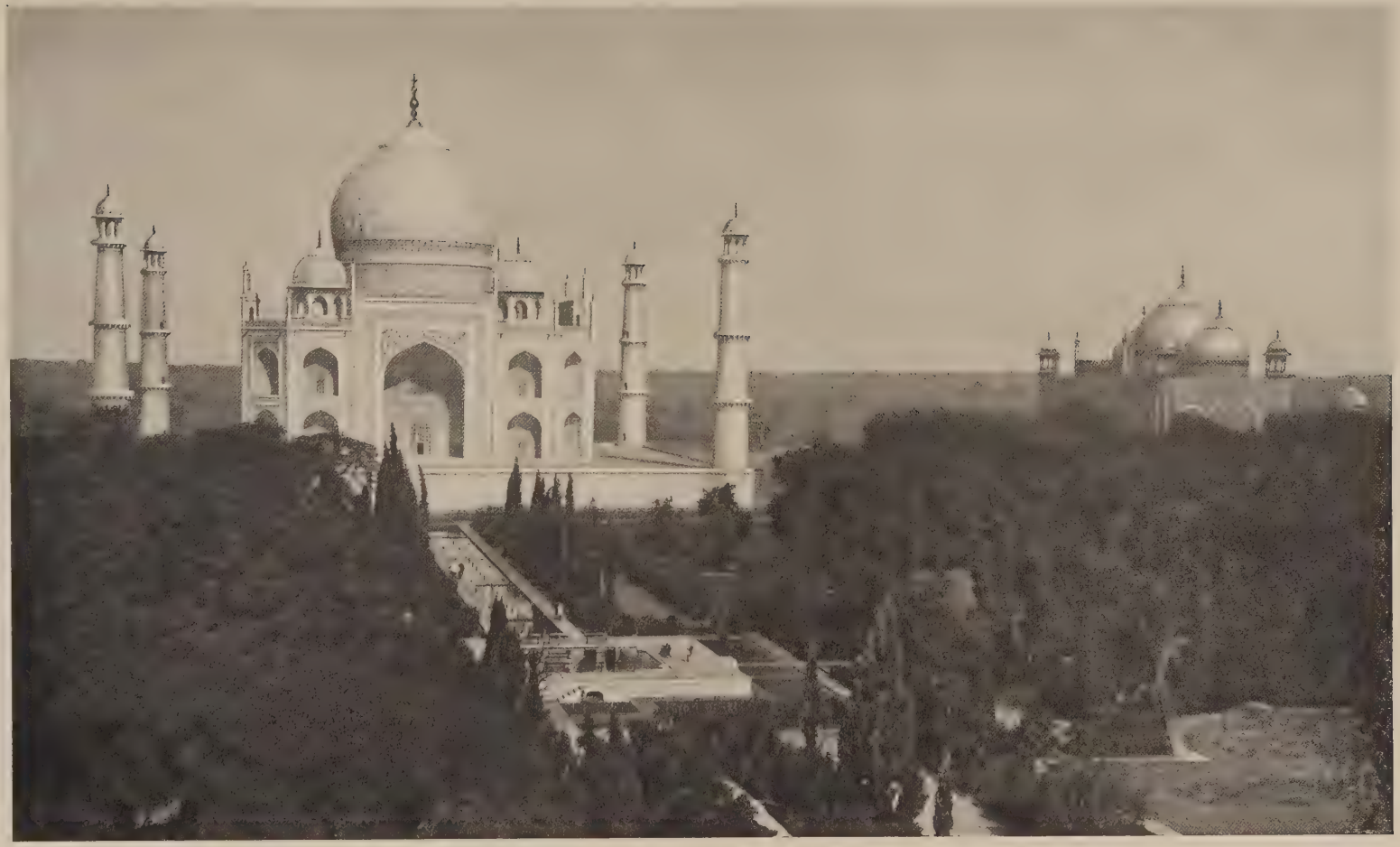
mighty dome is completely covered with variegated tiles; so that the solid part of the architecture is lost in a maze of decoration. The tapering form of the pointed arch prevails in the dome as in the portals, which include a semicircular niche richly ornamented, and covered with cell-like vaultings.

A number of equally beautiful works have been preserved in India, that belong, also, to the closing epoch of the Mohammedan style. The reign of the Great Moguls, who took their origin from the dynasty of Timur in 1526, was greatly distinguished for its magnificent monuments, the most admirable of which came into existence in the time of Shah Jehan the Great and his grandson; that is to say,

in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Just as the new court imitated that of the Persian Shah in language and customs, so, too, its art was formed according to the leading features of the Persian; hence we have the same principal forms—the striped arches and domes, the high niches, the frequent grouping of slender minarets, the extensive courts and halls. But instead of the delicate style of the Persian ornamentation, the exterior assumes the character of imposing and massive proportions, the different parts of which offer very picturesque contrasts, it is true, though, in the weight and gravity of their monumental expressions, they seem to be striving to imitate the ancient Hindu works of the country. A fairy-like splendor of costly stuffs, precious metals, and jewels, that realizes the dreamy charm of

Fig. 287. Mausoleum at Bedjapur.

an Oriental fairy-tale, is lavished upon the inner decoration. Shah Akbar built his father's mausoleum near Delhi, and his own at Sacundra (Secundra), near Agra; and at Agra the Jumma and the Pearl Mosque, Moti Musjid—works whose wealth is surpassed by the still more magnificent enterprises of Shah Jehan. He founded New Delhi, and adorned the city with ornamental buildings, especially with his own imposing palace and the brilliant Jumma Mosque (Fig. 286). He built a mausoleum for his favorite wife, Nur Jehan, near Agra—the celebrated Taj Mahal, a pavilion of white marble, which, surrounded by beautiful gardens, rises from imposing corridors. Open-work marble screens soften the sunlight that streams into the dome, 70 feet in diameter, and lights up the fabulous splendor of its glittering, colored, flower-patterned mosaics. Farther south, in the Deccan, numerous monuments of the same late period are to be found, above all others the masoleums, palaces, and mosques at Bedjapur (Fig. 287), whose composition is more picturesque, richer, and more in the old Hindu manner.



THE TAJ MAHAL

4. *Appendix.—Christian Art in the Orient.*

A.—ARMENIA AND GEORGIA.*

About the period of the tenth and eleventh centuries, there sprang up in the regions of the Caucasus a type of Christian architecture which took its fundamental laws from the system of Byzantium, but which, in its methods of applying them, showed distinctly the influence of early Mohammedan art. The ground plan of the churches erected under this system followed the form of the Greek cross, with a dome rising from the center, and though this clearly shows a Byzan-

Fig. 288. Cathedral at Ani.

tine model, the form of the dome itself displays an entirely original conception. Instead of the rounded vaulting, showing its shape even in the exterior, we find here a tent-like roof of stone covering the dome—a method probably first suggested by the nature of the climate in these mountainous regions. The interior is divided into different parts, generally by massive pillars made up of clusters of slender

* Texier, "Description de l'Arménie," etc. Dubois de Montpéroux, "Voyage autour du Caucase." D. Grimm, "Monuments d'Architecture Byzantine en Géorgie et en Arménie." Cole, "Illustrations of Buildings Near Agra and Muttra." Le Bon, G., "Les Monuments de l'Inde."

columns; and in the roofing, domes and cylindrical vaultings are employed. The chief apse, at the altar, is generally accompanied by two smaller apsides, for the side aisles. The outside of the walls is divided by a series of delicate and slender semi-columns, connected by blind arcades, and they are further adorned by singularly rich sculptured architraves and archivolts which inclose the narrow arched windows. These are employed both on the main wall and on the drum of the dome. Besides these, the cornices are decorated with flat friezes of scroll-work and interlacings, which, however, like all the

Fig. 289. Church of Wasili Blagennoi. (Moscow.)

ornamental adjuncts, have a certain forced look and lack of strength, and give an unsatisfactory and feeble air to these superficially conceived, but, on the whole, well-proportioned buildings.

Examples of this kind of architecture may be found in the Cathedral at Ani (Fig. 288)—which is, however, of but small dimensions, like the other churches of the country—and in the Cloister Church of Etschmiazin, and the Church of St. Rhipsime at Vagharschabad—the last built on a most complicated variation of the cruciform ground-plan. The Church at Ala Werdi and that of the Holy Virgin at Gelathi in Georgia are other specimens.

B.—RUSSIA.*

Russia received Christianity, and with it the Byzantine system of art, as early as the tenth century; but here it was more intimately associated than elsewhere in Europe with the forms of Oriental taste. The ground-plan of the churches follows Byzantine rules; and domes and cylindrical vaulting are used in the roofs, overloaded with ornamentation in painting and costly variegated stones. In spite of these, the effect of the interiors is generally dark; but the exteriors show such an extravagant abundance of fantastic forms, and are so covered with towers, domes, and domed turrets, glittering with striking colors and gilding, that the eye loses itself in the fairy-like confusion. The work which is considered the best example of this style is the Church of Wasili Blagennoi at Moscow, from the low body of which spring a swarm of domes and towers, "like a stool of glittering mushrooms" (Fig. 289).

Religious pictures which copy the old Byzantine models in a spiritless, unvarying way are used in the Russian Church even at the present time. These crudely painted and monotonous works may be frequently seen in museums. There is an especially good collection in the Imperial Gallery in Berlin.

* Rikliter, Fedor, "Pamyatniki drevnyavo russkavo zodchestva" (translated into English as "Monuments of Ancient Russian Architecture"). Demidoff, A. N., "Voyage Pittoresque et Archéologique en Russie." Souslow, W., "Monuments de l'ancienne Architecture Russe." Martinow, Alexis, "Anciens Monuments des Environs de Moscou." Kipranov, V., "Histoire Pittoresque de l'Architecture en Russie."

Chapter III.

THE ROMANESQUE STYLE.*

1. *Character of the Romanesque Epoch.*

RISING from that great wave of barbaric invasion which swept away the crumbling fabric of Roman rule, the Frankish Empire, as soon as the flood had ebbed, sprang into immediate leadership, and won, under Charlemagne, the position of a new, world-dominating power, like a revived empire of the Cæsars. In it the last remains of ancient civilization were collected, and preserved as the germs of further development. The barbaric population of the West learned to subject itself to political laws, and adapt itself to old forms of culture. But at the first it could not rise to the power of producing really new creations and a thoroughly fresh life, simply because it was impossible for the rough strength of the Northern races to be completely and at once amalgamated with the already indistinct forms of old tradition. It was only the fall of the Carlovingian Empire, therefore, that really founded the new epoch. The Germanic mind rebelled against that united realm which had been established on the old Roman model; and it was only with the dissolution of Charlemagne's Empire in 843 that the period of development began, which is properly, and in the ac-

* Adamy, R., "Architektonik des Muhamedanischen und Romanischen Stils" (forms a part of "Architektonik auf Historischer und Aesthetischer Grundlage"). Adler, F., "Mittelalterliche Backstein-Bauwerke des Preussischen Staates." Choisy, A., "Histoire de l'Architecture." Dartein, F. de, "Etude sur l'architecture Lombarde." Révoil, H., "Architecture Romane du midi de la France." Ruprich-Robert, V., "L'Architecture Normande, au XIe et XIIe siècles." Puttrich, L., "Denkmale der Baukunst des Mittelalters in Sachsen." Kugler, F., and Ranke, C. F., "Die Schlosskirche zu Quedlinburg." Schiller, C., "Die mittelalterliche Architektur Braunschweigs." Taylor, Baron, "Voyage pittoresque et archéologique dans l'ancienne France." Laborde, A. de, "Monuments de la France." Du Sommerard, "Les Arts du Moyen Age." Viollet-le-Duc," Dictionnaire raisonné de l'Architecture française." Britton, "Cathedral Antiquities of Great Britain;" "Architectural Antiquities." Minutoli, A. v., "Der Dom zu Drontheim." Dahl, "Denkmale einer ausgebildeten Holzbaukunst." Agincourt, S. d', "Histoire de l'Art." Knight, H. G., "Ecclesiastical Architecture of Italy." Chapuy, "Italie monumentale et pittoresque." Burckhardt, J., "Der Cicerone" (translated into English by Mrs. A. H. Clough). Street, G. E., "Brick and Marble in the Middle Ages." Schulz, H. W., "Denkmäler der kunst des Mittelalten in Unter-Italien." Krutz, "La Basilica di S. Marco in Venezia." Mothes, O., "Geschichte der Baukunst und Bildhauerei Venedigs."

curate sense of the word, called mediæval. This growth was preceded, to be sure, by a time of wild disorder; and everything seemed about to sink back into chaos. But the firm rule of the Saxon emperors founded a new condition of order, which soon reacted on the rest of Western Europe. The last five decades of the ninth century may be looked upon as the true beginning of the middle ages. The first epoch, which from the point of view of art is called the Romanesque, extends to about the middle of the twelfth century, though its art lingered on, in Germany and in parts of Italy, even into the great thirteenth century, in despite of the Gothic movement.

The character of this period is diametrically opposed to that of all previous stages of development. While in the ancient world the different peoples developed independently side by side, one succeeding another, and each worked out for itself its own form of civilization, prescribed by its mental endowments and its natural surroundings, by the character of the region, the influences of the climate, and then, at length, all peculiarities were alike crushed out by the Roman supremacy of the world; so, now, all nations united in a relation of mutual and equal activity in the development of civilization. Christendom gave the same direction to all, the same goal, and the same foundation. Its rule did not, however, fetter the individual, but, on the contrary, secured to him a free exercise of his ability and will. Thus great fundamental laws arose, everywhere equally applicable, which, nevertheless, in no sense did away with the rich variety of individual national peculiarities. Thus, in this epoch, the modern nationalities developed freely and vigorously in language, morals and art.

Now that the still young and vigorous nations of Germanic blood, or controlled by Germanic invaders, under the guidance of Christianity, with one accord strove to possess themselves of the remains of ancient culture, and to mold themselves in conformity with the requirements of Christian law and the forms of Roman antiquity, the result was a new form of social life. The Church was, at that period, the sole depository of learning; and, with Christianity, she spread abroad morality and the spiritual life by means of her monastic establishments. These, in a period of wild commotion and keen strife, were the asylums of high culture; and it was from them that all the arts and sciences were gradually diffused. But at the same time, from the military spirit of the Northern nations came the institution of chivalry—a system consecrated by the Church, and whose asperities were moderated by a tender regard for woman. These elements impressed upon the Romanic epoch a mingled hierarchic and aristocratic character. It was only gradually that, under the protection of the abbeys and the episcopal sees, the settlements of the common people

developed a burgher class, based on worth, diligence, and industry. It flourished only in the succeeding epoch.

Out of groups so diverse as these was formed the state, not in the sternly despotic form of Roman domination, neither in the republican spirit of Greece, but as a feudal union, based on ancient German tradition as modified by the institutions and the needs of more recent times. It was founded on personal relations, imposed little restraint on the activity of the individual, and gave to the epoch its peculiarly mobile character. It was a period of effort and development, of action and reaction of forces, of rugged valor and fanatical tenderness, of cruelty and gentleness—a chaos of rude contrasts. And if this condition of things was the natural result of the Germanic spirit, of a period of transition and youthful fermentation, the teachings of Christianity were calculated only to intensify the strife. Christianity disturbed the harmony between man and nature, and introduced a sense of discordance by proclaiming to man a higher spiritual law, in the light of which his inborn nature became a sinful thing which he was to overcome. The result was an unrest, a feeling of discontent, and, as a consequence, a balancing between fierce passion and deep remorse, but, at the same time, intense devotion and lofty contemplation.

We can notice these traits only in so far as they help us to understand artistic growth, and explain the restless pulsations which traverse the whole civilization of mediæval times, and impel the artistic activity of the age to unceasing struggle and to fresh development. This is especially true of architecture, which, throughout the Middle Ages, took the lead in all the higher forms of activity. It was natural that art should attain exceptional eminence in a period which strove to express in bold characters the thoughts which filled all minds, while yet literature was in its infancy, books were inaccessible, and few could read even the words of a prayer or a song—a period when the masses and the corporations had weight, and when the individual was held fast within the insuperable limits of his station, of his association. A freer development of the fine arts met with too many hindrances; there was, first of all, the fluctuating, unsettled, agitated state of men's lives and fortunes, and therefore of their minds; then the attitude of opposition to nature assumed by Christianity, and the inflexible church tradition, which kept artistic occupations already shut up between monastic walls in spiritual bondage and a narrow life, and required the artist to confine himself to simple copying of the ancient types. Hence the fine arts were dependent entirely on church building, and from it received their laws. They were required to be strictly subordinate to the total effect, to fit themselves into the

frame appointed for them by the architect, and to have regard for symmetry and rhythm; and thus they were restrained in their freedom of action. Nevertheless, even under these hard conditions, the fine arts learned to take steps for themselves; for it is a universal law of development, that at the proper time, and when there is a sufficiency of native force, the fetters which confine the young life are burst asunder.

2. *Romanesque Architecture.*

A.—ITS SYSTEM.

The old Christian basilica is the starting-point for mediæval architecture. It was universally held to be the chief canonical form of a church edifice; the round form having never received much favor north of the Alps after the early time when the churches at Aix-la-Chapelle, Cologne, Bonn, and the different imitations of the Holy Sepulcher Church at Jerusalem were built; but, during the five hundred years of its development, the plan with nave, aisles, and transepts underwent a series of remarkable transformations, till, at length, what was at first plain and even rude was changed into one of the highest forms, one of the most perfect creations, of architecture. What distinguishes the Romanesque basilica from that of the early Christian period is the entirely novel form displayed in the architectonic basis of the structure. But even the ground-plan itself could not be retained without considerable modifications. These especially affected the choir and the façade —the eastern and western portions of the edifice. The body of the building usually is, as in the ancient Christian basilicas, a wide, middle nave, between two side aisles of only about half its height and width. The five-aisled plan is in this period still rarer than in the preceding one. At the end of the nave a boldly projecting transept usually separates the former from the choir, thus giving to the church its cruciform shape (Figs. 290, 291). Often, it is true, the transept (as in Fig. 292) does not project; and in that case it is indicated on the plan by the greater distance be-

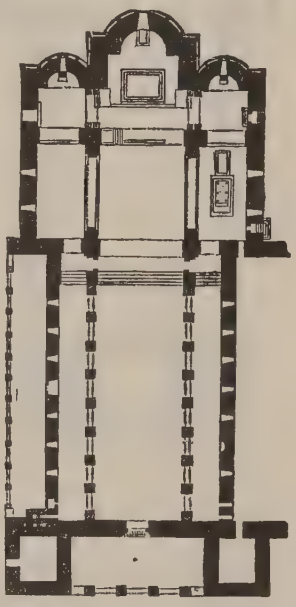


Fig. 290. Church at Monreale.

tween the piers; and appears in the structure by means of its greater height. Sometimes it is altogether omitted. The most considerable modification of the choir consists in extending the middle nave to a distance of about one-fourth of its length beyond the transept, when it terminates in the apsis. This enlargement of the choir space was made necessary by the great number of the monastic clergy who had to be seated along the two side walls. Owing to this change of the ground-plan, the intersection of the nave and transept became what it remained throughout the Middle Ages, and in all "cruciform" aisled churches to the present day; a space open on all sides, and defined by four massive piers, one at each angle (Figs. 290, 291, 292), carrying four arches. This open space, called in modern times simply "the crossing," was often carried up into a tower, the walls of which were carried by the four great arches described above. Its floor was sometimes made continuous with the choir, and was cut off from the main nave and the arms of the cross by a stone screen, often called jubé, or simply choir screen. As the choir and transept grew more important and extensive this jubé was often set under the arch between the choir proper and the crossing; and this was the usual disposition in the thirteenth century and later. The side of the screen toward the nave was often provided with a sort of tribune, from which the gospel used to be read to the people; hence it got the name of "lectorium" from the Latin term for the reading-desk—the lectern. Commonly the whole of the choir, or presbyterium as it was also called, stood several steps higher than the nave; and under it was a subterranean church, the crypt, with arches supported on short, isolated columns. It served as a burial-place for eminent persons, such as the abbots, or the founders of the church; and it had an altar of its own. In this case, then, the choir space, as being the holy of holies, stood high above the level of the nave, in which the congregation assembled.

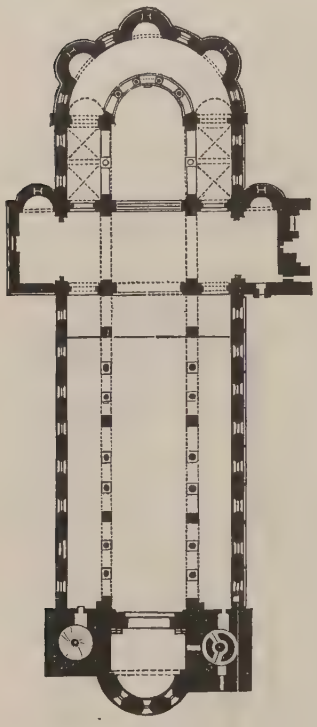


Fig. 291. S. Godehard at Hildesheim.

In this enlargement of the choir there is developed a great variety, ranging from the simplest plan—which sometimes rejects even the apse, and terminates the choir with a square end—up to the highest degree of complexity, in which, by the free employment of apses, very lively and picturesque effects are produced. Not only may the arms of the cross, that is, the north and south transept and the choir, have their special apses, but the side naves sometimes project alongside of the choir, and also terminate in apses (Fig. 292); or a ring of apses may surround the middle space as a semicircular aisle (Fig. 291), and contain a number of recesses, which give to the plan of the high choir an arrangement as though its parts radiated from a common center. As all these apses served as niches far altars, the greater or less requirements of the worship became the occasion for a corresponding modification of the ground-plan. But these conditions were different in different religious orders; and, even in the different convents of the same order, they differed widely, according to the number of monks, the funds provided by pious founders, and other similar circumstances.

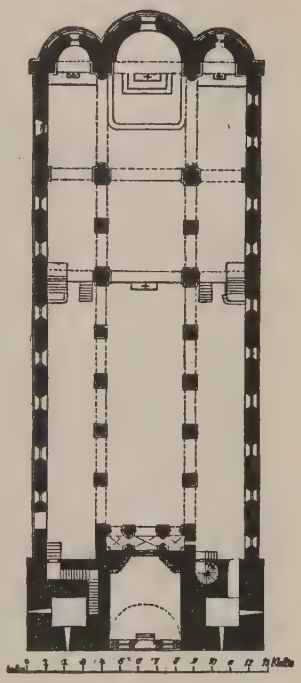


Fig. 292. Cathedral at Gurk.

Another result of the change in the forms of worship was the suppression of the narthex, and of the open atrium of the basilicas. The whole congregation of the laity, no longer graded as in the early days of Christianity, must have free admission to the house of God; and hence, at most, there was left only a small porch before the main portal; and the cantharus, or tank, which before had stood in the atrium, was contracted to the proportions of the holy-water basin at the entrance of the church. The main portal is usually in the middle of the western end wall; so that, as one enters, the first thing that meets his eye is the elevated choir, with its apse in the distance. Often, however, in bishops' churches (cathedrals) and in great abbeys, a second choir was necessary; this stood at the western end of the church, and faced the main choir, as shown in the Church of St. Godehard in Hildesheim (Fig. 291); and this westerly choir was sometimes even developed so as to have a second transept. But wherever the more ordinary arrangement pre-

vails, the main portal, which grew to be synonymous with the west end, is flanked by two towers, one on each side; and in Northern art these are connected directly with the church-building, thus adding to the artistic development of the basilica a new and important element.

These important modifications of the ground-plan were emphasized in various ways, by new forms, in the development of the architectonic structure. True, the low-pitched roof was still retained for a long time over all the portions, except the crypt and the apses; nevertheless, certain essential parts of the structure acquired a new arrangement, and, first of all, the supports on which the arches of the arcades rested, sustaining the upper wall of the middle aisle. Often, it is true, columns are here employed, as in the ancient Christian basilica (Fig. 290), but this was generally where antique shafts could be got. More frequently, isolated piers built of small stones are introduced into the row of columns, either alternating with the latter, or supplanting every third pair of columns (Fig. 291), as in the two Hildesheim churches already mentioned. But this innovation hardly existed except with the vaulted roof, for which see the next paragraph. Finally the piers come to be exclusively employed in a few instances (Fig. 292). Then an effort was made to enliven the lofty upper wall of the nave by placing a cornice over the arcades, from which vertical bands sometimes extend downward to the capitals of the pillars; or by spanning each two arches of the arcade with a larger arch, skipping one pillar (Fig. 293). The windows of the clear story are then placed above the cornice of the arcade. They are smaller than in the ancient Christian basilica, but splayed both within and without, to give freer entry to the light; and, as in the ancient basilica, they terminate above with semicircular arches. Similar windows, only smaller, are cut in the exterior walls of the side naves, as also in the apses; in the principal apsethree, and in the minor apses only one each.

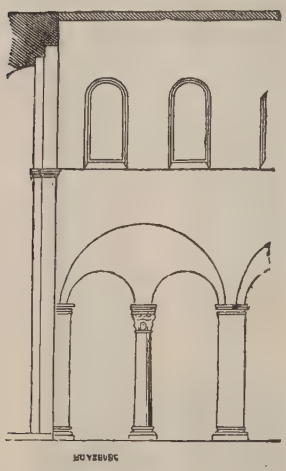


Fig. 293. Church at Huysburg.

But the Romanesque style did not long retain this simplicity of construction. The frequent fires which seized on the rafters of the roof, destroying them, together with the wooden ceiling, and ruining pillar, column, and wall, now gave rise to an innovation, which at the same time gratified the higher æsthetic sense. The question was, how to

combine vaulting with the plan of the basilica. In some places, cylindrical vaulting was tried, and this did fairly well for the aisles, which were low and narrow, while hardly succeeding with the high nave; and even a series of cupolas covering square compartments by means of pendentives (see Byzantine Architecture), as was frequent in middle France. But the influence of these essays was merely local, and not calculated to call forth any general imitation. A better and more promising solution of the problem was the adoption of the cross-vault, already employed in contracted spaces, and the employment of which in the broad and lofty nave of a church was simply a bold innovation made possible by the now enlarged technical skill of the artisan. At first, the architect was content with roofing the side naves with separate cross-vaulting—a thing all the easier, as their breadth was about equal to the distance between the piers; thus giving square spaces. Transverse arches were then thrown across from the piers to pilasters projecting from the outer wall, and the square spaces thus formed were roofed with cross-vaulting. And now, as there was a firmer substructure, galleries were sometimes erected over the side naves, presenting toward the principal nave an arrangement of columns, and breaking the wall-surface over the arcades (compare Fig. 294). This mode of enlivening otherwise bald surfaces was of such service in giving freer articulation to the superstructure, that it was oftentimes employed even where there were no galleries at all, and where it merely simulated the so-called *triforium*.

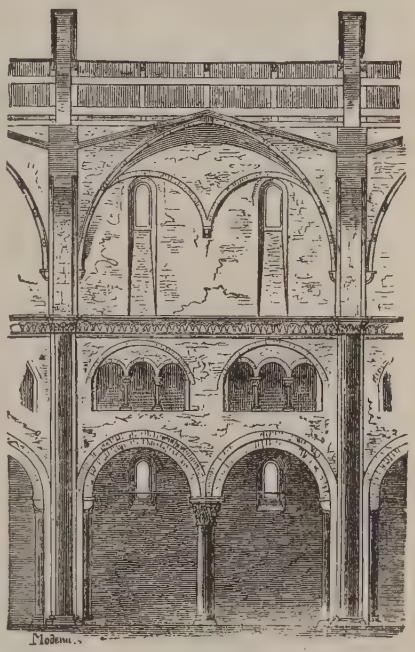


Fig. 294. From the Cathedral at Modena.

But now, inasmuch as similar square spaces were required in vaulting over the middle nave, one pier was passed over, and from the next on each side a transverse arch was carried across to the opposite side; and thus was formed a system of great vaults over the middle nave, one of which always answers to two bays in each of the aisles (Fig. 294). In this way the basilica received a quite new character. No

longer did its separate parts—the vertical, supporting portions and the horizontal, supported—stand in striking contrast to each other, but a fluent architectonic life caused the one movement to pass over into the other, gave to the whole a higher rhythmic organization, and, out of the hitherto monotonous row of arcades, formed a number of groups with marked breaks of the vertical lines (compare Fig. 294). The plan of transverse vaultings involved, of course, a strengthening of the supports on which they stood; and this additional strength was given to the piers in the form of a pilaster projection or an engaged column; and thus was developed a new structural form at once significant and artistically effective, whose technical and æsthetic advantages found universal acceptance (Fig. 295).

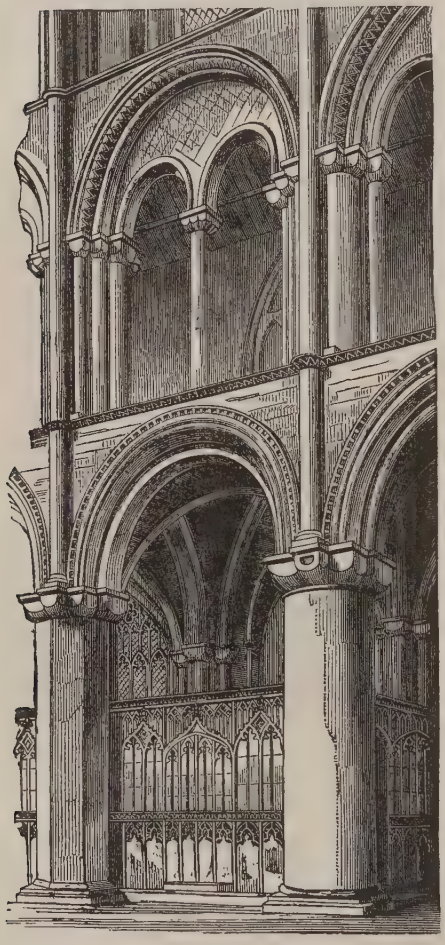


Fig. 295. From the Cathedral at Peterboro'.

As for the details of the Romanesque style, their general plan was the same, whether they were applied to flat-roofed or to vaulted basilicas. Where the column is introduced, it is, indeed, now and then, fashioned after the antique model; but as a general rule there is no æsthetic law for the proportions of the separate parts. And in this respect we find the utmost diversity. Sometimes the columns are thick and heavy, sometimes slender and elegant. The base is generally of the Attic form; but, as a rule, there is added to it at each angle a projection resembling a leaf, which, springing from the torus, spreads out, and fills up the empty angles of the square plinth (Fig. 296). This angle-ornament, commonly called a spur, is variously shaped,

being now a little block or boss, again a leaf, or the figure of some animal; often assuming some purely fantastic shape. Indeed, the different columns of one edifice, and even of one and the same arcade, exhibit a great diversity in the form of their angle-ornaments. The shaft of the column was not fluted, nor was its outline convex. At most, it was only reduced in diameter toward the top; and even this was not often done. Still we find—especially in the later, more exuberant development of this style—instances of highly ornate treatment; yet this does not affect the column itself, but is purely decorative, clothing the shaft with party-colored twisted bands, with playful lines, or spiral fluting.

The development of the capital is a still more important feature. Here the passion for exuberant and diversified play of form is especially observable. At first, an attempt was made to copy the Corinthian capital; but in most cases the imitation was crude and abortive: though now and then, wherever the influence of the antique was still strongly felt—as in Italy and certain portions of France — a higher degree of knowledge and skill was brought to bear upon the problem; and in a few places this mode continued to be dominant during the whole Romanesque epoch. Still these antique forms were of too foreign a type, and too delicate and ornate in detail, to suit the fancy of the Northern nations; hence another form of capital was devised, essentially Romanesque in form, which in a simple and effective way accomplished the transition from the round shaft of the column to the square abacus. This is the cubiform capital (Fig. 297); a form not wholly unlike the Byzantine convex capital, and like it, adorned with very flat and minute sculpture in low relief. While in its upper portion it is quadrangular, each of the four side surfaces terminates below in a semicircle; and the bottom gradually assumes the round form of the shaft. The abacus consists either of a plinth obliquely chamfered, or of a more complicated arrangement of members, chief among which are the echinus, the cove, the fillet, and other parts taken from the antique. But here, again, we find the utmost liberty

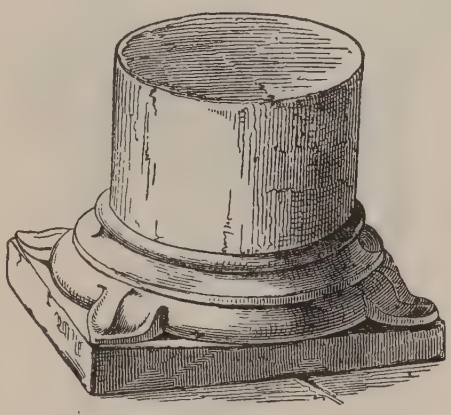


Fig. 296. Base of Column from the Cathedral of Parenzo.

allowed; and all manner of combinations are permissible, provided only they are effective. The surfaces of the cubiform capital in Northern Romanesque are left smooth, or are covered with abundant ornamentation, consisting of varied combinations of foliage, geometrical lines, and even figures of animals and men. Even historic scenes are often carved upon the surfaces of capitals.

Contemporaneously with this capital appeared another—the caliciform, or chalice-shaped—which was largely employed both in its simple and ornamented forms (Fig. 298). Finally, these two styles, the cubical and the caliciform, are often blended, their ornamental execution producing the most varied shapes.

Besides the column, the pier was largely employed, either alone, or alternately with the former. Its form is rectangular, and frequently square, terminating below in a base, which commonly has the same form as that in the Attic, and above crowned by a cornice having the same general outline, only reversed. Many other combinations—of members curved inward or outward, ovolos, flutings, small plinths, and narrow beads—frequently occur. Here, too, there is perfect freedom of combination. Generally there is an effort at giving to the entire pier a certain degree of lightness; but, in the process, its rectangular form is in almost every instance lost. The corners are slightly beveled, or one or more very slender columns are inserted in them. These little columns have capitals and bases of their own; but in order that they may form an integral part of the pier, some part of the crowning member of the pier is carried around it, including the colonettes, and there is a common base to the whole. This rich complexity of structure, which, without impairing the strength of the pier, gives it a more graceful appearance, is often continued along the arches of the arcade, giving a lighter look to their broad spans.

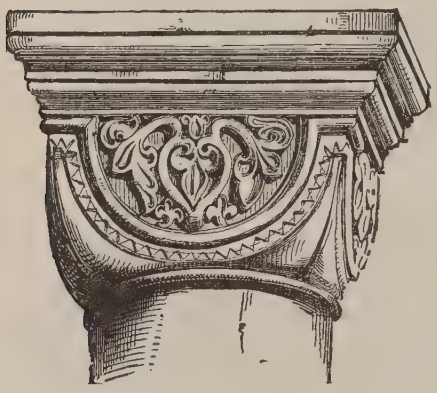


Fig. 297. Cubiform or Block Capital from the Cathedral at Gurk.

The exterior of the Romanesque church is built in sober, quiet masses, reaching a considerable height in the low side nave, the loftier middle aisle, and transept; while the tower overtops the whole. Narrow, pilaster-like buttresses were used to divide the wall-spaces, rising from the water-table, corresponding with the piers which mark

the intervals inside the building, and ending above in a frieze composed of small round arches, round the roofs of both side aisles and of the higher nave. These are sometimes flat, and are called pilaster strips; sometimes half round, like the engaged columns of antiquity. The arch frieze, an unmistakable mark of Romanesque buildings, is variously finished, often changing in the same structure; being used with or without corbels for the separate abutments of an arch, and varying greatly in richness of design; indeed, it is not uncommon for parts of the projecting band to rest directly upon the corbels without interposed arches. The corbels are also of infinite variety of

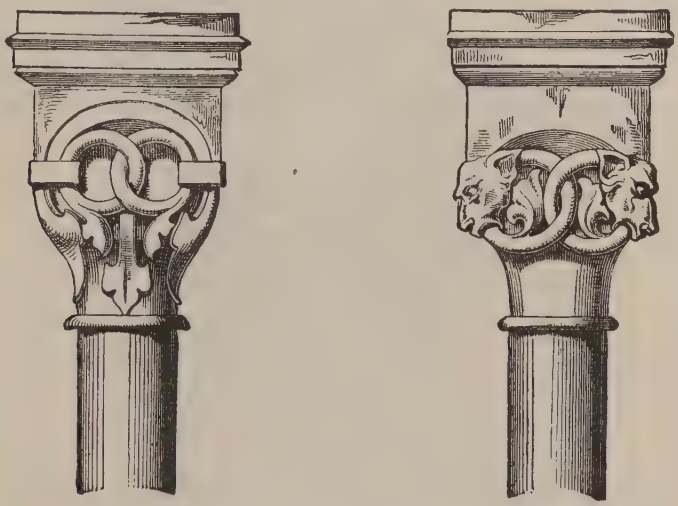


Fig. 298. Caliciform Capitals. Church at Horpacz.

form, from grotesque human heads to plain blocks. The cornice of the roof is added above, often accompanied by other ribbon-like friezes. Their most usual form was one made up of diagonally-placed stones (Fig. 299). The checkerboard frieze, consisting of several rows of stones alternately raised and depressed, is even more effective, as is another and similar frieze formed of short round rods alternated in like manner. In certain localities a number of consoles were added, in the antique manner, but of original design (Fig. 300). While at this time severe, solid masses of masonry were relieved only by engaged columns, arch bands, and mock arcades, pierced only by small, widely separated windows, the main apse—and, indeed, the other principal parts of the building—were often finished, as shown in Fig. 302, by a perfectly open gallery resting on miniature columns, forming a corridor around those portions, and not only lessening the

mass of masonry, but giving a lively and cheerful finish to the otherwise grave and positive character of this style of architecture. Besides this, the eastern portions of the structure received a richer treatment, appropriate to their innate significance.

The perfection of the façade was of special importance; an entirely new aspect being given to its composition by the direct addition of a tower. Two towers, in the earliest period round, but soon made square for the sake of more perfect connection with the church, were generally added to the two side aisles (Fig. 301). They inclose the broad middle portion of the front as in a strong frame, corresponding to the central aisle, and communicating with its main door. Sometimes the lower story was built in undivided breadth, pierced with great doors, and perhaps with windows, and finished with an arch-frieze; so that the separate members were only developed independently above this. But often the façade was divided by perpen-

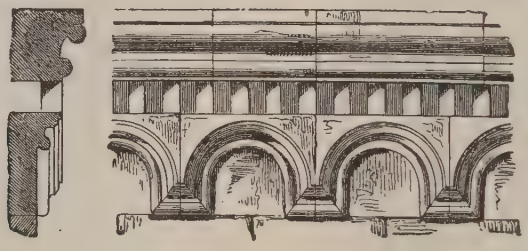


Fig. 299. Arch Frieze. Church at Wiener-Neustadt.

dicular pilaster strips to correspond to the internal divisions. The towers rose up in several stories, and were frequently enlivened with blind arcades. The upper stories of these towers were lighted by windows in twos or threes, and by window-like recesses in the wall, divided by small columns, which increased in number with the height, that the proportions of the tower might seem lighter and airier as it mounted. The tower was often octagonal in the upper portion, and the transition from the square substructure was accomplished in the simplest fashion by a steep slope.

The central door and commonly the two side doors under the towers had splayed or sloping jambs; or in place of these a series of small columns, set so that those at the outer face of the wall are farther apart than those within, thus still retaining the appearance of a splay. This splayed arrangement is carried around the arch, which thus has the general effect of half a funnel. It is not uncommon to fill up the semicircular head of the doorway with a slab of stone or a thin wall resting on a lintel. Where the opening of the entrance, as

often happens, is finished by a horizontal lintel (Figs. 301, 317), an arched panel is formed between this and the arch, which is called the tympanum, and is frequently filled up with sculptured subjects in relief, such as Christ enthroned between the figures of patron saints, evangelists, or adoring angels. Around the doors is generally developed the full splendor of the decoration, which not only wholly covers the shafts of the columns, but also the proportions of the embracing arches, with its varied patterns. A large round window is often introduced over the door, divided by spoke-like bars;

Fig. 300. Church at Schwarz-Rheindorf.

whence it receives the name of wheel window. The topmost part of the façade is either formed by the roof of the central nave, which then often emphasizes the lines of its gable with an ascending arch frieze, or else by a high gallery, which connects the towers. From these few fundamental principles, which undergo many variations, an earnest, solid, severe, and clearly proportioned style of façade is formed, richly developed wherever opportunity offers. The whole church-plan receives a significant finish from it, in which the chief forms of the interior are effectively united, and the spacious proportions of the whole structure are clearly expressed. Still the manifold conceptions of this endlessly varying style are by no means exhausted in these fundamental principles. A more varied and complicated arrangement of the towers, especially, enables the larger

abbeys and cathedrals to display an imposing and beautiful grouping. One important factor in this result is the circumstance that a dome-like structure, often octagonal, is reared over the intersection of nave and transept; this is built up on the outside from the main building

Fig. 301. Façade of the Church of Ják.

in octagonal, tower-like masses, crowned with colonnades, and finished off with a pyramidal roof. Slender towers are added at both sides of the choir, or at the end of the side aisle, in architectural connection with these domes, in which, indeed, there is an unmistakable trace of Byzantine architecture, however original its adaptation may

be, and however changed the details. The dome is often repeated over a second transept, also united with the towers, which gives an

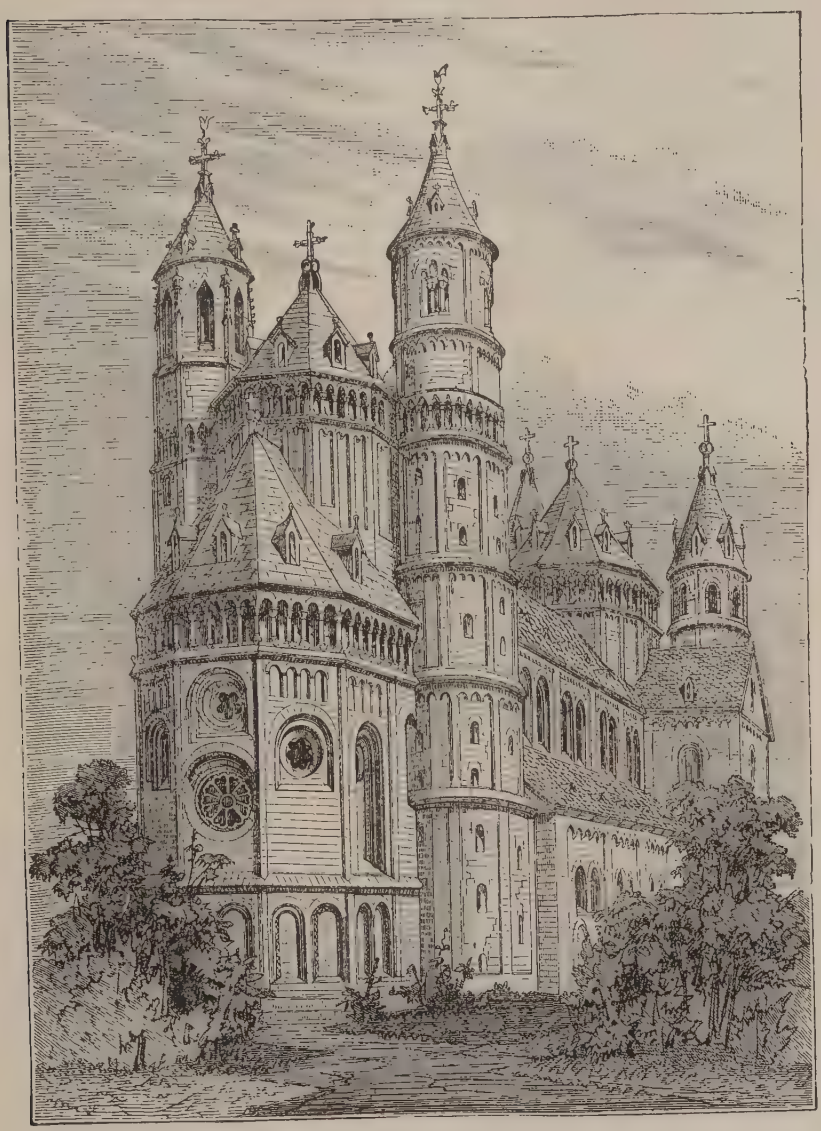


Fig. 302. Cathedral at Worms. (After Dollinger.)

uncommonly stately effect to the whole plan (Fig. 302). In the construction of towers, the Romanesque style shows great variety. It adopts as the head of the tower a spire of stone or wood; and in the

latter case it is covered with metal or slate, sometimes tapering, sometimes blunt, sometimes simple, sometimes rich, according as general progress or the special tendency of some local school prevails. In this, as in other points, the Romanesque style displays such power and depth of individual form, that only a slight idea of what was generally used can be given, since a closer idea of its full variety and fertility can only be gained by the study of separate local examples.

An unrestrained richness of ornament now spread over all parts of the structure, revealing its opulence in capitals, cornices, bases, and even in the shafts of columns. Vegetable life also lends its aid: vines, flowers, and leaves entwine the capitals and cornices in great beauty and variety. Yet the Romanesque foliage is never copied directly from nature, but is a system of scrolls and rosettes, suggesting Roman

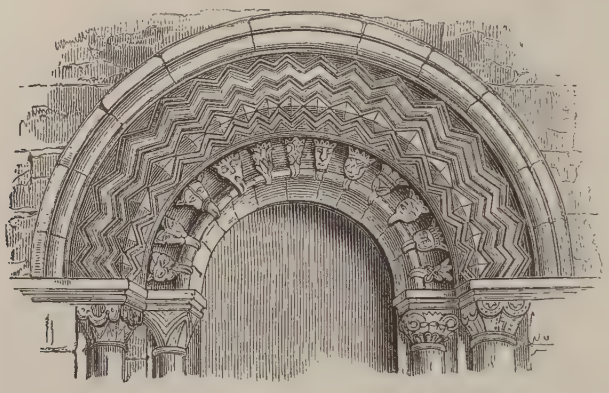


Fig. 303.

Imperial work, and also, at times, Oriental designs seen in textiles and the like. It generally consists of a delicate leaf, whose point, marked with lanceolate indentations, is spreading and gracefully curved, and whose veins are traced by little rows of beads. Besides this foliage, much linear ornament without natural form is also used on friezes and cornices, especially about the frames of doors—for instance, twisted and knotted ribbons; labyrinthine mazes; wavy, winding, zigzag and broken lines; scales; checkerboard patterns; and the like—in a brilliant profusion, and mostly in strong lines (Fig. 303). To these forms were added animal and human bodies, monstrous images of every sort—partly of symbolic meaning, partly wild flights of Northern fancy; and all this rich life is boldly and gorgeously intermingled in a fantastic medley, and expressed in powerful sculpture with sharp interchange of light and shade. Of course there is great diversity in the work, according to the time, place, and the material

employed; and crude, clumsy attempts find place beside skillful, bold, and elegant work. But, in the main, Romanesque ornament may justly claim to be original and independent. The fine, scholastic perfection of Roman antiquity is lost; but in its place we have an inexhaustible wealth and unconquerable freshness of fancy. It contrasts with the kindred school of Arabic ornament in its greater command of imagination, stronger characterization of form, and a wiser sense of limitation in their use. This vigorous style of sculpture is one of the chief points of superiority of Romanesque architecture.

If we consider church architecture in its general effect, according to these brief outlines, we are, first of all, agreeably impressed and attracted by the fresh life with which the people of Northern Europe have endowed the basilica pattern, and thus developed it into new forms. It is interesting to watch the development, out of the low and broad basilica with flat walls and a low-pitched roof, of the more ambitious Northern structure with steep roofs, lofty towers crowned with spires, broader towers covering the crossings and breaking the uniformity of the roof-lines; and all this rising from a substructure which is broken up and diversified in plan, having round and polygonal projections necessarily crowned with separate roofs of their own.

As sculpture did most active work in the organic structure, so, too, a great part was assigned to painting; walls, ceilings, and vaulted roofs being adorned with the glorious images of Christ, his apostles and saints. In the apse we generally find the Saviour enthroned upon a rainbow in an almond-shaped panel (the mandorla), upheld by angels, and showing the book of life to those who enter. He is surrounded by apostles, evangelists, the patron saints of the church, and figures from the Old Testament. These pictures were executed upon the dry plaster, and the figures generally stand out in bold colors on a blue ground. The architectural details, especially the capitals, also seem frequently to have been painted. A solemn tone, strengthened by the tempered light of the little windows, often broken by painted glass, reigns in the broad spaces, and greets, with an air of holy calm and a quiet sense of remoteness from the world, him who enters.

We have hitherto considered the Romanesque church structure as an isolated work. But the church of the years before 1100 A.D. was rather a part, although the most important and most solemn part, of a great whole, which developed in varied ways. Churches were mostly connected with convents, whose extensive buildings were attached to them either at the north or south. The monastery buildings and church were united by the cloisters: a covered corridor surrounding a court, usually quadrangular, and opening into it by groups of

windows, or rows of arches resting on miniature columns. To this was annexed a chapter room where councils were held, a refectory or dining-hall, and the various other rooms required by the every-day life of the monks. The whole precinct of the monastery was surrounded with walls and occasional towers, and, from a distance, might have been taken for a small city.

But even true church buildings of this date are frequent which deviate from the basilica form, and adopt a polygonal or circular design. Such is particularly the case with the baptisteries, or christening chapels, of cathedrals, for which a central or radiating plan was popular, and also with mortuary chapels; and even entire churches

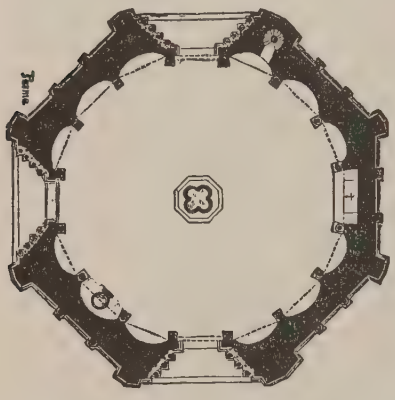


Fig. 304. Plan of the Baptistery at Parma.

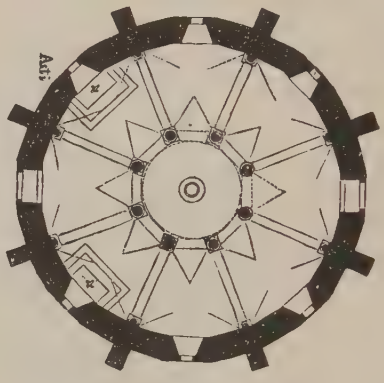


Fig. 305. Baptistery at Asti.

occur, which, though deviating in other points, incline to the circular or polygonal form. When they are without aisles surrounding the central and higher nave there is a greater wealth of chapels inside or outside (Fig. 304), and a more varied division of the space; but, if the space is divided by a ring of supporting pillars (Fig. 305), a higher central nave is formed, and surrounded by a low side aisle, arranged as a ring around the central tower-like mass. We also sometimes, especially in fortresses, find double chapels—i.e., two chapels built one upon the other—on the same ground-plan, which are sometimes connected by an opening in the floor of the upper one; the under one being occasionally arranged as a mortuary chapel.* Examples of this kind may be seen in the citadels at Nuremberg, Eger, Goslar, Freiberg on the Unstrut, and in the conventual church at Schwarz-Rheindorf, near Bonn.

* See W. Weingärtner, "System des christlichen Thurmbaues." Sutter, Conrad, "Thurmbuch."

As for secular architecture, it did especially good work in building of castles, in which the severe moderation of design, combined with a generally pleasing outline and mass, are noticeable. Conditions of defence and the accommodation of a garrison controlled all the dispositions, and therefore no delicate detail was added to these military structures; but the aspect of such a fortress, crowning a height, as, for example, in the older portions of the Wartburg, might be very stately, architecture as applied to private dwellings, during this period, only attained an enduring and artistic character in rare instances.

The restlessness which we have already noticed as characteristic of mediæval art produced a remarkable movement in the Romanesque style toward the close of its last flourishing period, which did, indeed, greatly impair the strong, pure character of that architectural school, accepting many admixtures of foreign forms, but at the same time held fast to the ground principles of Romanesque architecture, and, in fact, unfolded them with the utmost brilliancy, richness, and freedom. This is called the Transition style, because it is placed between the severe Romanesque and the Gothic styles. Its dominion was, however, limited to the period between 1175 and 1250, although even these dates are by no means applicable to all places; and this style appears in very different forms in various local works.

It resulted from the increasing call for more elaborate, richer, and more elegant works, for essential grace and beauty. Life had everywhere outgrown the stern conventual ban. Chivalry flourished. Cities began to feel their own strength and wealth. Trade introduced great treasures and a knowledge of foreign countries. The crusades also made the cultured laity familiar with the brilliant learning and architecture of the Orient. These men saw graceful, brilliant structures, dainty, piquant forms, and bold combinations; and all this must have made a deep impression on the receptive spirit of that age. We see the immediate introduction of Oriental forms into the architecture of Western nations; foremost among them, the pointed arch, long familiar to the builders of mosques in Syria and Egypt. But even those fantastic conceptions, the horseshoe and the scalloped arch—i.e., an arch edged with a row of small semicircles—appear, though seldom. The trefoil arch is found in doorways (Fig. 307), galleries, bays of cloisters; and is brought to special richness and beauty in cornices, where the simple round-arch frieze had hitherto prevailed. But even this was frequently used side by side with the newer form, though in richer outline; and with such lavish decoration that it fairly rivals it.

The pointed arch was not yet of equal importance in the develop-

ment of the new style. This pointed form, however, was sometimes called for by architectural combinations not at all connected with the coming Gothic style of vaulting. Thus the apse was often made polygonal, and roofed by a pointed vaulting, springing from a polygonal base, instead of a half-dome of semicircular plan.

There was a constant struggle for slenderer proportions and richer construction. This is shown in the vaulting, by the fact that the cross-ribs become more complicated in section, with round beads at

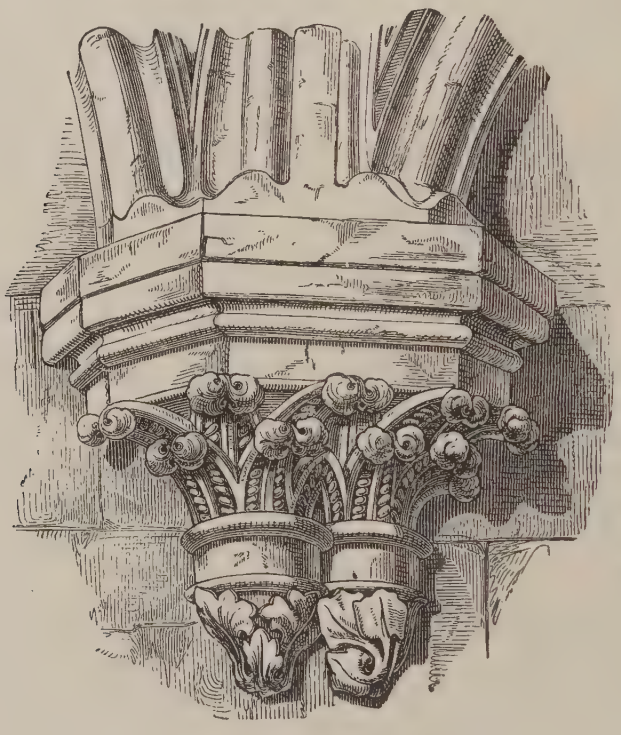


Fig. 306. Corbel from Heingkreug.

the angles, and strong semicircular ovolos, and occasionally in the deep fluting of the intermediate angles. Besides this, the arrises of the vault were furnished with rounded cross-ribs; so that the large surfaces of the vault displayed much more sharply marked divisions. The sections of the arcades of the nave became yet more lively and various, being made up of chamfers, sharp angles, and full round members. The finish of the piers, which was often embellished with a crowd of angle pillars and half-pillars, corresponds to it. Nevertheless, the true normal execution of the nave pier, corresponding to the

newly invented vault form, rested on a regular cruciform plan; so that the sides of the piers, with their projecting half-columns, correspond to the cross-ribs of the vaulting; and the smaller angle columns, to the diagonal ribs. Slender miniature columns on the walls and at the wall-angles, or in the arcades of the transept, were especially and lavishly used—singly, in pairs, or several together. In the cloisters particularly, this often led to a brilliant architectural development, sometimes united with a perfectly designed division of the wall-spaces.

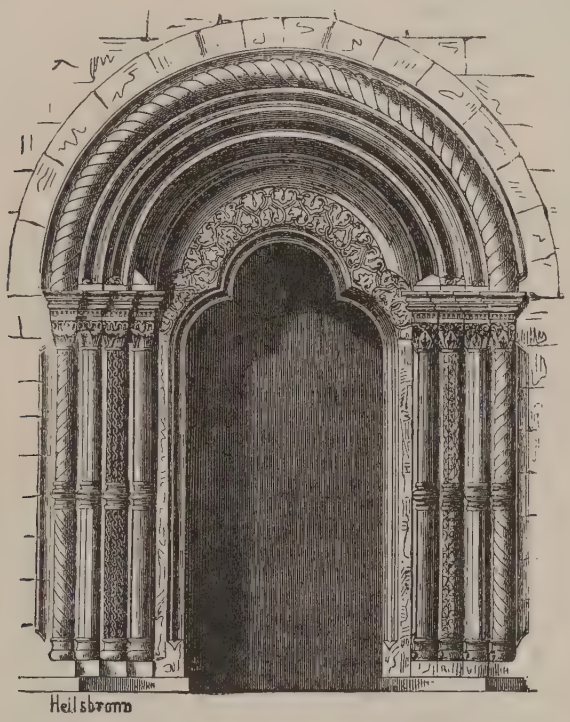


Fig. 307. Portal at Heilsbronn.

But in large churches, also, the more delicate finish of the piers, and the stronger division of the vaulting, produce an impression very unlike the severe and serious character of earlier edifices.

The struggle after stronger effect, already recognized as one of the leading traits of architecture, now pervaded all detail, and brought a brilliant finish with it, in the execution of the different parts and in their decoration. A striking effect, based on sharp contrasts, is aimed at in the bases of columns, in plinths and cornices, by means of deep fluting and undercutting, as well as by the sudden projection of the parts. The more delicate cup form prevails in capitals, and is beau-

tifully adorned with elegantly twined plants and bud-like, long-stemmed leaves (Fig. 306). Frequently, too, the column or the double column—sometimes the whole pier—is corbelled out, and rests upon a *cul de lampe* decorated with foliage (Fig. 306). The shafts of the long, thin pillars, used for a sub-division of the wall or at the doorway, frequently have a ring about the middle, formed of fluted and boldly projecting beads.

Lastly, we must notice that the windows shared in the general development. The tendency toward more freedom and grace is apparent in them; they become broader and longer, and are more frequently found in twos, threes, and groups, and sometimes united with a small round window above. The effort for more lively grouping, lighter effect, and the utmost possible perforation of surface, is evident in them. The restless spirit of longing for novelty introduced many new forms for windows—such as round ones inclosed in scallops, semicircular, lily-shaped, and fan-shaped; while the wheel-window reaches a higher perfection. The numerous recessed arcades of partly decorative character, commonly containing a range of columns surmounted by interlacing arches, constitute an important part of the subdivision of the walls. They are arranged in different ways, and frequently used for the decoration of the choir apse. The decorative tendency reaches its height in the case of the doorways, which are generally terminated by round arches, but occasionally by arches of a trefoil pattern, or else pointed, the pillars of which are profusely decorated on base, shaft, and capital, with a mass of ornaments of all descriptions. The same ornamentation is employed on the abacus, on the tympanum, and on the archivolt (Fig. 307).

The final development of the Romanesque style grew out of these elements, producing at times a beauty in which it attained its legitimate, free, and noble growth, but as often expressing merely a gaudy, fantastic, purposeless motive, and lending itself more to a decorative caprice than to the harmony of a genuine accomplishment; but always an illustration of the most inexhaustible fancy out of which spring a myriad shapes of individual beauty, braving the apparently rigid laws of the Romanesque style.

B.—GERMANY.

We are induced to begin our review of the most important monuments of the Romanesque style in Germany, by more than one consideration. In the first place, the new, independent development of the basilica structure is closely connected with the impulse given to life in that country by the strong dominion of the Saxon emperors

from 919 to 1024, and of the earlier sovereigns of the Franconian dynasty, immediately succeeding; in the next place, because the development of the basilica in Germany led, more than any other cause, to that definite form which, adhering to its original ideal, has always kept itself free from all fantastic and exaggerated tendencies; finally, because the Romanesque style has taken an especially deep root in Germany, and because it has sunk more profoundly here than elsewhere into the national life; the Gothic style having never replaced it completely, as in other parts of Europe. To be sure, there are differ-

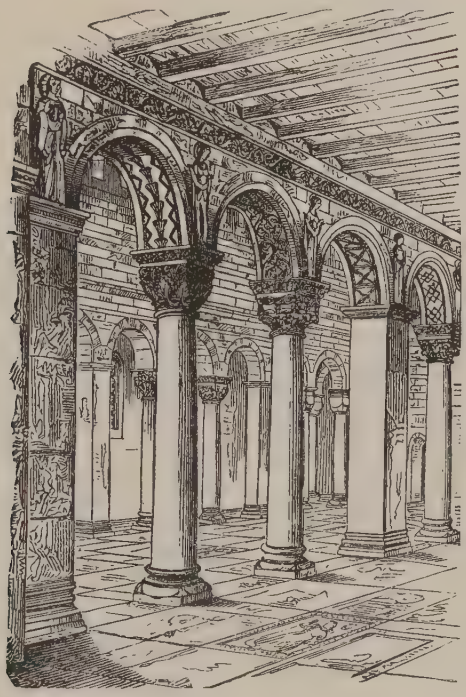


Fig. 308. St. Michael's Church at Hildesheim.

ences to be discovered even here, brought about by local peculiarities, by the inevitable march of development, and, finally, by variety of building material. Nevertheless, there remains an undeniable harmony in the whole German art development: it has, as it were, a single corner-stone.

Low-roofed basilicas, of stern simplicity of detail, exist in the Saxon parts of Germany, which, as genuine German provinces, are distinguished for the purity and exactness of their taste in all matters pertaining to art. The ground-plan of the basilica is generally in the

form of a transept with apses, a choir with a larger niche; in the nave a series of alternate columns and piers, and at the end of the nave two massive towers. The Church at Gernrode in the Harz Mountains is especially archaic and severe. It was built in the year 961, probably upon an older foundation, with some alterations. The transept is short. There are alternately columns and piers in the nave, the latter with clumsy, antique capitals. On the west side are two round towers, between which shows the high, clumsy main building, to which an apse was added at a later period. There are freer and nobler reminiscences of the antique in the details of the Castle Church at Quedlinburg, where two columns alternate with a pier with arches, and a prolonged crypt extends beneath the choir and the transept. The whole manner of execution illustrates the style of the eleventh century, already fully developed. A complete columned basilica of the advanced but still severe Romanesque style is that of the ruined Conventual Church at Paulinzelle, in Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, in Central Germany, begun in 1105, with its glorious pillars, its high walls, and its magnificent vestibule of a later date—one of the finest ruins in the Thuringian Forest. Splendid examples of misdirected art, built in all the pomp of ornamentation of the culminating period of this style, are the Cathedral of Hildesheim and the Church of S. Godehard, dating from the year 1146, the ground-plan of which we gave above (Fig. 291). The choir of this church has an aisle with apses, and an octagonal tower over the square, which groups picturesquely with the two west towers. The Church of St. Michael, in the same place, is a good illustration of spaciousness. It contains two complete choirs with transepts; and apses, one of which has an aisle surrounding it; and with stately towers rising above both crossings; in addition to which, octagonal towers with winding staircases are placed at the gable ends of the cross-aisles, so that the church possessed originally six towers. The first foundation, in the year 1033—to which, in a general way, must be referred the whole plan of the structure—was followed in the year 1186 by a splendid rebuilding, conspicuous for its magnificence of decoration. Rich capitals decorated in various ways; elegant adornments of the intrados of the arches; statues above the capitals in the transepts, as well as on the chancel screen; finally, a magnificent painted roof of wood in the nave—all these still testify to the glories of this grand basilica (Fig. 308). Simpler illustrations of a rigid adherence to the same system of architecture, with fewer decorations, are the conventual churches of the Cistercians at Loccum in Hanover and at Riddagshausen in Brunswick, both with rectangular choirs; to which, in the Church at Riddagshausen, is added a surrounding aisle and a wreath of chapels.

On the Rhine,* one of the most noted basilicas with columns is the Conventual Church at Limburg on the Hardt, founded by the Emperor Conrad II. in the year 1030, but now only a picturesque ruin. High pillars, with simple cubic capitals, separated the nave, 40 feet in width, from the transepts; the choir was rectangular, and the

Fig. 309. Cathedral at Trier (Treves), Western End.

west façade provided with a porch. The western part of the Cathedral at Treves illustrates, in its massive simplicity, the earnest and impressive style then aimed at in the exterior of buildings. This cathedral was begun by Archbishop Poppo, and finished in 1047 (Fig. 309). The Conventual Church of Hersfeld in Hesse, built in

* Geier und Görz, "Denkmale romanischer Baukunst am Rhein." Boisserée, "Denkmale der Baukunst am Niederrhein." G. Moller, "Denkmäler deutscher Baukunst"; continued by Gladbach. C. W. Schmidt, "Baudenkmale von Trier."

1037, belongs to the most famous columned basilicas in Germany. Columned basilicas exist in the Swabian provinces,* which correspond to Baden and Würtemberg with the western part of Bavaria; as at Hirschau (dating from 1071, a ruin which has been thoroughly explored), at Schwarzach, at Faurndau; and also in the Church of St. George, at Hagenau in Alsace. The Cathedral at Constance on the Lake of Constance, and the Minster at Schaffhausen on the upper Rhine, are still further examples. Bavaria† and Franconia possess magnificent columned basilicas in the Cathedrals of Würzburg and of Augsburg, which still uprear their ancient fair proportions in spite of modern alterations. After these may be mentioned the structures in Regensburg (Ratisbon), built upon a rigidly classical plan—as the Church of St. Stephen, formerly the Cathedral and very near the later Cathedral; with the vestibule and crypt; also the ruins of the church of St. Emmeram, as well as the churches of the *Oberminster,* and the so-called Scottish Abbey — a Benedictine monastery dedicated to St. James, remarkable for its singular door. In Austria‡ the original basilica style is illustrated by St. Peter's at Salzburg, built after a fire in 1127, and by the ancient abbey church at Seckau in Styria, restored 1154, both of which have vaulted transepts; and by the Cathedral in Gurk (ground-plan, Fig. 292); a simple, pillared basilica of the end of the twelfth century, with a superb marble crypt containing a hundred columns; finally, the Cathedral at Fünfkirchen in Hungary—a stately columned basilica, built, like the former, without a transept, with three apses in a row.

In Germany, the vaulted roof first gained the day over the flat-roofed basilica in the Rhine provinces. First in order comes the Cathedral at Mayence (Fig. 310)—a magnificent building, the original plan of which was a colossal, flat-roofed, columned basilica with two apses, a western transept, two towers on the sides of the choir, and two larger towers above the two crossings. This church exceeds in grandeur all other Romanesque buildings in Germany. The nave is 50 feet wide in the clear, and the interior length of the whole building is 415 feet. The proportions are unusually slender, and a marked expression of lightness is conveyed by them. The present vaulted roof belongs to a later restoration; and the imposing plan and elaborate execution of the west choir, as well as the transept, are conspicuous instances of the period of transition; whereas the eastern portions, with

* Heideloff and Müller, "Schwäbische Denkmäler"; continued by Leibnitz.

† I. Sighart, "Geschichte der bild. Künste im Königr. Baiern."

‡ G. Heider, R. v. Eitelberger, and Hieser, "Mittelalterliche Kunstdenkmale des österr. Kaiserstaates"; vols. i., ii. "Jahrbuch der k. k. Central-Comm."; Vienna, 1856. "Mittheilungen der k. k. Central-Comm."; edited by K. Weiss. Yearly volume for 1856. Publications begun some time since by E. Fürst Lichnowsky, as well as by Ernst and Œscher, remain uncompleted.

their apses, the two doors, and the two round towers which flank the building, most probably date from an earlier period in the eleventh century.

So splendid a model could not long remain unimitated; and we

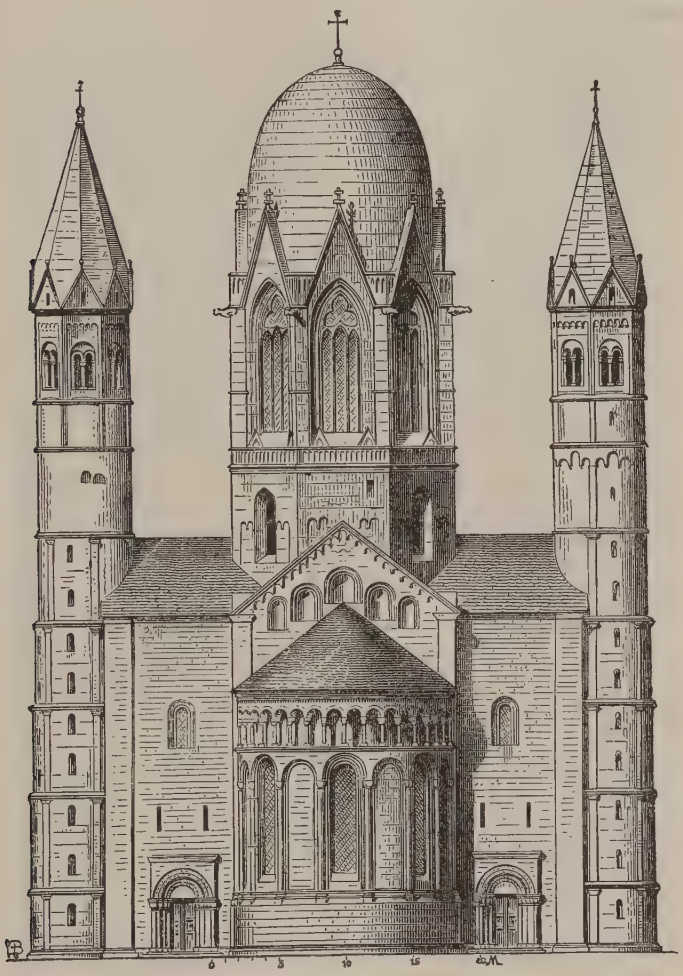


Fig. 310. Cathedral at Mayence with Gothic tower, since replaced.

accordingly find the neighboring Cathedral of Speyer (Fig. 311), towards the middle of the twelfth century, improving upon its ancient plan by a similar restoration. This superb building, no less impressive and grand than its rival of Mayence, is one of the most historically interesting of the monuments of the Middle Ages, being closely associated with the greatness as well as the disgrace of Ger-

many. It was begun by Conrad II.—on the same day as the Abbey at Limburg, already referred to—in the year 1030, and was designed to be the burial place of the German emperors. The place of sepulture was a long crypt, extending under the choir and the

Fig. 311. Cathedral at Speyer.

transept, which still remains to testify to the original design. The building of the enormous church was carried on by succeeding emperors during almost a century; the width of the central nave being 44 feet, and the length of the structure measuring 418 feet. The vaulting, according to the investigations of Hübsch, was begun at the time of the original construction, and follows the general arrange-

ment of the Mayence Cathedral, although it embodies a sentiment of greater power and energy. The exterior corresponds in grandeur with the interior. An attractive gallery is carried round all the principal portions of the building, and the arrangement of lofty domes and towers is in accordance with that picturesque spirit of Rhenish architecture which delights in the grouping of imposing masses. The ancient imperial crypt, and the magnificent cathedral itself, were laid in ruins by the French troops when Louis XIV. devastated the Palatinate in 1689. For almost a century the monument of the German emperors lay blackened and crumbling, until a restoration was undertaken in the year 1772, during which the western narthex, called the Emperor's Hall, especially was altered and reconstructed according to the decorative forms of that day. King Ludwig I. of Bavaria restored the cathedral about 1850 and caused it to be decorated with frescos; the Imperial Hall has also been judiciously restored.

The Cathedral at Worms is a third important monument of this series, and dates, to judge by the magnificence of its original plan, from an early epoch; although it was restored during the twelfth century, and consecrated in 1181. In the design and execution of its most important characteristics it suggests alternately the Cathedrals of Mayence and of Speyer. The exterior is marked, as in our former examples, by the double choir with two domes, and by four round spires with winding staircases. The best portions are executed in the florid style of the transition period. An illustration of the exterior is given in Fig. 302.

Passing down the Rhine, we come upon a vaulted structure of similar characteristics in the smaller but harmonious and beautiful Abbey of Laach, which was completed in the year 1156. The square division of the ground plan has been abandoned in this case. The picturesque appearance of the exterior of the church is heightened by six towers of different heights and shapes. Next, the Church of Schwarzrheindorf,* near Bonn, may be mentioned as an instance of very original design. It consists of a small, attractive main building, which was enlarged at a later period. It is further remarkable as a double church, and is rendered extremely picturesque by a gallery which runs around its whole extent (Fig. 300).

The church edifices in old Cologne offer a design of a different character, but are even more artistically remarkable. The Church of Santa Maria im Capitol, so called from its location within the ancient Roman citadel, is one of the earliest and most important monuments; it was consecrated by Pope Leo IX. in the year 1049.

* A. Simons, "Die Doppelkirche zu Schwarzrheindorf"; Bonn, 1846.

The principal part of the present building dates from this period; although the vaulting of the central nave and the upper parts of the choir and of the transepts recall the style of the thirteenth century. The arrangement of the building is original. The choir and the two transepts end in round apses, but are encircled by low aisles, which

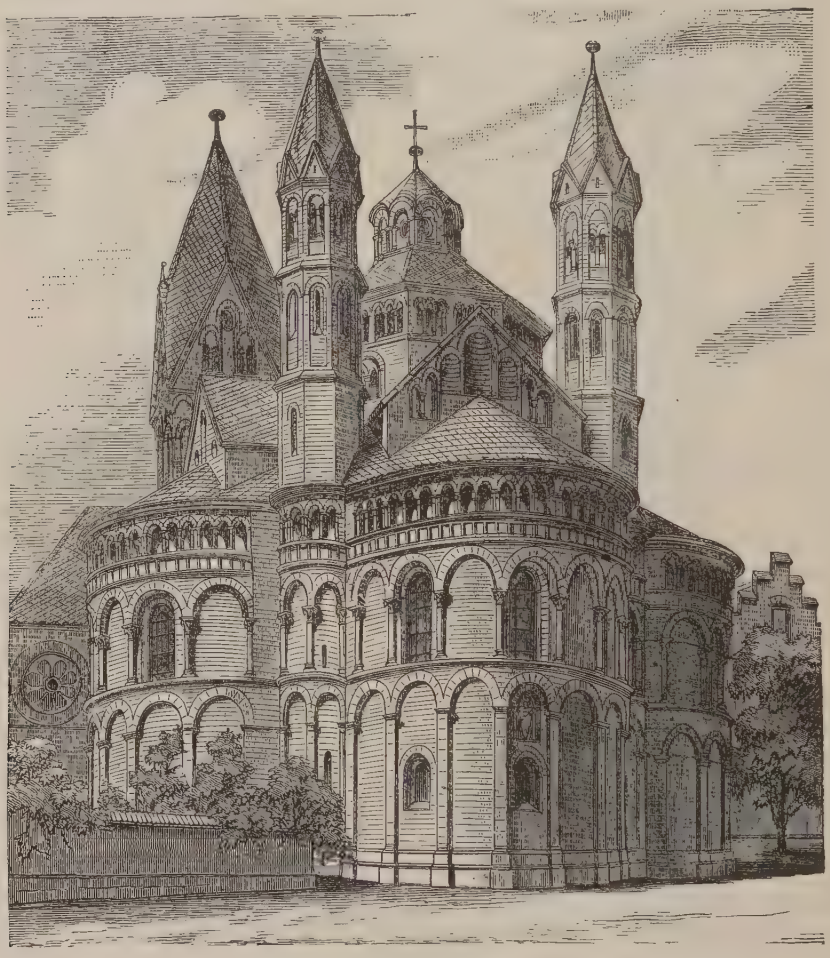


Fig. 312. Church of the Holy Apostles at Cologne. (From Dollinger.)

are separated from the clear story by columns. The cross vaulting of these aisles, and the large, differently constructed vaultings of the central spaces, afford a surprising proof of the thoroughness with which all technical details were mastered at that period in Cologne. The effect of the interior is in the highest degree solemn, earnest, and yet spirited; this being chiefly due to the fact that the eastern

portions of the church are symmetrically disposed about the crossing as a common center. This centralization of the choir end of the church was further adopted in the course of the twelfth century in the case of two other churches in Cologne — that of the Holy Apostles (Fig. 312) and the "Gross S. Martin," formerly a conventual church. In both of these the transepts are shortened, the aisles surrounding the choir are omitted, and the whole plan is more concentrated. In both the walls are broken up, relieved, and divided, by niches in the walls, by galleries, and triforiums; and the exteriors of both are ornamented in the very richest manner. But there is this difference between the two, that the main building of the nave in the Church of the Apostles is crowned by a wide octagonal cupola, flanked by slender spires; while an enormous quadrangular tower soars above the center of the transept in the Great St. Martin's Church, at the corners of which are four turrets. This is one of the finest mediæval towers in Europe, 270 feet high and of noble proportions. Other structures in Cologne bear even more emphatically the stamp of the transition period, especially in the intermixture of the pointed and round arch and in other details of form. The most interesting of these is the Church of St. Gereon, which, about this time (1212-27), added a new decagonal nave to its long, projecting choir, which was raised above a crypt, and flanked by two towers. This unusual form, which is evidently the result of the retention of an ancient circular structure, presents a wreath of semicircular chapels, surmounted by a gallery, entirely in the spirit of the other buildings in Cologne of the same epoch that have been already described. At the same time, a new order of architecture is indicated—the Gothic—at this time in full development in the French lands not far away, and already invading Germany.

The neighborhood of Cologne is rich in monuments of the last epoch of the Romanesque. One of the most original in composition, and at the same time the most magnificent, is the Abbey of Heisterbach, situated in a green valley of the Siebengebirge. This abbey was destroyed in the beginning of the present century, and only exists now as a picturesque ruin. It was completed in 1233, and belonged to the order of the Cistercians. Like all the best known institutions of this order, it possessed a very sharply defined individuality. Especially the choir, ruins of which still remain, has the peculiarity of an aisle completely surrounding it, and separated from the main building by a double row of columns; while attached to the aisle was a series of semicircular chapels, considerably lower, and built into the thickness of the wall. The exterior of the build-

ing thus presented the appearance of a pyramidal structure of several stories. An immense nave, with two transepts, and with rows of chapels opening on either side, extended from the imposing choir. The Minster at Bonn belongs to about the same time. It is no less grand, and is at the same time much richer in

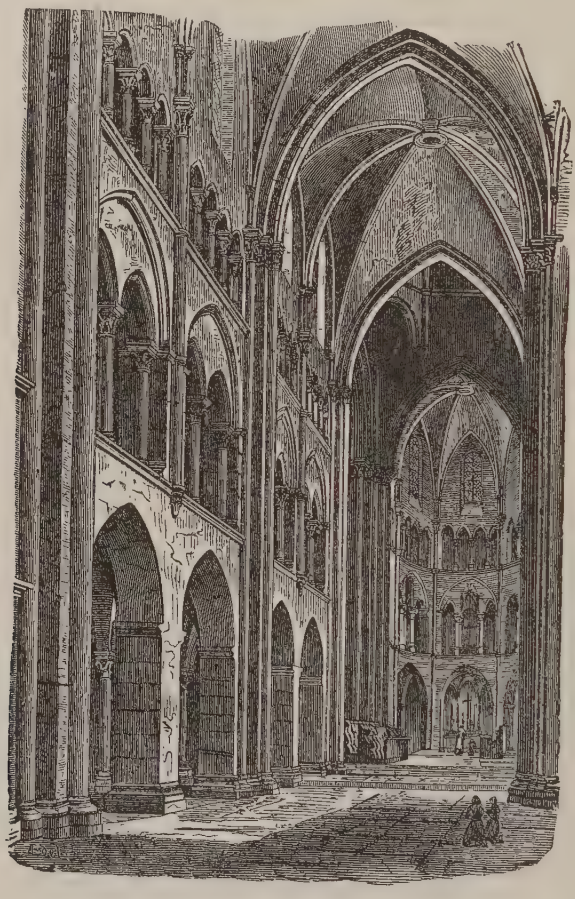


Fig. 313. Cathedral at Limburg.

detail. The exterior produces a delightful impression, with its choir of an older date, its polygonal transepts, and its five towers.

Finally, the influence of the Romanesque style is distinguishable in important buildings in the Middle-Rhine provinces. Such are the Parish Church of Gelnhausen, to the flat-roofed nave of which was added about this time a handsome choir, adorned with galleries and two slender towers; and more particularly the Cathedral of

Limburg on the Lahn, consecrated in 1235, which is a superb example of the Rhenish transition epoch (Fig. 313). It is of very moderate dimensions, the whole length of the interior measuring only about 165 feet, and the width of the nave being only 25 feet; but the interior architecture is carried out with so much vivacity and spirit, that the Rhenish style finds in this church its most magnificent embodiment. The nave and choir are lighted by galleries and triforia, the choir even having a complete corridor about it; while the exterior has two enormous west towers, a stately domed tower over the transept, and four slender spires at the ends of the arms of the cross.

As far as can be ascertained, vaulted buildings did not appear in the Westphalian and Saxon provinces* earlier than the last decade of the twelfth century. All that is aimed at in the buildings of this region is the simple embodiment of the useful; all needless ornamentation is done away with; but special attention is given to the disposition of the essentials of the structure, and particularly to the piers, in the arrangement of which as much variety and expression as possible is attempted. The Cathedral at Soest has vaultings in the Romanesque style added to the primitive flat-roofed nave; also a western vestibule belonging to the last epoch of this period, with an immense tower; the whole eminently imposing. The transition period is also well represented by the restoration of the Osnabrück Cathedral, and still better by the Münster Cathedral, which was restored in 1225-61. Bold, wide arches, double transepts, and a gallery around the polygonal choir (the clear story of which has a triforium), impart to the building a stately magnificence as simple as it is impressive.

An entirely different architectural system prevails in other churches of Westphalia, the transepts being carried up to the full height of the nave, which thus loses its clear story, and with it the means of lighting the nave independently; the whole assuming the character of the hall churches, a form always popular in Germany. The Minster at Herford and the Cathedral at Paderborn are the most famous of these hall churches, each retaining a characteristic Westphalian arrangement in the rectangular choir.

In the Saxon provinces† an excellent example of the blending of vaulted roofs with the strict old basilica structure is the Cathedral at Brunswick, a foundation of Henry the Lion, dating from the year 1171. This is of special interest owing to its roomy crypt, and to the paintings on the vaulting of its choir and transept. In the neigh-

* W. Lübke, "Die mittelalterliche Kunst in Westphalen"; Leipzig, 1853.
† Consult the before-mentioned work of Von Puttrich.

boring Church of Königslütter (Fig. 314), which possesses one of the finest cloisters, very peculiarly arranged with a double corridor, the eastern portions, at least, were originally vaulted. The Cathedral at Naumburg, consecrated in 1242, illustrates the transition period in its most artistic phase. It is an edifice of massive proportions, with two choirs and four towers; characterized, moreover, by a superb Romanesque choir screen. The elaboration of details is here carried out with freedom and spirit. But the glorious Bamberg Cathedral attains to the perfection of the Romanesque transition style of Ger-

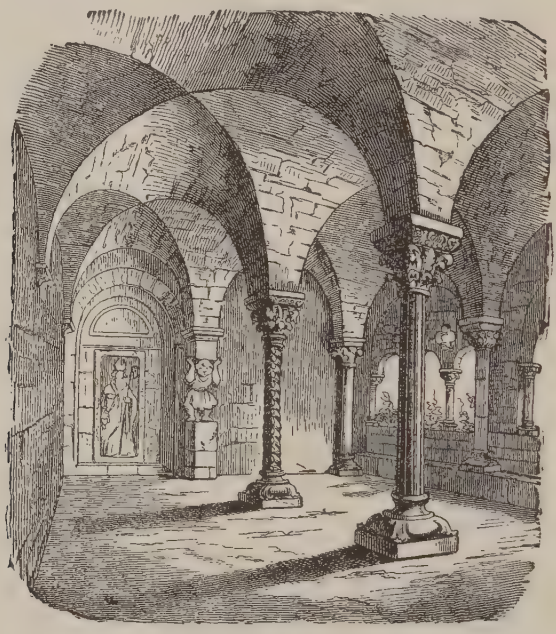


Fig. 314. Cloister at Königslütter.

many as carried out in Franconian buildings, and blends in a climax of beauty the excellences of the Rhenish and the Saxon schools. The plan of this cathedral is magnificent, the proportions large and imposing, and yet with a noble freedom and lightness in its upper portions. Here again are two stately choirs, one at each end, and each finished with a projecting apse, and each flanked by a pair of superb towers, the western choir further distinguished by a spacious transept. The distinct divisions, the pure proportions, the bold elevation, the rich decoration covering cornices and doors with a wealth of joyous and noble magnificence, give to this building a place in the foremost rank of the architectural creations of the Middle Ages.

The Church of S. Michael at Altenstadt, in Bavaria, follows next, as a Romanesque building, among the vaulted structures of Southern Germany; also the Cathedral of Freising, in which the imagination of the South German school developed an elaborate system of ornamentation. In Swabia, the Church at Ellwangen* stands out as a handsome, vaulted columned basilica of the culminating period of Romanesque art: it is remarkable for a ground plan exceptionally fine for South Germany, recalling certain Saxon churches, especially that at Königslütter. A choir, with crypt, side choirs, and transepts, flanked by two towers, and surrounded by five apses and a western vestibule, above which rises a third tower, are the distinctive features of this noble structure, and without doubt may be referred back to Saxon prototypes. The Minster at Basle† is an important building in the style of the transition period. It was enlarged in the Gothic period to a building with five naves. The polygonal choir with a gallery, and the triforia above the arcades of the nave, bear the unmistakable stamp of the later Romanesque period. The great Minster in Zurich is more severe, and of an earlier date—before the end of the twelfth century; but its more recent cloister displays far more wealth of composition and of eccentric ornamentation (Fig. 315).

The system of vaulting began at a very early day among the churches of Alsatia, which present a group as attractive as remarkable, and represent German characteristics on the borders of France.‡ The Church of Ottmarsheim, in the severe style of the eleventh century, is a close copy of the Carlovingian Minster at Aix. The Abbey of Murbach, dating from the beginning of the twelfth century, is situated in a pleasant valley near Gebweiler. It has a rectangular choir and two east towers, and is distinguished by a genuine artistic, albeit severe, execution. The Church at Rosheim exemplifies a still further stage of development. It has round-arched, ribbed vaultings, supported by simple pillars, which alternate with robust columns. An octagonal tower rises from the transept, such as continually occurs in Alsatian edifices. The Church of S. Fides at Schlettstadt resembles this in treatment, except that the arches are pointed, and rest upon a row of piers ornamented by engaged columns; while in the places of the intervening columns themselves, a pillar composed of four semi-columns is introduced. The arcades have

* K. A. Busl, "Die Stiftskirche und die Stiftsheiligen Ellwangens"; Ravensburg, 1864.

† For the Swiss buildings consult J. R. Rahn, "Geschichte der bildenden Künste in der Schweiz"; Zurich, 1874-76.

‡ On the architecture of Alsace consult Lübke and Lasius in the *Allgemeine Bauzeitung*, 1860; and Woltmann in Lutzow's *Zeitschrift*, vol. vii. Also Woltmann, "Geschichte der Deutschen Kunst im Elsass."

pointed arches; whereas everything else about the building, especially the vaulting, is in round arches. On the west is a pretty vestibule between two towers; a third octagonal tower rises above the transept. The Church of S. Legerius at Gebweiler has a similarly situated tower, excepting that it constitutes on the west side a picturesque, open vestibule with three naves. In interior construction, this church recalls that at Schlettstadt. Its pillars, however, are more fully developed, and the pointed arch of the transition period prevails in the arcades and vaultings. The Church at Pfaffenheim has re-

Fig. 315. Cloister in the Great Minster at Zurich.

ceived the addition of a handsome choir of the same epoch. The Church at Maursmünster offers a fine example of the vestibule that is such a favorite in Alsace. It has also three stately towers, which impart a marked character to the excellently composed façade. The eastern portions and the transept of the Minster of Strasburg are creations of the Romanesque transition period; to which epoch belong also the choir and transept of the Church of St. Stephen in the same town.

The last epoch of the Romanesque showed itself with especial richness and pomp in the Austrian States, developing a splendor of

imagination and a profusion of ornamentation which entitle the masterpieces of this group of structures to rank with the finest works produced by the Romanesque style. The façade of the Church of S. Stephen in Vienna, with its splendid giant doorway, as well as the noble nave of the Church of S. Michael, date from this time. An important monument is the Cistercian Abbey Church at Heiligenkreuz; distinguished, moreover, by a beautiful cloister. This is in severe but consistent vaulted Romanesque style; the choir added to

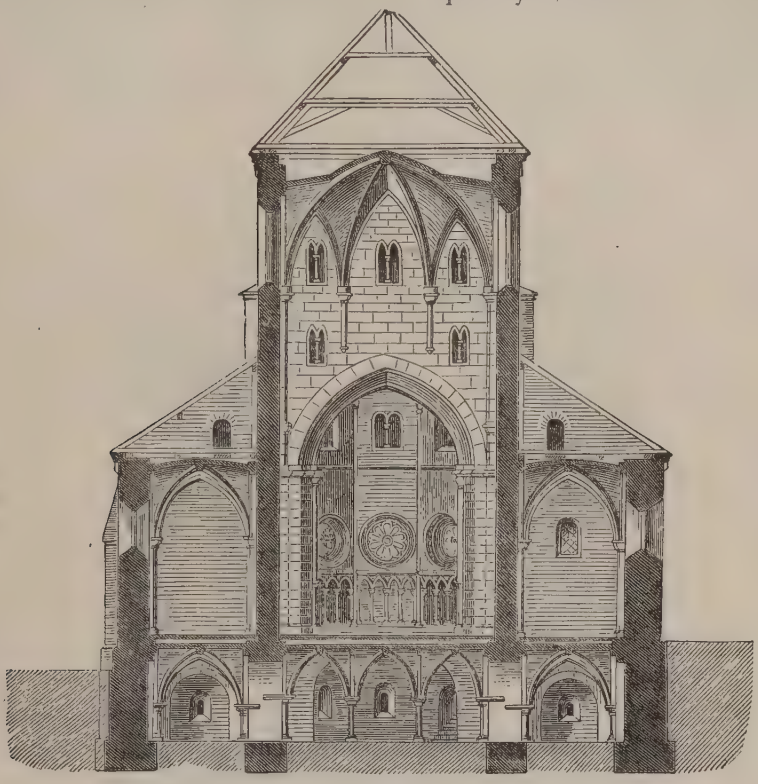


Fig. 316. Church at Trebitsch. (Cross-Section.)

and enlarged at a later period. Another handsome church of this order at Lilienfeld belongs to this same period. Its vaulting, with the addition of the pointed arch, shows an advance to freer treatment; and its imposing choir has a surrounding aisle, considerably adding to its original design, and belonging to a later time. A cloister of greater richness heightens the effect of the whole plan. A third cloister, fully worthy to be compared with the two above mentioned, is that of the Cistercians at Zwetl, in lower Austria; it also belongs to the late Romanesque epoch. Two cloister churches

in Moravia have also recently been made known, which develop new features in the splendid architectural designs of the Austrian States. The Benedictine Abbey of Trebitsch, north of Vienna, has a church (Fig. 316) in which the style of the transition period has produced surprising results by means of original conceptions. The pointed arch prevails in the arcades and vaultings; only on the doors and windows it alternates with the rounded arch. The vaultings of the choir are of polygonal shape, as well as a vast vestibule with a gallery; and the entire eastern space is, moreover, made especially noteworthy by an extended crypt. The frieze of the arch of the principal apse is a special illustration of the rich and even lavish

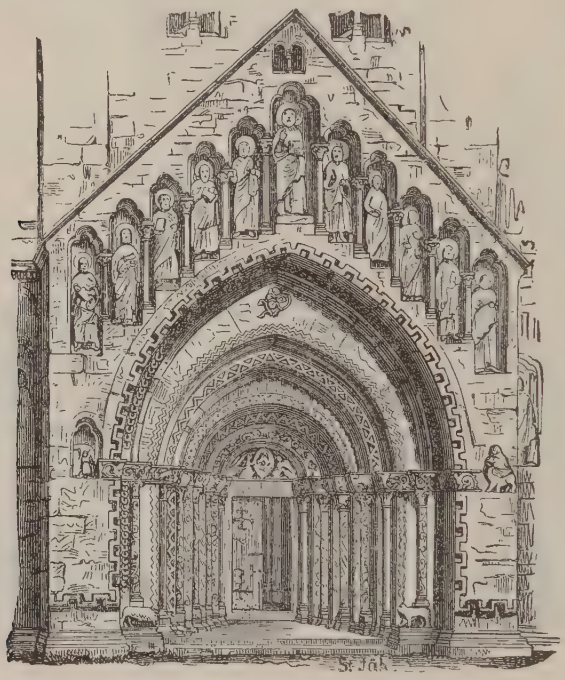


Fig. 317. Church of Ják.

ornamentation of the whole building. The principal door on the north side, however, has received the greatest profusion of decoration. It is round-arched, and broad rather than tapering, and with its sixteen pillars, with its archivolts and the angles of its piers richly covered with scroll and leaf ornamentation, one of the most magnificent efforts of the Romanesque style. Another Moravian edifice, the Cistercian Nunnery at Tischnowitz—completed about 1238—is a specimen of the fully developed transition style on a simple plan,

and with the characteristic severity of execution peculiar to this order. However, a nobly constructed cloister and a western portal belong to this building, which in elegance of proportions and in the profuse wealth of beautiful wreathings far exceed the formal leaf-ornament and sculpture of the doorway of Trebitsch.

We find this superb style penetrating far into Hungary and the Province of Siebenbürgen; and only the mountain line of the Transylvanian Alps has established a barrier between the Romanesque and the Byzantine art. The masterpiece of Hungarian architecture is the Church of Ják, south of the Danube (compare Fig. 301), a vaulted building, thoroughly in the style of the transition epoch, of noble proportions, and whose richly decorated west door (Fig. 317) compares in magnificence with the doors of Vienna, Trebitsch, and Tischnowitz, already mentioned, and surpasses them as to original design. The cathedral at Karlsburg in Siebenbürgen is in the simple, intelligible style of the monuments of Central Germany, such as the Cathedrals at Naumburg and Bamberg, with vaultings of noble proportions, and with its different parts admirably disposed and emphasized by appropriate decoration.

The buildings of Northeastern Germany* furnish a thoroughly characteristic group. Long after Western, Southern, and Central Germany had reached a high plane of development, the Slavonic races inhabiting those provinces remained resolutely hostile to the Christian-Teutonic efforts at civilization. It was not until during the twelfth century that Christianity was fully established here, and a new way of life was opened through the influence of German colonists. The developed Romanesque style, then employed in the neighboring Saxon countries, was made use of in all works of architecture. However, nature had not supplied the plateau of Northern Germany with stone ready for use; and it was therefore necessary to make good the deficiency by a substitute, which was not without great influence upon the adaptation of the forms employed. At first the attempt was made to use, in building, blocks of granite which are found scattered over the entire North German plateau. But this extremely hard material was so difficult to work, that the results were clumsy and unpleasing; and therefore recourse was had to bricks, with which the buildings were completed. But, inasmuch as the bricks could only be baked of moderate sizes, all imposing and vigorous finish of the

* F. v. Quast, "Zur Charakteristik des älteren Ziegelbaues in der Mark Brandenburg." *Deutsches Kunstblatt.* F. Adler, "Mittelalterliche Backsteinbauwerke des Preussischen Staates." Folio, Berlin, 2 vols. Strack and Meyerheim, "Denkmäler der Altmark." Text by F. Kugler. A. von Minutoli, "Denkmäler mittelalterlicher Kunst in den brandenburgischen Marken." F. Kugler, "Pommer'sche Kunstgeschichte, in den kleinen Schriften." Vol. i.

different portions was prevented; and hence the desire for artistic display was forced to take refuge in a system of flat ornamentation. A picturesque variety was frequently produced by the use of differently colered glazed bricks. The buildings remained unadorned exteriorly and internally, and simply in the rough finish of the material; and the general effect of the calmer, more massive plan, and of the subdued

Fig. 318. Monastery Church of Jerichow. (From Adler.)

coloring, was unusually impressive and dignified. There were changes also, however, in the details of the work. The columned basilica was now seldom used; the piered basilica was employed almost to the exclusion of the older style, and received a new expression through the use of half-columns and other features. The bases were also simplified,

and the capitals made suitable; although it was a difficult matter to translate the cubic form into the clumsier character necessitated by the use of bricks. Sometimes, to be sure, hewn stone was made use of for purposes of detail; such finer, more spirited forms resulting therefrom as could be produced by the skilled chisel. The friezes and moldings give a completeness to the cold surfaces of the exterior. These were fashioned either in the form of round arches, or else a frieze was used, designed in intersecting rounded arches. Occasionally there is a plain frieze constructed of single bricks, arranged in triangular or else in rhomboidal patterns. Small corbels are also used in this connection; and a pattern composed of small stones laid cornerwise upon each other, in layers, is employed with good effect as a finish.

The Convent Church at Jerichow in the Altmark, near Magdeburg, (Fig. 318), is one of the best preserved and most characteristic in that region. It is a severely simple, wooden roofed, columned basilica, with a lofty choir, and a large crypt with pillars of sandstone, having, at the sides of the choir, chapel-like spaces with apses; the entire exterior excellently executed; friezes and moldings richly worked out; the west building supported by two slender towers. Under the monastery is the splendid chapter house and the still more magnificent refectory. The vaultings are supported upon richly decorated sandstone pillars, which in the refectory have very elegantly finished capitals; the whole in good preservation, in spite of rough treatment in modern times. The Cathedral of Brandenburg, west of Berlin, with its crypt of hewn stone, is a plain pillared basilica, originally covered by a flat roof. The Conventual Church of Arendsee, near Jerichow, is a Romanesque vaulted building, consistently executed; while the Ratzeburg Cathedral, in Lauenburg, near the Baltic, is tempered with the style of the transition period, and corresponds, to a certain extent, with the plan of the Brunswick Cathedral.

FRANCE.

In France, also, we are met by a spirited variety of architectural structures, which, taking the Romanesque as their starting point, afford a further proof of the variety of which this style is capable. A devotion to classical forms, which surpasses even that of Italy, is, however, apparent in this country, rich in antique traditions as it is. Not only details of decoration, but also the main features of construction, are borrowed from the Romans; and at a very early stage the wooden roof of the basilica yields to vaultings, cylindrical or domed, the construction of which was carried on more symmetrically and consistently in France than in any other country. The

magnificent buildings of Roman antiquity, still well preserved, down to the twelfth century at least, probably gave the first impetus to this tendency, which the intelligent, practical spirit of the French people proceeded to emphasize and develop. But several schools contend for superiority upon this ground, and the contrast between the peculiarities of the North and South is especially conspicuous.

It is in Southern France that we find the almost universal adoption of the tunnel vault. This is so combined with the basilica form of church that it covers the central nave throughout the whole length of the main building; while half tunnel vaults are employed for the side

Fig. 319. Porch of Notre Dame des Doms, Avignon. (From Laborde's "Monuments de la France.")

aisles, which receive the thrust of the tunnel vaults of the nave like continuous buttresses, and push against the strong exterior walls. The ground plan of the basilica was retained through this arrangement; but an essential feature of its artistic development, the beautiful light pouring down from the upper windows in the high walls of the middle nave, was irretrievably lost. There was of course no clear story, where the nave vault was kept low between the half vaults of the aisles; and the idea of opening windows through the vault itself,

by means of lunettes, as was afterward done by means of cross-vaulting, was beyond the strength of the early builders. The column system disappeared with this construction, and was replaced by a system of heavy piers. Occasionally, galleries were carried along the side aisles, upon the vaulting, and were roofed with half-tunnel vaults. The choir, as a rule, was enlarged by a

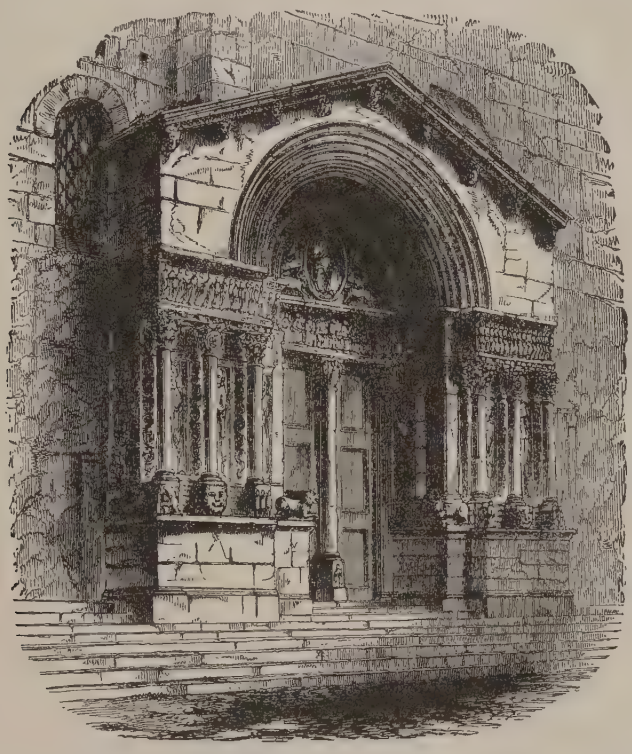


Fig. 320. Porch of St. Trophime, Arles. (From Chapuy, "Moyen Age Monumental.")

transept, and was also often further elaborated by a low surrounding aisle opening into chapels—a distinctive feature of French architecture. Columns are also employed as intermediate supports. The details of the work are generally copied from the antique, frequently with a richer treatment; the exterior receives a marked effect of height through the addition of towers to the façade or to the transept.

This style has been most consistently and nobly carried out in Provence and Dauphiné. The Cathedral of Avignon, an important example, has a highly organized plan, a cupola carried upon a curious system of parallel arches, and a beautiful porch, after the antique.

(Fig. 319). The great unfinished Church of Saint Gilles, and the

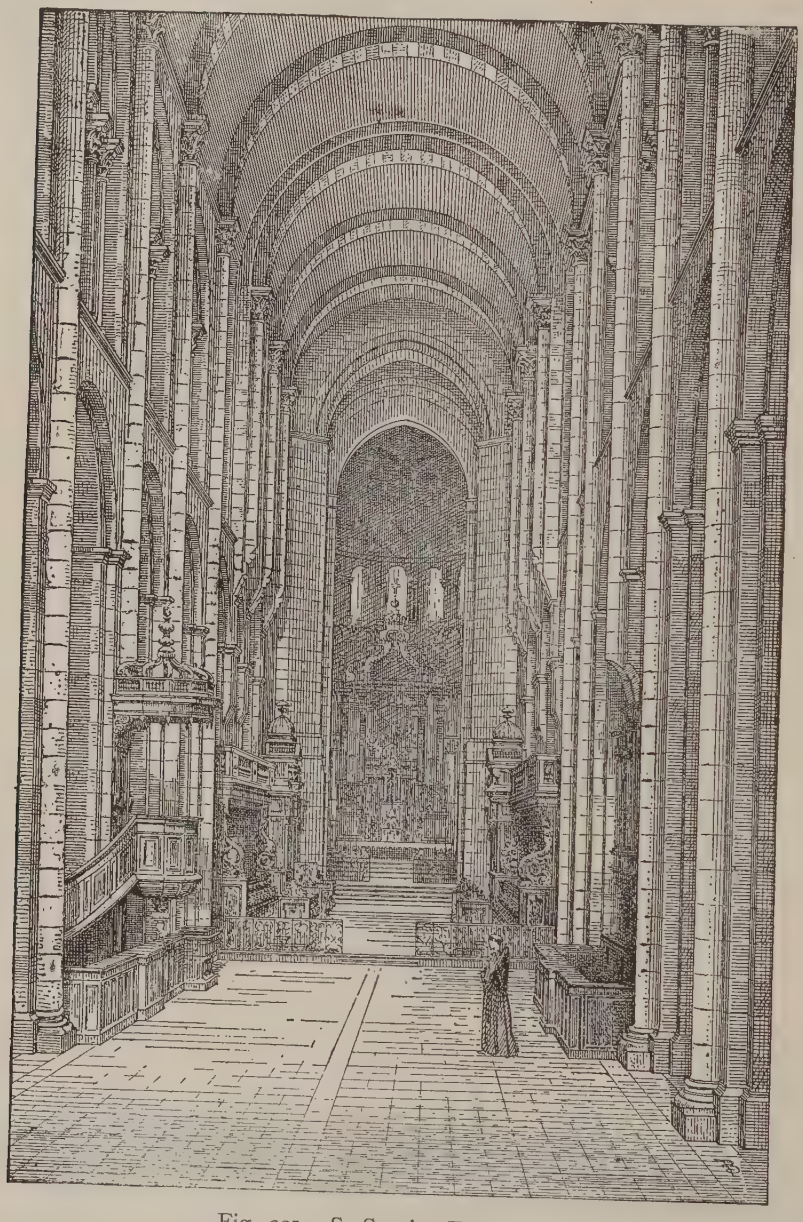


Fig. 321. S. Sernin, Toulouse.

Cathedral of S. Trophime at Arles (Fig. 320), have portals that are equally magnificent, in the same antique fashion. Here is intro-

duced a pointed form of the tunnel vault, which, from the twelfth century, disputed the sway with the round arch in this group of edifices. Farther on, we come upon one of the most magnificent illustrations of this style in the Church S. Sernin, or S. Saturnin, begun toward the end of the eleventh century, at Toulouse (Fig. 321). This is an immense five-aisled basilica, with a three-aisled transept, and with galleries carried above the side aisles, which open through columns toward the main building. A surrounding aisle and five radiating apses complete the choir; each transept terminates, besides, in an apse; so that the building contains nine recesses of this description. This glorious composition culminates in a slender tower, which rises above the transept, and emphasizes the beautiful central plan of the eastern portion of the building.

The same style prevails in Auvergne, where, however, a new element of beauty is added to the exterior decoration by the use of an ornamentation of vari-colored stones in mosaic patterns. The Church of Notre Dame du Port, at Clermont, is one of the most remarkable works of this group, and is a model in its way, with its distinct and spirited development of piers, its galleries opening out through columns, and its elaborate choir (Fig. 322).

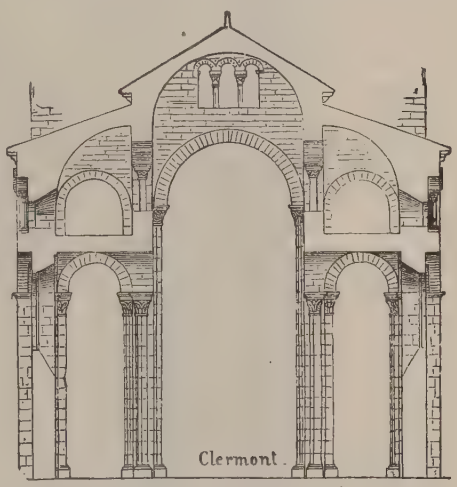


Fig. 322. Notre Dame du Port at Clermont. (Cross-Section.)

The most magnificent of the Burgundian buildings, which generally belong to this category, was the Abbey Church of Cluny, the principal church of the powerful order of Cluny, destroyed during the revolution. It was altogether one of the most remarkable of Romanesque monuments. It was in process of building from 1089 to 1131, and it splendidly manifested the power of the mighty order by which it was erected in the forms of this grandly developed style. The five-aisled main building was 410 feet long, without reckoning the narthex, or ante-church, which was 110 feet in length, corresponding to the total breadth of the church. Two transepts with ten apses extended the choir, which was completed by an aisle with five chapels. Besides the stately chief tower on the larger transept, there were six other towers; so that the exterior of the church was most imposing. The Cathedral of Autun, begun in 1132,

should be included among the works still extant, and is one of the most remarkable of the number. It has pointed tunnel vaulting, and a triforium decorated in the style of the ancient Porte d'Arroux, in the same town. Fluted pilasters are used here, and are a favorite device in many other structures of Southern France.

This same marked Romanesque style is also universally adopted in French Switzerland.* The churches of Granson on Lake Neufchâtel, and of Payerne, are examples. A curious element, however, is introduced into the elaboration of details—half baroque, half bar-

Fig. 323. S. Front, at Périgueux.

baric, in its fantastic characteristics—of which the Church of Notre Dame de Valère at Sion is a conspicuous example.

The western provinces of France exhibit a group of edifices, the common feature of which is a dome, in the Byzantine style, although

* Blavignac, "Histoire de l'Architecture sacrée," etc. Also the contributions of J. R. Rahn to the "Transactions of the Antiquarian Society of Zurich," and the same author's "Geschichte der bildenden Künste in der Schweiz."

they adhere, at the same time, to other forms used in the south. These domes are raised on pendentives, above a molded cornice, in the antique style; in which respect they differ from those Romanesque domes which have already been treated of. This form is generally associated with a main building which has no transept, and which is divided by piers at wide intervals. The side walls are enlivened by blind arcades with colonnettes, and broken up, in the upper spaces, by windows with round arches; as a rule, the transverse arches are pointed. The Cathedrals of Cahors and of Angoulême are after this pattern. But the Church of S. Front, at Périgueux,* is the most remarkable building of this group, because the dome style is united with a ground plan which is not only in arrangement, but also in proportions, the exact imitation of S. Marco in Venice (Fig. 323), with the difference that the piers are more massive, the columns and upper galleries are wanting, the spanning-arches are pointed, and the whole interior, owing to a poverty of ornamentation, appears bald and bare. Besides all this, the great vestibule is altogether omitted, the remains of an older structure taking its place. The existing church appears to have been erected after a fire, which occurred in 1120. The church has undergone a ruinous reconstruction, but De Verneilh's book, cited above gives valuable plates of it before the restoration.

The last important group of French architectural productions which we have to consider belongs to the North, and especially to Normandy.† The hardy, bold Norman race, which planted itself firmly in this region of France in the beginning of the tenth century, knew how to impress upon its monuments the stamp of a severe regularity, a simple, distinct fundamental design, and consistent execution. When their wealth increased, and their national importance rose, after the conquest of England in 1066, the monuments of the Normans shared also in the improvements occasioned by these advantages; and henceforth we find the vaulted structure in the striking form of the cross-vault in combination with the basilica plan. At the same time, after the fashion of the Saxon churches, two boldly springing towers are connected with the structure of the façade, with the further addition, as a rule, of a massive square tower to the crossing. The ornamentation is simple and uninteresting, inclining to a playing with lines rather than to the employment of vegetable forms, and showing a special predilection for the meander, the rhomboid, the zigzag, and the checker pattern. In the latter epochs

* F. de Verneilh, "L'Architecture byzantine en France."

† H. Gally Knight, "Architectural Tour in Normandy." Britton and Pugin, "Architectural Antiquities of Normandy." See also the work of Ruprich-Robert cited above.

this style of decoration is often brilliantly effective, covering large surfaces on the doors, the arcades, and the walls of the clear story.

The two chief monuments of this architectural style are the monastic Churches at Caen of La Trinité and of S. Étienne (abbaye aux hommes), founded by William the Conqueror and his queen, both of which are complete exemplifications of the development of the vaulted

Fig. 324. St. Étienne. Caen.

basilica with piers. La Trinité, originally founded in 1064, but possibly not having been perfected in its present form before the twelfth century, is a basilica vaulted throughout, its plan of three aisles being continued beyond the transept into the choir. Distinct

and regular as is the development offered by this design, it yet rejects the more opulent and ornamental chapel arrangement of the Southern school. The clear story above the arcades is enlivened by a gallery, along which occur windows connected likewise by rows of columns. The great cross-vaults of the main nave are sexpartite, while arch supports spring likewise from the intermediate piers. The same style, after a severer type, appears also in the Church of S. Étienne, built 1066-77, but completed at a somewhat later date. The arrangement of the ground plan is similar; but the choir was subsequently replaced by an early Gothic renovation. The vaultings of the main nave are sexpartite, possibly not following the original intention. A gallery is carried above the side aisles, opening toward the main space with wide arcades. The upper windows are connected by special galleries in this case also. The exterior is adorned in a stately fashion by a low tower above the transept, and two slender towers on the façade, the upper parts of which are very delicately proportioned (Fig. 324). The division of the façade by buttresses is simple but comprehensive, and in harmony with the interior development. Three portals at this point serve as means of ingress.

ENGLAND.

With the conquest of England by Duke William, the Norman style began to predominate to the exclusion of the old Saxon mode of architecture. The new architecture of the country adopted, however, certain elements of the earlier epoch into its system, thereby acquiring a quite special national coloring. The use of wood in building, popular as it had been among the island folk of a former day, was undoubtedly the most important of these elements, and henceforth came into play in the flat roofing of the basilica naves. This national predilection was so strong, that the main buildings of the churches were invariably roofed with wood; so that not a single vaulted middle nave is known in the whole range of English architecture of this period. A comparison of the vaulted design of the basilica, so decidedly developed in Normandy, sharpens the contrast offered by the Anglo-Norman architecture, notwithstanding that all other parts of the building harmonize exactly with the Norman system, even to the point of seeming to require the vaulted roof. Next in order we notice the extremely massive piers of the nave, which, however, abandoning the Romanesque practice of all other lands, are cylindrical like very heavy columns, or else are associated with

pilasters, colonnettes or other adjuncts, so as to form clustered piers, though always on a circular foundation. The customary forms do not suffice in the management of capitals and bases for these unwieldly masses. Therefore, as a rule, a simple beveling was adopted for the base; while a modification of the cubiform capital, adapted to the new proportions, as shown in Fig. 325, composed the so-called "pleated" capital. Galleries were disposed above the vaulted side aisles, and frequently, also, on the east side of the transept, opening with broad arcades toward the middle nave. Then follow the windows, in front of which are passageways, with galleries raised on pillars,

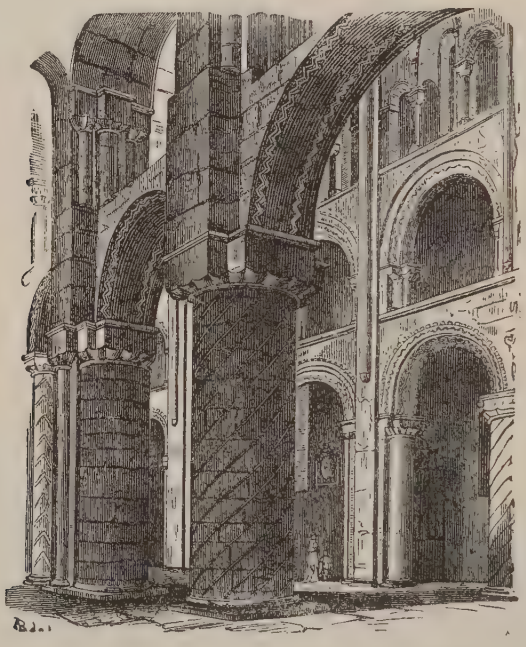


Fig. 325. From the Church at Waltham.

similar to those in the churches of Caen. Along the whole clear story powerful pilasters rise upward, as though an upper vaulting, which nowhere occurs, were in contemplation. The linear decoration, already observed in Normandy, comes into extended use here for ornamentation; so that, especially in the intrados of the arcades, in the framework of the galleries, and, most of all, on the portals, all such rich though lifeless forms as the rhomboid, scale-like decorations, and particularly the zigzag, are employed. A massive quadrangular tower was nearly always built above the transept; while the façade, as a rule, was furnished with two towers. The portals, con-

trary to the usual rule, have round-arched doorways; so that the tympanum, which in other cases is found between the horizontal beam thrown over the door and the arch (Figs. 301, 317, and page 420), was here abandoned. An opportunity was thus lost for the display of sculptured decoration; decoration now, for the most part, is almost exclusively confined to the linear ornamentation mentioned above. So, in their grave and massive strength, bold in structure, with strongly defined horizontal proportions, the monuments of Anglo-Norman art have come down to us; yet they are

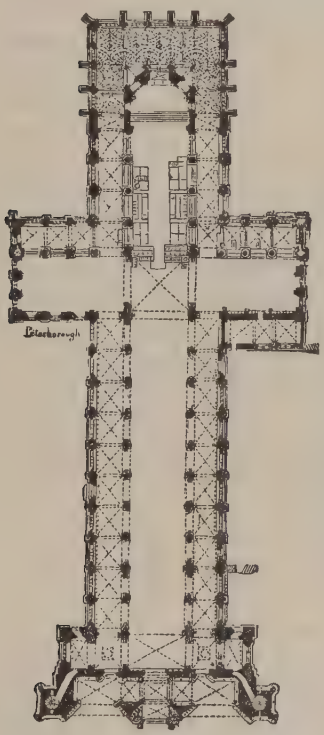


Fig. 326. Ground-Plan.

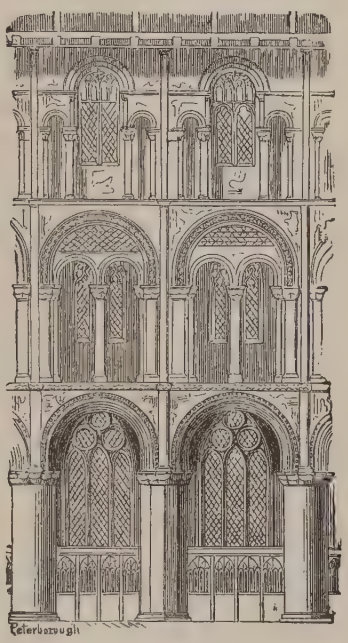


Fig. 327. Section.

Cathedral of Peterborough.

wanting in all the elements of a more refined, a nobler, and a more pliant life. They inspire one less with a sense of ecclesiastical dignity and solemnity than with a feeling of warlike defiance, or even of knightly splendor.

Among the numerous edifices of the country, there are important buildings, and parts of buildings, of this epoch, most of them, however, transformed during the Gothic period, or changed by restora-

tions. A notable memorial of this early period may be found in the Cathedral of Winchester, built from 1079 to 1093, containing remarkable crypts and an extensive nave, afterward variously restored and remodeled. There are mighty crypts of this period under the Cathedrals of Worcester and Canterbury; and the choir and crypts of the Cathedral at Gloucester—founded 1089, which has an elongated main building of the form developed in the twelfth century —belong to the same time. The Cathedral of Norwich, which, in common with the rest of these structures, starts with an unusually grand conception in the original plans, and especially is most remarkable for its length—a point peculiar to all English structures—is also to be ascribed to this advanced epoch. The building extends to a length of 411 feet, with a main nave 31 feet in width, broken by an extended transept, with apses at the east end, screened off from a choir with a low passage gallery and two chapels of original plan. The Cathedral of Peterborough (Figs. 326, 327), is not less imposing in appearance, the building of its interior not having been really finished till toward the end of the twelfth century. Its elongated ground plan; the transept, with its eastern side nave; the beautifully constructed openings of the upper galleries above the side spaces; finally, the sustained clearness of the whole system of parts—afford a characteristic example of the development of the Anglo-Norman style. The choir arcade was altered afterward; and the façade, too, was enriched by an imposing Gothic vestibule. Most of the cathedrals contain remains of more or less importance in the matter of execution and treatment.

SCANDINAVIA.

In the Scandinavian kingdoms, where the universal dominion of Christianity is of a comparatively recent date, an architectural type was developed, wherein English influences preponderated in Norway; while in Sweden and Denmark everything points back to the influx of German ideas, associated in isolated cases with a suggestion of the French schools, produced by the combination of different architectural tendencies.

In Denmark,* where Christianity was introduced under Knut the Great (1014-1036), and an impulse toward higher culture given under Waldemar I. (1157-1181), the Romanesque style pursued its unique development from the middle of the tenth far into the latter part of the thirteenth century. It is worthy of remark that the

* Compare J. Lange, in the Danish edition of the present work; Copenhagen, 1872.

influence of Rhenish monuments is apparent in the case of several important structures, as in the Cathedral at Ribe (Ripen) in Jutland, in the building of which, indeed, sandstone from Andernach was used. Its forms indicate so clearly the predominance of the perfected Romanesque architecture of the Rhineland, that the structure must, perforce, belong to a period prior to the restoration effected after a fire in 1176, the first foundation having been laid in 1134. The blind arcades of the choir apse; the wide transept, with its mighty span of cross-vaulting in the wings, with a dome above the intersection of the arms of the cross, and piers, combined with smaller column shafts; finally, the galleries above the side aisles—all clearly indicate Rhenish influences (Fig. 328). The same galleries may be

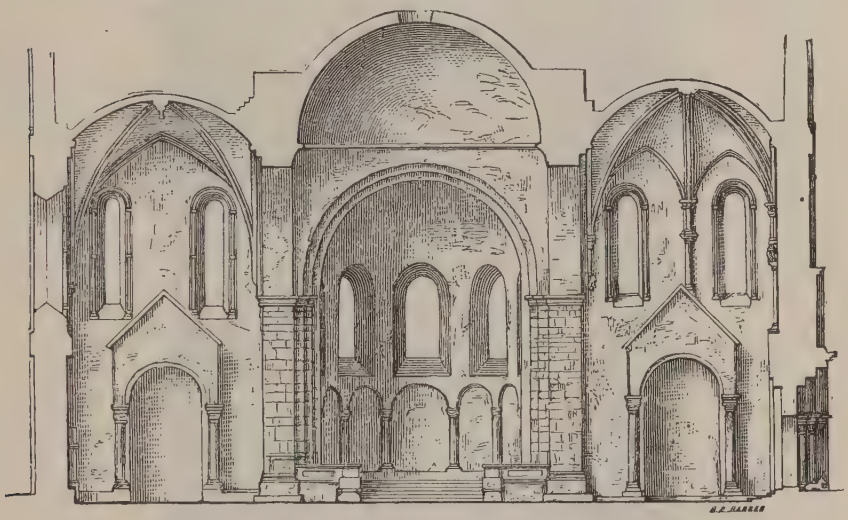


Fig. 328. Cathedral at Ribe. (Cross-Section.)

observed at the Cathedral of Viborg, which also has a crypt (Fig. 329) that may be assigned to the time of its first foundation in 1133, with their robust columns, plain cubiform capitals, and vigorously handled bases; while the upper part of the building, especially the choir with its two sentinel towers, appertains to a later development of the same order. Two additional towers on the west façade lend a rich picturesqueness of effect to the exterior. The length of the whole amounts to about 207 feet, almost corresponding with the structure previously described. The Cathedral of Roeskild is of more importance—an imposing structure, measuring 265 feet in length within, with an aisle surrounding the circular choir in the French style, strongly projecting transepts, a three-aisled nave with

upper galleries, and a remarkable pair of towers on the western façade. While the windows and doors, as well as the triple groups of windows in the gallery story, still exhibit the circular arch, the arches of the arcades and vaultings are pointed throughout; and well-defined buttresses are added to the exterior of the side aisles, as shown especially in the Norman buildings; so that the building is already semi-Gothic in character.

Fig. 329. Crypt of the Cathedral at Viborg.

In the island of Seeland especially, side by side with buildings of hewn stone, an imitation of the North German brick churches came into vogue; as, for instance, the Cistercian Church of Soroe, founded in 1161, which follows very closely the Church at Loccum (p. 432) both in ground-plan and construction, both choirs being rectilinear, and chapels in the transepts. These buildings, as well as the Monastery Church at Ringsted (1170), were originally basilicas with low-pitched roofs, which afterward were vaulted over. The Church of Kallundborg is a centralized building in the shape of a Greek cross, with arms ending in polygons. A massive square tower

formerly rose from the intersection, producing a wonderfully picturesque effect in combination with the four octagonal towers, one at the end of each arm of the cross. The Monastic Church of Westerwig in Jutland (1197) exhibits the alternation of piers and columns, so frequent in North Germany. The Monastic Church of Weng and the Church at Salling are regular basilicas. A great number of circular churches of smaller size may be found in different parts of the country. There are four on the Island of Bornholm, and three in Greenland, at Igalikko and at Kakortok.

Little round churches of similar construction are often met with in Sweden* as well; for instance, at Hagby, at Solna near Stockholm, at Munsoe, etc. Besides these, there occurs a special type of small village churches which often have a high choir, a west tower, and a low nave between the two whence the popular name "pack-saddle" churches. The Church at Föra on the island of Oeland, and several others, are specimens of this class of buildings. A more developed style was introduced here also by the influence of foreign schools of architecture; the English taste predominating in West Gothland, the North German in East Gothland, these being the mainland provinces: the island of Gothland is named below. Occasionally French touches are not wanting, particularly in the development of the choir with surrounding aisles. The country furnishes admirable limestone and sandstone for building material, the fashion of building in brick being a later North German innovation. The Church of Husaby belongs to the earliest and simplest of these structures. The Cathedral at Skara exhibits more richness of design and construction; but these are particularly noticeable in the Cistercian conventual Church at Warnhem—a building of the transition period, with a semicircular choir and surrounding aisle, and betraying English influences here and there, especially in the north gate. The Cathedral of Linköping in East Gothland is a notable structure of the transition period; the choir, indeed, with the surrounding aisle, of equal height, belonging to the Gothic age. In consideration of its magnificence of ornamentation and uncommon proportions—its total length being 329 feet—we may assign this building to a most important place among the edifices of the North. Simple churches belonging to the Cistercian order may be seen at Alvastra, having a ground-plan reminding one of Loccum, roofed with circular arches in nave and choir; and there are others as at Vreta, as well as at Nydala in Smaland. The Cathedral at Lund in the far South, and just opposite Copenhagen, a stately vaulted basilica with piers 225 feet

* Compare the appendix to the Swedish edition of the present work, by C. Eichhorn; Stockholm

long, is the most considerable monument in Sweden, the southern portion of which formed a part of the realm of Denmark at that period. Though the completion of its crypts has been assigned to about 1130, and the choir to 1145, the elegance of its finish, which is analogous to that of the perfected Rhenish structures, seems to put so early a date out of the question. The exterior of the choir especially (Fig. 330), with its blind arcades and its gallery of diminutive columns, indicates a more advanced epoch. The two west towers also participate in a greater richness of construction. In the interior, German influences betray themselves unmistakably in the alternation of massive lighter piers, as well as in the arrange-

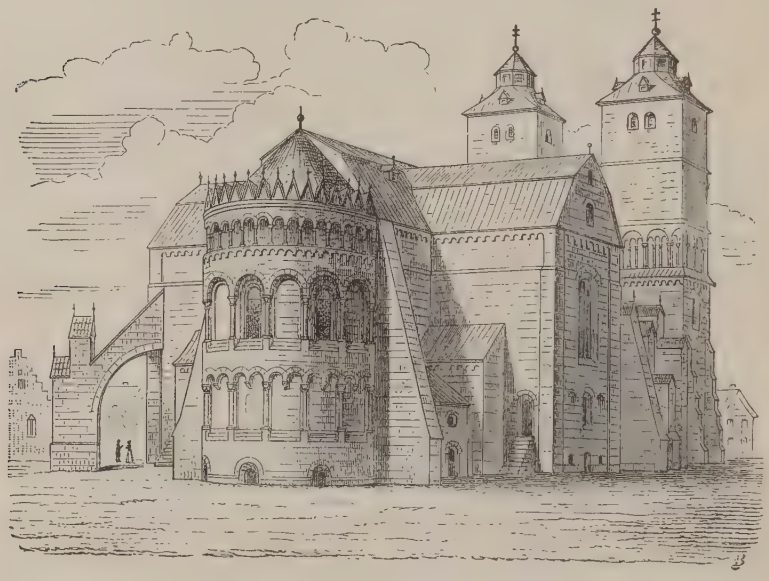


Fig. 330. The Cathedral at Lund.

ment of the clear story with mock arcades. A crypt extends beneath the choir; and there is also an arrangement of smaller chapels opening upon the broadly projecting transept. The ruined churches at Sigtuna near Lake Mälar, north of Stockholm, are specimens of the Romanesque style in its various stages of development. St. Peter's, for instance, has a heavy square tower, after the English fashion, at the intersection of the arms of the cross; in other respects it is a simple cruciform building with a single nave. St. Olaf is a basilica with three naves. St. Mary's Church, of the Dominican order, is an example of the transition to the Gothic. The North German brick structure comes in with the transition period; but it

uses cut stone for detail work, as in the case of the Cathedral at Westeräs, that at Strengnäs with round and square piers alternating in the nave, the Conventual Church at Sko, etc. Finnland, with its almost unknown edifices, should not be omitted here, especially the Cathedral at Abo, a massive brick building of the late Romanesque period.

A very high degree of development is shown in the buildings on the Island of Gothland. Early converted to Christianity, conspicuous in commerce and trade by reason of the fertility of its soil and its favored position, and yielding admirable building material in limestone and sandstone, the island brought its architecture, under North German influences, to a high state of excellence. The extensive and picturesque ruins of the once rich and powerful town of Wisby are preëminent examples of this. The city wall, with its thirty-eight towers, still bears witness to the former importance of the place, which has been called the Venice of the North. Among its eighteen churches, most of them lying in ruins, we may mention the Cathedral of St. Mary, a late Romanesque hall church, the choir square at the end like those in most of the churches of the town, and furnished with two smaller towers near the choir, besides the west towers. Further, there is the Cruciform Church of St. Lars, with a triforium, an arrangement seldom occurring here. But chief among them all is the Church of the Holy Spirit, a particularly remarkable structure, of octagonal ground plan, with a square central space, and especially notable as an example of the completely developed double chapel. It is of the very latest Romanesque style, contemporaneous with the perfected Gothic of France. Other structures on the island betray a predilection for the two-naved plan; as, for instance, the Church of Gothem, and the richly finished building at Tingstäde. In places where the towers have been preserved in their original form, they again indicate, in their massive design and simple treatment, the influence of the North German buildings, as in the Church at Walls.

Finally, Norway is most clearly under the influence of her neighbor England in the plan of her stone structures. An especially striking feature is the clumsy, circular pier, with a diminished cubiform capital, evidently borrowed from that country, such as may be seen in the Church at Aker, near Christiana—a simple cruciform building, in which the square space at the intersection, as in many Swedish churches, is shut off by heavy walls, only pierced by narrow passageways. A similar church is that of Ringsaker, with a tunnel vault in the main nave; while the side aisles, after the fashion of the south of France, are roofed with half-tunnel vaulting. The Cathedral of Stavanger, on the other hand, rebuilt after a fire in 1272, is a

basilica with heavy circular piers, and zigzag ornaments on the arcades, in the Anglo-Norman manner; while the lighter proportions of the piers and the sharply ascending cross vaulting of S. Mary's Church at Bergen exhibit the predominating influence of German prototypes. The first rank among Norwegian edifices must, however, be assigned to the Cathedral at Drontheim, though only the transept belongs to this epoch. Its design, with upper galleries and a triforium, recalls throughout the Anglo-Norman order of architecture; nor do the details of the building depart from that type.

More important and unique of its kind is another class of build-

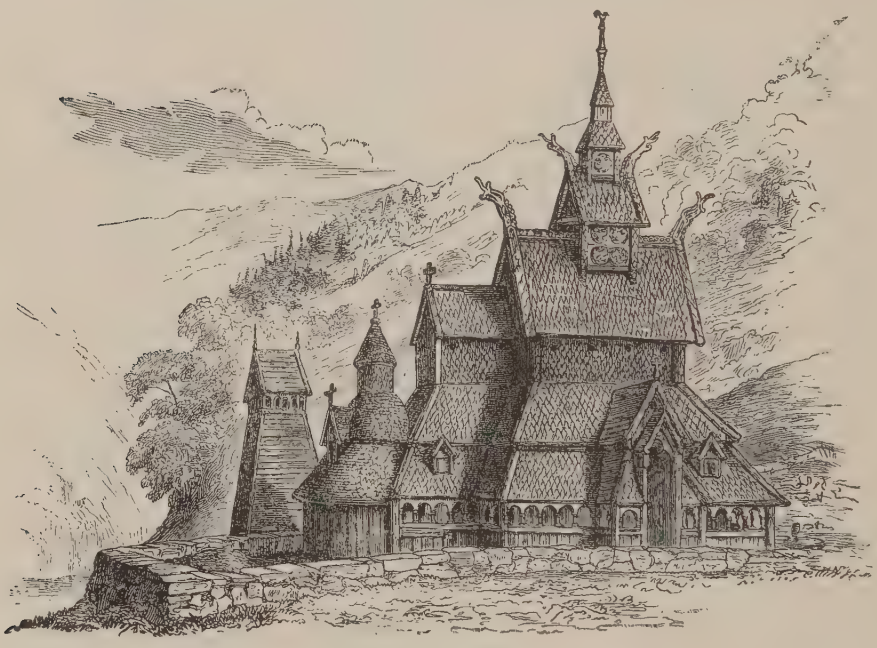


Fig. 331. Church at Borgund.

ings, peculiar to the mountainous interior of Norway, which adapt the scheme of the Romanesque style to a highly original development of architecture in wood. The churches are erected either after the model of log-houses, with beams in horizontal layers, or else with upright planks (the so-called slab-built buildings). The ground-plan bears some analogy to the basilica plan, but with essential variations, consisting in the fact that the form of the nave, as a whole, approaches to a square, and that the lofty central space is encircled by low aisles. The division is effected by round wooden pillars with

cubiform capitals, from which spring arches, likewise of wood. The ceiling is formed by the rafters of the roof, wherever modern innovation has not substituted an imitation of tunnel vaulting. The choir, finished with an apse, is situated at the east, but appears separated from the main building by the aisle that surrounds the nave. The whole building is usually surrounded by a covered passageway, opening, like a gallery, between small wooden pillars.

The exterior is still more characteristic than the interior (Fig. 331). The various parts rising one above the other, with their high roofs, culminate most picturesquely; their pyramidal form reaching its climax in the tower, which crowns the roof of the lofty main nave. Usually a separate little steeple springs from the choir; while a bell-tower, with obliquely sloping walls, often stands apart from the church. There are very few and very small windows; the churches in winter being shut up against the cold, and lighted by lamps.

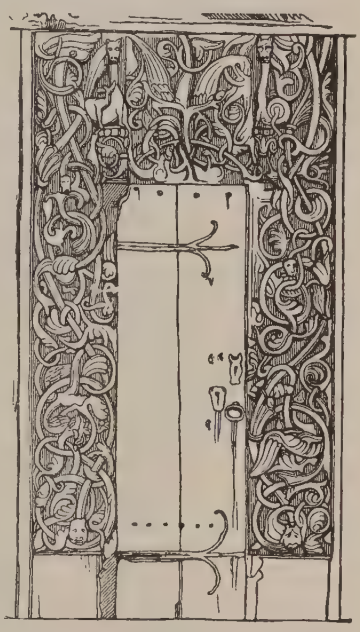


Fig. 332. Door of the Church at Tind.

In decoration on the capitals and on the doors a curious sort of carving is made use of, in which Northern imagination finds vigorous play in the intricate scroll-work, with dragons, snakes, and all manner of animal shapes, often recalling the chirographic flourishes of the missals by its spiral mazes. The Church of Tind, dating from the close of the twelfth century (Fig. 332), has a particularly rich door-frame of this description. Besides this building, the churches of Borgund, Hitterdal, Urnes, and others are particularly effective and suggestive examples of this original modification of the Romanesque type, even in the remote North.

SPAIN.

The diffusion of the Romanesque style of architecture in that opposite and most remote region of Western civilization, the Pyrenean peninsula, as far as a still incomplete knowledge will render a survey

possible, need not detain us long.* From the time that the Christian power in Spain began slowly to win back the domain conquered by the Arabs, a style gradually unfolded itself in those far provinces, corresponding in its fundamental features with the universal tradition of the West. In the earlier epoch of the eleventh and twelfth centuries an influence determining future development seems to have been chiefly exercised by the architcture of the south of France, with its tunnel-vaulted naves; a fact sufficiently accounted for by the contiguous position of the provinces of the Northern part of the peninsula, then altogether under Christian rule; hence, also, the reason of the preponderating emphasis given to the pillared structure with its resulting organization. Columned basilicas appear to have been of rare occurrence. Commonly a huge tower springs from the transept, and the façade is also often finished with towers.

. But the farther the Christians forced their way toward the south, and the more vehemently they strove with the Moors for the possession of the country, the more decidedly was their own architecture modified, if not subjugated, by the methods of their opponents.. The points of contact of the two civilizations, so closely crowding one upon the other, were too manifold, in peace as in war. The Moorish monuments which filled the reconquered provinces were too splendid, and too fascinating in the gorgeousness of their ornamentation, not to exert a radical influence over the susceptible imagination of the Spaniards. Indeed, since the rest of Europe had not been able to resist these influences of Mohammedan art, how much easier must

*Don G. P. de Villa-Amil y Don P. de la Escosura, "España Artistica y Monumental;" Paris, 1842. Caveda, "Ensayo Historico," etc. See note, p. 424. A. de Laborde, "Voyage pittoresque en Espagne;" 2d ed., 4 vols., Paris, 1807-20. "Monumentos arquitectónicos di España." G. E. Street, "Some Account of Gothic Architecture in Spain;" 2d ed., London, 1869. Uhde, Constantine, "Baudenkmäler in Spanien und Portugal," Berlin, 1889. Gurlitt and Junghändel, "Die Baukunst Spaniens," Dresden. (These two books contain photo plates.) Prentice, A. N., "Renaissance Architecture and Ornament in Spain." London,

[It may be useful to quote here what Mr. Street says about the writers on the architecture of Spain: "Unfortunately, so far as I have been able to learn, no one of late years has taken up the subject of the mediæval antiquities of Spain in the way in which we are accustomed to see them treated by writers on the subject elsewhere in Europe. The "Ensayo Historico" of D. José Caveda is very slight and unsatisfactory, and not to be depended on. Passavant, who has published some notes on Spanish architecture ("Die christliche Kunst in Spanien;" Leipzig, 1853), is so ludicrously wrong in most of his statements, that it seems probable he trusted to his internal consciousness instead of to personal inspection for his facts. The work of Don G. P. de Villa-Amil is very showy and very untrustworthy; and that of Don F. J. Parcerisa ("Recuerdos y Bellezas di España;" 1844), and the great work which the Spanish Government is publishing ("Monumentos arquitectónicos di España;" Madrid, 1859-65, and still in course of publication), are both so large and elaborate as to be useless for the purpose of giving such a general and comprehensive idea of the features of Gothic architecture in Spain as it has been my effort to give in this work."—*Some Account,* etc. Preface, pp. vi., vii.]

have been its conquest here, where all the land was thickly sown with its monuments! Thus, in this closing period, a Romanesque style was developed, holding fast in its fundamental laws to the old tradition, adopting in its structures the now almost universal cross-vaulting,

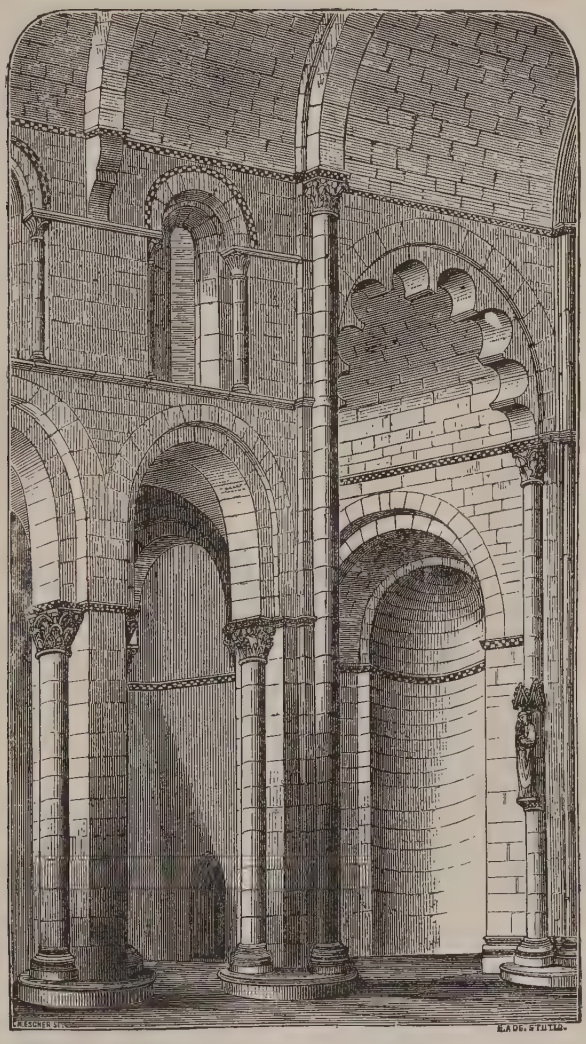


Fig. 333. Church of St. Isidoro. Leon.

but admitting in its ornamentation the brilliant and lively play of Moorish details. Many superb edifices furnish examples of this interesting combination.

Perhaps the most noted production of the early Romanesque period in Spain is the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostella—a considerable structure, with tunnel-vaulted main nave, a three-aisled transept, galleries over the side aisles, a choir with a surrounding aisle and a ring of chapels, and, in addition, a superb porch; all the important parts of the building belonging to the twelfth century, and in exact imitation of S. Sernin at Toulouse. The Church of S. Isidoro

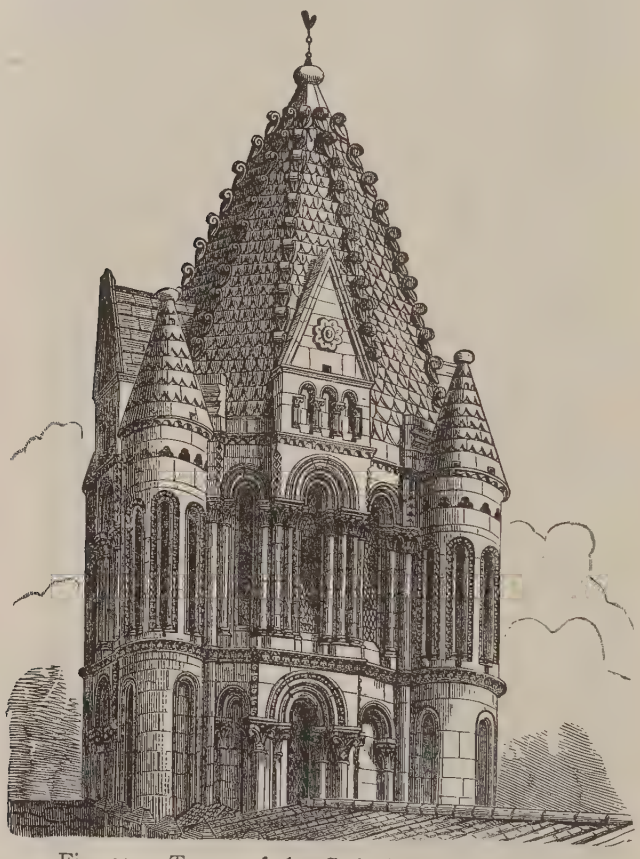


Fig. 334. Tower of the Cathedral of Salamanca.

at Leon belongs to about the same period, and resembles the former in conception. It was consecrated in 1149, and is a pillared structure of rich proportions, and vigorous plastic decoration (Fig. 333). The vaulted "panteon," the ancient mortuary chapel of the kings of Leon, is connected with it on the west side. In Segovia, several churches, especially that of St. Millan,* exhibit the original design of elegant

* For a view of this church, showing the singular arrangement of cloisters along the side aisles, see Street, the work cited above.

columned arcades forming porches along the exterior of the side aisles, sometimes by a similar colonnade at the west end. (The Church at Monreale, in Sicily, has just such a portico on its north side.) The old Cathedral of Salamanca—a building with massive piers, and a dome above the transept—belongs to the later period of full and perfect development (Fig. 334). Its choir consists of three parallel apses—a form common among Spanish buildings, which almost did away with the richer plan of the French choir, with its surrounding aisle, and series of chapels. Besides these, the Cathedral and Church of S. Magdalen at Zamora, both remarkable for superb gates, belong to this epoch. There is a monastery church of the same era in the neighboring town of Toro—an admirable example of original adaptation of Moorish forms, with its massive domed tower above the transept. Round, jutting turrets rise at the corners, gracefully perforated, like the great central tower, by two rows of arched window apertures. The flat roofing intensifies the singularly massive effect of the whole structure, which is profusely ornamented in Moorish fashion. By way of contrast, another conspicuous building of the latter part of this epoch, the Cathedral of Tarragona, in the richness of development of its pillar and vault construction, exhibits the influence of the Northern style; it may be, even of the Norman. The Cathedral of Tudela and that of Lerida, now used for secular purposes, are of lesser dimensions, but similar in plan; while, on the other hand, the Abbey Church of Veruela, with its richly developed choir, shows itself akin to the French buildings of the period. Finally, there are still some cloisters remaining as striking specimens of the magnificence of the closing epoch, among others those of San Pablo at Barcelona, which again incline to the Moorish manner, with their elegantly decorated coupled columns and scalloped arches.

ITALY.*

While in the North, the basilica plan was followed almost universally, and went through a natural evolution, in Italy a very marked divergence distinguishes the several groups. We find a most decided adoption of the ancient Christian basilica, side by side with an equally positive leaning to Byzantine models. Side by side with works in which the antique style is delicately wrought out, we come upon one allied to the German character in its brighter fancies. Besides a

* Cattaneo, R., "L'Architettura in Italia" (translated into English as "Architecture in Italy," etc.). Rohault de Fleury, "Les monuments de Pise au Moyen Age"; "La Toscane au Moyen Age." Ongania (publisher), "San Marco in Venezia" (an immense folio work).

clearly defined vaulted building, we even chance upon a suggestion of the capricious richness and grace of Mohammedan architecture. With few exceptions, Italian architecture separates the tower from the church building, and gives it an independent position. Almost as commonly a cupola is raised above the crossing. Although the exterior does not attain to that high degree of richness of proportion as in the architecture of the North, on the other hand the lavish employment of costly materials results in an extraordinarily beautiful style of ornament, which takes the form of a graceful system of surface decoration. Even where bricks are used almost as the only material, a degree of beauty and delicacy of detail is produced with them that is unknown and unattained in the North. The treatment of the interior seeks to preserve broad, open spaces; a fact which generally prevents the attainment of great height.

The buildings of Rome far into the thirteenth century exhibit an absolute, unshaken adherence to the style of the ancient Christian basilica, without even a suggestion of further development. Ancient monuments were stripped, right and left, and the columns and architrave of the basilica were constructed out of the spoils. The proportions of the buildings were reduced, and the height increased as the breadth diminished. San Martino ai Monti dates from the ninth century, with its primitive crypt. Its nave has been restored throughout, but is still of fine, elegant proportions; the central nave being 40 feet wide, with an architrave above the columns. Then there is the magnificent, five-aisled Church of San Giovanni in Laterano, and the stately Church of Santa Maria in Aracœli, on the hill of the Capitol. San Crisogono and Santa Maria in Trastevere belong to the twelfth century, both with architraves surmounted by exquisite console cornices; also the front portions of San Lorenzo fuori le Mura, likewise with horizontal entablature, and with columns differing greatly in their proportions. The Church of SS. Vincenzo and Anastasio, outside the city, beyond St. Paolo, is a rude pier structure. But more interesting than these echoes of a bygone period, without any intrinsic individuality, are some of the graceful bell-towers of that age, which, simply built up in square towers with low-pitched roofs, are in the highest degree picturesque. The most attractive of these are the towers of Santa Pudenziana and of Santa Maria in Cosmedin.

Although architecture in general made little progress here, a particular branch of decorative art arose, the chief attraction of which consisted of tastefully harmonizing those bits of bright-colored marble, of which the soil of ancient Rome possessed an inexhaustible supply. A fantastic, grotesque element is perceivable in the yielding of the sterner architectural forms to an unrestrained play of fancy.

The shafts of the columns are heavily ribbed, and assume spiral forms, and, as early as the twelfth century, are decorated with patterns in mosaic of the gayest description. We discover similar characteristics, upon a larger scale, in the columned arcades of the cloisters of San Giovanni in Laterano and San Paolo fuori le Mura, where this style is exhibited in exceptional richness of execution.

Church architecture in Tuscany took a freer and more independent direction; having its origin likewise in the wooden roofed basilica, but developing consistently, down to its smallest details, rigidly, according to antique models. The execution of the work was in costly material, as carefully dressed stone, or else it was adorned with rare varieties of marble. The first magnificent work of this kind is the Duomo of Pisa, begun in 1036, after a naval victory over the Sicilians by this commercial city, then rapidly coming into prominence. Busketus and Reinaldus are mentioned as the architects. It is a five-aisled, wooden roofed basilica, intersected by an extended three-aisled transept, of which the middle spaces end in apses, while a dome crowns the intersection of the transept and the nave. Galleries above the side aisles open with pillars and columns toward the high central nave, and are continued on the side of the crossing (the intersection of nave and transept) as far as the beginning of the choir. The arcades of the naves are supported upon sixty-eight slender granite columns with antique marble capitals. The details are, in feeling, classical. The main body of the building, both internally and externally, is built with alternate layers of white and dark green marble. The exterior presents a rich massing of columns and half-columns with arcades. The spandrels of the arches are chiefly decorated with graceful designs in gay mosaic patterns, and with fine ornaments modeled on the antique; the capitals are carefully copied from Corinthian models. The lower part of the façade is divided by engaged columns with arches. Above these, however, are four rows of open arcades, full columns with arches, which are extended across the surface of the wall in the form of galleries, with fine effect. To this magnificent building—which gave a new dignity to the basilica form, and endeavored to heighten it, though in a rather labored way, by the addition of a dome—there was added in 1153 a Baptistery (also a domed structure, 93 feet diameter, with a corridor and galleries) by Diotisalvi. Its exterior is elegantly proportioned, having a row of columns below, and a gallery above. The original roofing was a conical tower-like roof over the round central nave, and low, nearly flat roofs for the aisle which forms the outer ring; the present arched up side roofs being more recent. There is also a campanile, begun in 1174 by Bonannus and by a German artist, William of Inns-

bruck, the leaning attitude of which was perhaps caused in the first place by the foundations giving way, but afterward retained from caprice. Modern investigators, noting the great number of buildings in Italy which have towers or fronts or internal piers built intentionally with a slope, are inclined to think that the Pisa tower was also such a structure. The chief argument against this theory is the excessive slope of the tower, which instead of being a slightly marked diversity, pleasing to the eye, which hardly measures it, is an overhang

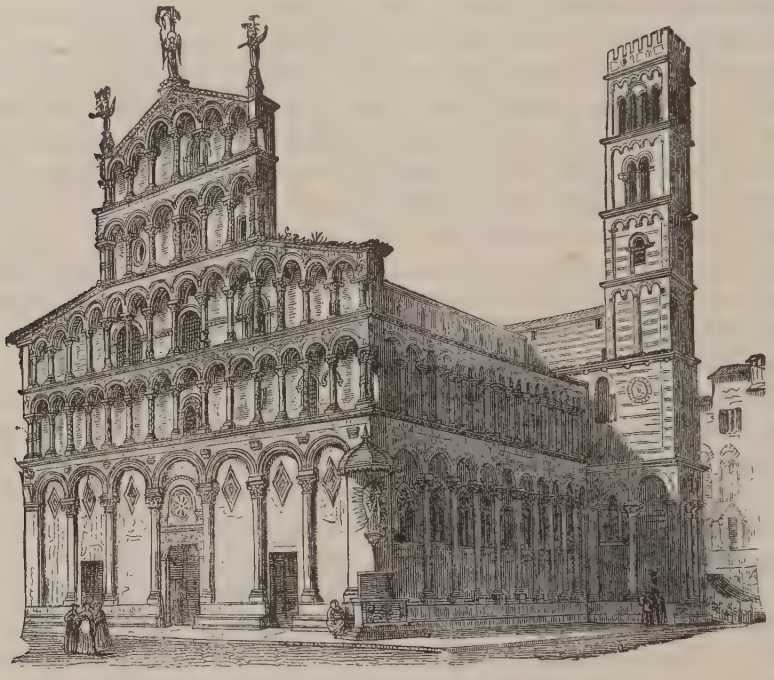


Fig. 335. San Michele. Lucca.

of thirteen feet in a height of a hundred and eighty. It is a high cylindrical building, encircled from top to bottom with open arcades with columns, and illustrating in all its details the classical tendencies of the Pisan school.

This Pisan style was adopted in the neighboring places; for example, in the buildings of Lucca, which are of analogous plan, especially in the execution of the exterior and the treatment of the façade, although more odd and fantastic. Of these, San Michele is especially noteworthy (Fig. 335), and also, although on a smaller scale, San Frediano, a five-aisled basilica, with many suggestions of the antique.

The Florentine buildings constitute a special group, distinguished

by a particularly fine coating of marble, and an equally original development of the basilica plan. The little Church of San Miniato, charmingly situated on a height above the city, and dating from the twelfth century, is the most attractive of all. In spite of its limited dimensions, it is the most striking monument of the art of this epoch, both as regards originality of plan and thoroughness of execution. A

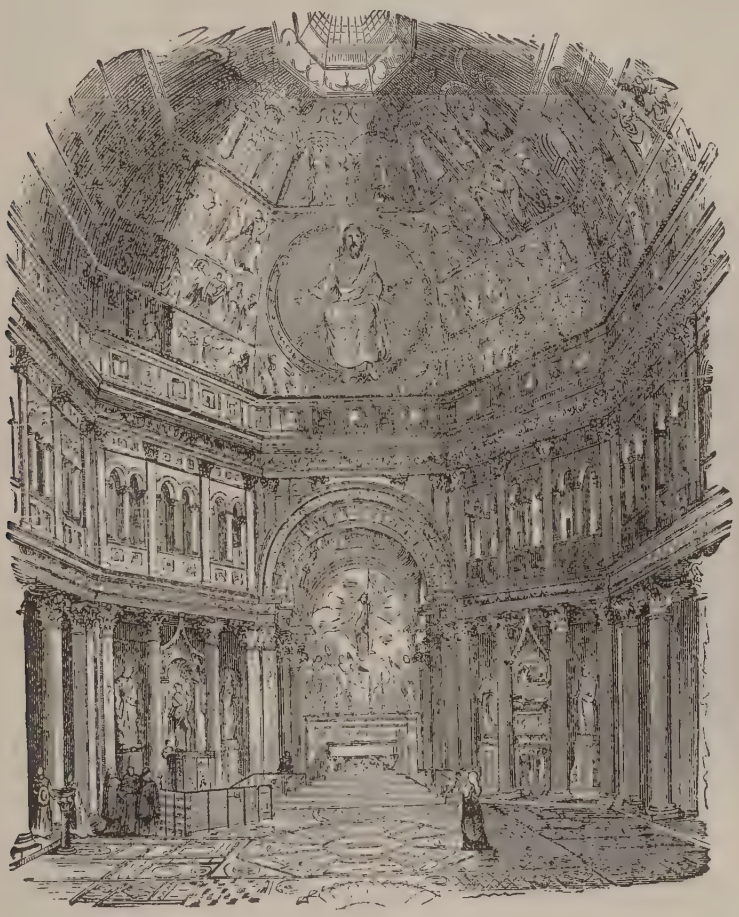


Fig. 336. Baptistery at Florence.

pier composed of four half-columns—that is, engaged columns, not standing free, but attached, pilaster-like, to the pier—alternates with two columns; the piers supporting two great arches that span the nave, as we have already seen it in S. Prassede's Church in Rome (see above, chapter on Early Christian Architecture). At S. Miniato, however, this arrangement accords better with the pre-

vailing style, and the proportions of the interior thus receive a most spirited effect. The choir is raised, and thus brought into prominence by the placing beneath it of a fine crypt, not many steps below the nave. The façade, with its marble front, its lower row of engaged columns with arcades, its upper pilasters with entablatures, is in the severest and noblest modified classic style. It is renaissance before the Renaissance. We find the same dignity of design in the Florentine Baptistery (Fig. 336)—an effective octagonal domed building, 88 feet in diameter, with fine Corinthian columns around the walls, and a gallery above, which opens upon the interior through a series of coupled arches between Corinthian pilasters.

Fig. 337. Apse of the Cathedral at Palermo.

In strong contrast with this massive, distinct architecture, are the buildings of Sicily* and Lower Italy, which embody a lively imagination and a curious blending of different forms. These states were, for a long time, under Byzantine domination; after which they attained a high state of culture under Mohammedan rule. In the course of the eleventh century the Normans conquered them, and came into the inheritance of this mixed civilization, to which they added elements of their own. The plans of the churches bear a resemblance to the ancient Christian basilica. The dome over the transept, the mosaics, and other ornaments, were taken from the Byzantines; the Moslems contributed the higher, pointed arch and the stalactite vaultings; finally, the Northern spirit usually suggested a tower for the façade. There resulted, from this mixture of foreign elements, a whole which atones for all lack of lofty, individual development by power of imagination, lavish ornament, and an effort of solemnity.

The Castle Chapel of Palermo, called La Capella Palatina, is a

*Duca di Serradifalco, "Del Duomo di Monreale," etc. H. Gally Knight, "Saracenic and Norman Remains in Sicily." Hittorf et Zanth, "Architecture moderne de la Sicile."

little gem of this architectural style, built by King Roger, and consecrated in 1040. The mosaics on the walls, the costly ornaments, the gayly painted and gilded ceilings with their stalactite vaultings, shine out in wonderful splendor from a mystic half-light. The Cathedral of Palermo (built 1169-85) is an especially fine example of exterior decoration, consisting of painted patterns, intersecting arches, rich friezes and battlements (Fig. 337), producing a gay, fantastic effect. Its fine tower also makes it noteworthy. But the Conventual Church of Monreale, built by King William II. in 1174, and magnificently situated upon a cliff not far from Palermo, shows the most splendid conception of all. The ground-plan is that of a three-aisled church of colossal proportions, with a transept, and a wider choir with three apses. Slender, antique marble columns with superb capitals support the lofty pointed arches of the nave, which is covered by a flat roof of a later period, and remarkable for its height. The entire surface of the walls is covered by an inexpressibly profuse mass of mosaic pictures, as though with costly tapestries. In nobility of proportions, distinctness, and harmony, and in lavish wealth of coloring, this interior produces one of the finest church effects in the world. The façade is bordered by two towers, connected by a columned hall. The Duomo at Cefalù shows similar features.

The Byzantine influence is most distinctly traceable among the buildings of Lower Italy, especially in the employment of stilted arches, both round and pointed. An instance of this is the large, almost square atrium of the Cathedral of Salerno, where Corinthian columns are connected by stilted round arches. Only the extensive crypt of the old duomo remains in its ancient condition. The Cathedral at Amalfi has a picturesque double-aisled porch with a peculiar pointed arch window, and with a high, irregular flight of steps. The Cathedral at Ravello, situated above Amalfi, on a steep, rocky height, exhibits the ancient basilica character in spite of modern restoration. All three duomos have in common the original—evidently primitive—arrangement of a wide transept. The simple basilica style prevails for the most part in these countries, although in contracted forms. The exteriors, however, are sometimes richly decorated, testifying to Tuscan influences. The Cathedrals at Bari, Ruvo, Trani, and especially the splendid Troja Duomo, are the most important of these buildings. The Cathedrals of Bitonto, Bitetto, and Molfetta also deserve mention.

Most of these churches contain splendid decorations in the same spirit shown by the works of Cosmati, although enriched and brightened by a mixture of Moslem ornamentation. There are a very

rich pulpit, choir railings, and candelabra, in the Cathedral at Sessa; an extremely sumptuous pulpit in the Cathedral of Ravello; a pulpit no less rich, and recalling the antique in the most admirable manner, in the Cathedral of Salerno; and, to conclude, the superb canopies above the sarcophagi of King Roger II., of the Emperor Frederick II., of the Emperor Henry VI., and their consorts, in the Cathedral at Palermo, all severely antique in treatment.

We come upon a different manifestation of foreign influence, although related in kind, in Venice. The bold Venetian sailor-merchants found their way to the East at a very early period, and returned laden not only with Oriental productions, but also bringing

Fig. 338. San Marco. Venice.

back with them Oriental art, and love of display. The masterpiece of Venetian architecture, San Marco, the costly church of the patron saint of the city, is a direct product of the influences of Byzantine architecture. The church, which contained the bones of the revered saint, was burned in the year 976, at the time of an insurrection, and was rebuilt with greater magnificence: the main part, however, was not completed till 1071; and its costly decorations were added and perfected in the course of the following centuries. The church is in the form of a Greek cross, of which the arms and intersection are marked by five cupolas, low and shallow, as seen from within,

VENICE

PIAZZA, ST. MARK'S, AND CAMPANILE

but covered by loftier wooden shells which are impressive as seen from without. These are 42 feet in diameter, and as high again from the ground; the central dome being six feet higher from the ground than the others. The main building and the transept have three aisles; a division which is marked by rows of columns. These columns support a narrow gallery not thrown across the side-space of the aisle but forming an upper passageway from part to part of the church. The naves and transepts end in apses, the principal apse alone appearing in the exterior. The result is a harmoniously constructed, centralized building, which testifies to its Byzantine origin, not only in all characteristic details, but also in the decoration of the arches with rich pictures in mosaic upon a bright gold background.

The lower pillars and surfaces of the walls are inlaid with great marble slabs of different colors. The impression given by this subdued pomp is most imposing, toned down as it is to a solemn dignity; and it has, besides, a picturesque charm in its various vistas.

A great narthex extends along the whole west front, and beyond it, returning on the north and south. The southern arm is partitioned off and divided into two chapels, one of them used as a baptistery; but the west and north sides are open continuously, and have their walls and vaulted roofs sheathed with mosaic. The exterior of the vestibule opens (Fig. 338) with a row of deeply recessed doorways, the walls of which are adorned by a perfect forest of small columns. The exterior is greatly modified from its earlier simplicity, with high-arched gables and still later Gothic pinnacles, but with the lofty domes, and the rich decorations in gold and in colors that cover every part, the effect of the whole is like that of some magic structure risen from the sea, or some Eastern enchantment; and, with the historic associations that cluster about it, it produces an intense poetic effect upon the mind of the observer. There are other buildings on the Venetian lagoons, resembling this in style, although of more modest proportions.

We have still to consider a numerous and important architectural group, which, unlike the other Italian schools, was more directly affected by the Northern spirit, and, by its adoption of the vaulted basilica, is allied to the tendencies of the Romanesque architecture on the other side of the Alps. I refer to the works of the Lombards,* and of the states belonging to them, which, in the beginning of the Middle Ages, were under the rule of the Longobards, who especially inclined to Germanic manners and customs. Hence arises that common impulse in the details of these buildings toward the abrupt and

* F. Osten, "Die Bauwerke der Lombardei." Heider und Eitelberger, "Denkmäler des oesterreichischen Kaiserstaates."

the fantastic, which is so sharply opposed to the gentler treatment of the Central Italians, based upon antique models. The use of bricks preponderates, necessitating a massive treatment, but inducing at the same time a rich surface decoration. Occasionally a marble ornamentation is used. The tower is not included in the design of the façade, in spite of the frequent suggestions of the Northern manner; but it is

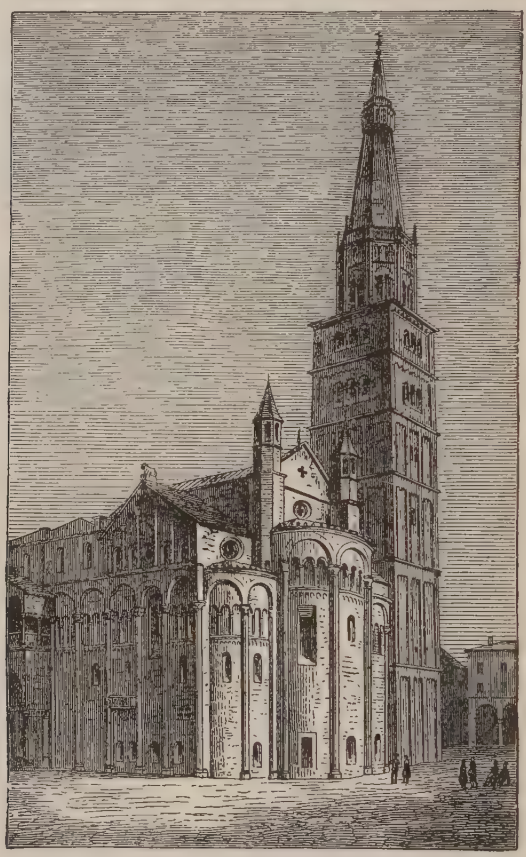


Fig. 339. Cathedral at Modena.

frequently attached as a piece of decoration to the nave, and this in such a way that the relation of the lower side aisles to the higher middle space is lost sight of. This form is certainly as clumsy as ill-proportioned, and is far surpassed in artistic merit by the plan of separating the tower wholly from the church building, as at S. Mark in Venice, S. Zeno at Verona, and many less important churches.

The Cathedral at Modena holds an important position among these structures. It was begun in 1099 by Master Lanfrancus, but

only consecrated in 1184. It has a main building with three aisles, without a transept, but with three apses; an extended crypt beneath the choir; and the whole arrangement of the supports calculated for a vaulted building, so that simple columns alternate with piers having engaged columns (Compare Fig. 294). Still the upper wall of the nave exhibits a freer arrangement, with triforium-like openings with small columns, occurring over the lower arcades. These, however, serve neither as galleries, nor as passages surrounding the nave, but they rest upon the moderately high side aisles, which have similar blind triforia in the walls built upon the supporting arches thrown across them. The construction of the exterior is especially marked: it is encircled by open galleries, the arrangement of which suggests the inner triforia (Fig. 340). Especially on the façade, which is distinctly divided into three portions, this gallery plays an important part in the composition of the whole. Three doors open into the nave, the middle one with a little porch, such as are usual in the churches of Northern Italy, the columns of which rest upon sculptured lions. The rich wheel-window of the upper part is also a favorite design of Lombard architecture.

Of a somewhat similar plan is San Zeno in Verona; only that here the vaults, with which the alternating columns and pillars were connected, are not in place. The nave was meant for a vaulted roof, as is shown by the very massive and highly organized vaulting shafts which rise from the capitals of the clustered piers and have capitals of their own at a much greater height. The church is now roofed by a highly decorative wooden roof of a general form used elsewhere in Verona. Within and without there is much use of color in bands of differing materials, and the campanile, one of the finest in Italy and having a two-story belfry, is adorned in the same way. We have an example of such a building, with its different divisions fully developed, in San Michele at Pavia—a clumsily substantial, vaulted basilica, with fantastic, eccentric details, galleries above the side aisles, and an undivided façade gable. San Ambrogio at Milan is equally important, closely resembling the last-named church, also with an undivided gable, in front of which there is an extensive atrium. This latter exhibits the piers constructed with engaged columns, and with cross-vaultings in a well-developed Romanesque style, which belongs at the earliest to the eleventh century—a fact also shown by the details. The nave has also piers with engaged columns and cross-vaults of wide span, with galleries above the side naves. There is the same heaviness in the proportions, and the same character of Northern energy in the details, which are observable in the pronounced Romanesque forms. In front of the choir there is a

vaulted dome, although there is no transept. Finally, S. Antonio at Padua ("Il Santo"), restored 1117, expresses the vaulted architecture of Germany in a freer, more elevated, and more consistent manner. This building has a well-defined ground-plan, with an extended transept elevated by a dome, and with apses not only at the façades of the wings, as is the case with the Pisa Cathedral, but also on the eastern side of the wings. The piers are numerous, but constructed alternately with engaged columns. Above the arcades are the galleries, which give upon the central nave by triforium-like openings. The division of the vaulting into wide square spans has been abandoned, and narrow rectangular divisions have been substituted. The façade, ending in an unbroken gable, is superbly decorated, and has three rich portals resting upon lions.

3. *Romanesque Sculpture and Painting.*

A.—THEIR SUBJECT AND METHOD.

The plastic and the graphic art of the same period cannot bear any comparison with the rich and buoyant picture of Romanesque architecture. The spirit of the times was as favorable to the development of architecture as it was prejudicial to the higher perfection and freer bloom of the sister arts. It lay in the very nature of the whole movement of development, that the general ideas, fixed and determined by the life of the time—a life controlled and guided by a hierarchy—should, for the moment, reign supreme, and find their fit expression in architectural work. The prosperous growth of the painting and sculpture, on the contrary, is more dependent upon the freedom of the individual, and upon the importance given to him in the life of the community. This was greatly limited in the Romanesque period, and, indeed, throughout the Middle Ages—at first by the conventual, and afterward by the corporate element. In the epoch we are considering, however, when the practice of the arts was, for the most part, confined to the monastic clergy, ecclesiastical tendencies were predominant, and the narrow horizon of the monastic cell was identical with that of art itself. Here, too, its relation toward tradition was long the decisive and guiding element; for the school of painting of ancient Christian days was taken in connection with church architecture as a basis for the whole wide realm of Western art. Even now Christian art sought only to convey moral teachings and to sanctify, and was incapable of aught else. Its images are always the same: the narrow circle of symbols is repeated on every hand; and

conventional, external signs and emblems are always requisite to a comprehension of the work.

The form which characterizes these images, and even the technique employed, are no less traditional. As in the days of ancient Christianity, the antique conception is the ruling one. It is, perhaps, especially manifest in the drapery, but is also shown in the general arrangement throughout the whole Romanesque period. The antique elements were, of course, received in the already stiffened and distorted shape which they gained in the old Christian epoch. The work compares with real antiques in this respect, as the rude imitation of the Corinthian capital with its original. Decline was continuous in the first period, because the yet unskillful, rude spirit of the German people was slow to accept and understand the antique form and its traditional meaning, and to succeed in developing from this germ a new life with fresh and original power. A period of acclimatization, as it were, was necessary for the foreign seed to overcome the rigid chill of the yet uncultivated Northern soil, and to prepare that soil for its better reception. A fresh growth then followed, which was still characterized by antique conceptions of form, but in which the German spirit expressed itself in original adaptations and modulations.

Through this adherence to tradition, the demand for innate meaning, and the close relation in which it stood to architecture, sculpture from the first received a severe canon of style, which served as a guiding rule in its future progress, and kept it from error. Christian dogmas, which saw nothing in nature but what was sinful, and hostile to spiritual welfare, restrained art from the study of nature; and the antique conception, therefore, held good and sufficed for a time, until hand and eye were freed by constant practice, and were prepared for an unbiased study of natural objects.

The range of thought in sculpture was almost exclusively ecclesiastical at this time; although there are examples of the illustration of secular history—such as the famous Bayeux tapestry, in which workers of the epoch wrought the conquest of England by the Normans; or the mural paintings in Merseburg Castle, setting forth Henry I.'s victory over the Hungarians. The Church, ruling supreme, not only drew all artistic talent to its service, but gave it the widest field, the most varied opportunity for activity. There were choir screens, pulpits, doors, and whole façades, to be carved; the extensive surfaces of roof and wall within, and even, at a later time, the windows, gave room for important series of paintings; the various vessels required in the mass gave occasion for every kind of artistic skill; and the help of painting was called in to decorate manuscript books with rich illuminations.

Even in the choice of subject, the Church gave the greatest scope to the artist by adding to the portrayal of sacred figures every other conception known to the learning of the time. This generally drew largely upon ancient legendary lore, whose characters are often mingled with the utmost simplicity, and sometimes even in symbolical relations with Christian imagery. The personifications used may be traced to the ancient world—such as those of sun, moon, months and seasons, streams, etc.; and allegorical figures of virtues and vices, sciences and industries, were also favorites. The old fabulous forms of sirens, centaurs, and satyrs, were most abundantly employed, although conventionalized to mere ornamental forms. It is often hard to say how far the desire for symbolism is to be sought in works of this era, and where it limits the free play of artistic fancy; but assuredly both elements appear side by side. Even heroes of the Northern sagas sometimes find place, although but seldom. Figures from the German animal epic are more frequent, in which the primitive idea of the foul Fiend's struggle to tempt and destroy mankind is often treated with lively humor. Animal forms are always an important element in the symbolism of mediæval art; and scientific treatises were written which endeavored to exhaust the simple knowledge of natural history of that age in a wealth of symbolical references. But as their significance was even then faint, confused, and altogether capricious, it soon came to be used in so bewildering and indistinct a way, that the lion stood alike for Christ and the Devil.*

This whole wealth of symbols weaves its fantastic web about the real fundamental idea of these representations, which constantly follows, with all manner of variations, the Christian theory of the fall of man and his redemption; sometimes treating it simply, sometimes elaborately. The prevailing architectural law of the time sets before us whole series of subjects grandly conceived and clearly arranged. The single image, the individual form, is comparatively unimportant. It only fulfils the law of its being in connection with others, in intimate relation with its surroundings, in subordination to a deep, significant whole. To make these relations as full and rich as possible, the parallelism employed even in ancient Christian times, and typically harmonizing the events of the New Testament—the scenes of Christ's life and sacrificial death—with the stories of the Old Testament, was taken up, accepted, increased, and developed. Sculpture, therefore, reaches a grand intellectual depth of delineation in this period, taking as a center the idea of the redemption, and gaining from the sum

* See, on the curious subject of these Bestiaries, D. Rock, "Textile Fabrics." Reference to pages in Index, under "Zoölogy." See also Viollet-le-Duc, "Dictionnaire de l'Architecture," etc., under "Animaux," "Bestiaires," but principally under "Sculpture."

total of the remaining conceptions those delicate allegorical relations which run through the web of the design from every side like slender, gay-colored threads, and add the bright images of fancy to the severe simplicity of the original plan.

As to style, the character of these works is, as befits their inner meaning, solemnly earnest, full of dignity, thoroughly and severely typical, and indicates that they are bound together by a common traditional origin. Within this harmonious form there are many divisions into national and local schools; and the extremes of awkward and clumsy, but fresh and natural efforts, and of technically correct but stiff productions, continually meet, the latter being especially results of Byzantine influence. Then, too, there are variations produced by the different materials employed, and the special style of work required by them; and, finally, there is an advance from severity to freedom, from clumsiness to delicacy and dignity. But there is not the same striking and universal mental development that was effected in architecture by the undeniable material advantages of its more highly developed constructive power. The independent genius, which succeeded in preserving its peculiar importance even in architecture, finds a far broader field in the development of sculpture, and draws profit from it the more freely as chance and the personal capacity of the individual become more and more harmonious with increasing practice. But, on the whole, there was an evident and all-pervading difference betwen the work of Italy and that of Northern nations, which should serve as a guide in our examination.

B.—HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT.

IN THE COUNTRIES NORTH OF THE ALPS.*

The peaceful conditions and great prosperity of Germany under the Saxon emperors, their position as successors of the old imperators, gave free scope to the popular spirit, as shown in fine art. The manifold relations in which it stood to Italy excited a taste for sculpture, and gave many fresh impressions of the rich treasures of ancient art, which must have had a greater and more lasting effect upon the foreign visitor than on the native himself. There was also no lack of Byzantine influences, which were of material importance in the de-

* Müller, "Beitrage zur deutschen Kunst und Geschichtenkunde." E. aus'm Werth, "Kunstdenkmäler des christlichen Mittelalters in den Rheinlanden." E. Förster, "Denkmäler deutschen Baukunst."

velopment of skill in the lesser arts. In many departments, particularly in the case of elegant stuffs interwoven with figures, even Oriental and Saracenic influences had their weight.*

. Numerous interesting monuments in Germany afford an attractive picture of this gradually advancing dawn of artistic consciousness. At first, echoes of the Carlovingian period prevail. We find an antique style of treatment, mostly appearing in rude and ignorant form, but not without a germ of fresh life; indeed, a surprising vigor and purpose are often apparent in sculpture during the eleventh century. Then another tendency was aroused, principally based on Byzantine models, which led to greater simplicity and regularity. The impression of natural impulse was now repressed, and replaced by a more sober element; yet this, too, forms the basis of a higher and freer development, which increases toward the close of the twelfth century, and reaches its height about the middle of the next. The antique was again accepted as a starting-point with fresh force and enthusiasm. But the much-enlarged circle of action opened by the splendor of chivalry, the prosperity of cities, long journeys in the East, and more especially by the crusades, filled the old forms with a young, free, and noble vitality, sometimes indeed restrained by the typically severe spirit of the transition, but yet breaking out, where bold and self-conscious artistic genius had sufficient strength, in a beauty and purity which reveal a grand sense of form pervaded by a warm breath of sensibility.

Sculpture was at this time employed in many minor works, especially in ivory carvings.† This form of art was extremely popular throughout the whole Romanesque period, and its products formed an important element in the many rich utensils and articles of ornament in which the child-like love of splendor natural to a fresh young age delighted. Book-covers, small portable altars formed of two leaves like the ancient diptych, and also articles of household luxury like hunting and drinking horns, cups, etc., were made of ivory, and covered with elaborate carvings, consisting for the most part of bold reliefs, sometimes treated with a certain stiffness and ponderosity, sometimes even rudely and clumsily executed. But wherever we find either real Byzantine work, or a copy of it, there is a remarkable delicacy and clear grace of art, such as distinguishes this smooth and polished kind of work. As a rule, there is more intellectual freshness in the works of this kind, with all their stiffness, than in the Byzantine.

* See the learned work of Dr. Rock, "Textile Fabrics."

† See, as before, Mr. E. Fortnum Drury's work on "Ivories," the original edition and the abridgment, published among the South Kensington Catalogues; London and New York.

A great number of such specimens have been preserved in museums, libraries, and in the treasuries of churches. A pregnant example of that earlier style may be seen in the ivory panels of the reliquary in the Castle Church at Quedlinburg, assigned (probably correctly) to the days of King Henry I. They represent events in the life of Christ, such as his washing of Peter's feet, his blessing his disciples, the Marys at the sepulcher, and the transfiguration on Mount Tabor, but in so clusmy and ignorant a fashion that they may fairly be ranked with the very beginnings of art. The general plan of the ancient Roman drapery is preserved; but every approach to a true outline of the body, every suggestion of organic structure, disappears utterly. Yet in this very childish lack of skill there is a trace of the dignity of ancient art, and it accords well with the sacred nature of the subject. There is a noteworthy exception to this rule in the shape of a diptych in the collection of the Hotel Cluny at Paris, dating back to the time of Otto II. That Emperor married the Greek princess Theophania; and if this connection did not introduce a strong Byzantine element into German art, it will certainly be acknowledged that many smaller specimens of Byzantine work must have been brought into the country, and must have incited men to copy them by their mere technical superiority. The afore-mentioned diptych, with its reliefs, affords a lively idea of the results (Fig. 340). We see the figure of Christ enframed by pillars—a figure of imposing height, and robed in raiment of ancient fashion—laying his hands in blessing on the heads of the smaller figures of Otto and his spouse. The artist seems also to have carved his own figure under that of the Emperor, in the spirit of the time. A hunting-horn (Fig. 341) pre-

Fig. 340. Ivory Relief. Paris.

served among the treasures of the Cathedral in Prague* shows the living charm which the fanciful imagination of that time tried to lavish on every-day utensils. The chariot races, the form of the quadriga, the figures of griffins and centaurs, and the gladiators preparing for combat with them, point directly to antique models; while the character of the foliage decoration is unmistakably Romanesque in form, so that the work probably belongs to the eleventh century.

Fig. 341. Reliefs on a Hunting-Horn. Prague.

The bronze articles of this era are of great importance. Many very fine ones are connected, in one way and another, with Bishop Bernward von Hildesheim (died 1023)—a learned man, prominent in politics as well as in the church, and equally familiar with art and science. He was himself a practical artist, as proved by still existing works from his hand. The first are the bronze doors of the Cathedral at Hildesheim,† decorated with sixteen bas-reliefs arranged in

* "Mittelalterliche Denkmäler der oesterreichischen Kaiserstaates," vol. ii., p. 127, with beautiful illustrations.

† Kratz, "Der Dom zu Hildesheim," 3 parts, 34 plates and text, Hildesheim. 1840.

two rows. One series contains scenes from the Old Testament, from the creation of the world to the death of Abel; the other illustrates the life of Christ, from the Annunciation to the Ascension, without any attempt at severe parallelism. This style is extremely primitive; the figures are treated with entire lack of skill. The relief, singularly enough, is confined almost exclusively to the lower half of the figures, while the upper part is scarcely raised from the surface; nor is there the slightest attempt to fill up the space at command in an artistic way. But, despite these technical defects, the work is interesting through its undeniable expression of life, and even of dramatic action. Abel falling beneath his brother Cain's blow, Cain shrinking from the threatening hand of God, are instances of child-like freshness and energy. Bernward achieved another and more important work in a bronze column, which once sustained a crucifix in the cathedral choir, but now, stripped of its capital, stands in the square outside. It evidently owed its origin to the impressions made on the learned bishop in Rome; for figures wind spirally about it as around the pillars of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, these figures being taken from the life of Christ, reminding us of their Roman models in the very lavishness of the relief, and affording us a proof of how unsettled in those days was artistic practice, and how little understood were the laws of style. A similar bronze door may be found in the Augsburg Cathedral, probably dating back to the latter half of the eleventh century. Certain bronze tomb slabs show that tomb monuments were occasionally made of bronze at this period; and they all portray the deceased in low relief, and with very slight feeling for nature and truth. The oldest of these slabs occurs in the Magdeburg Cathedral; another, in the Cathedral at Merseburg, represents the aspirant to the throne, Rudolph of Swabia, who fell in 1080 (Fig. 342). The bronze figure of a man holding a light, in the Erfurt Cathedral, belongs to the same period.

Fig. 342. Tomb-Slab of Rudolph of Swabia. Merseburg.

A large font in S. Barthélemy at Liège, cast in 1112 by Master Lambert Patras of Dinan, belongs to a more advanced period. Like the famous Sea of Brass in the court of Solomon's temple, the basin rests on twelve figures of animals, which also embody an allusion to the apostles. On its external surface are five reliefs, whose subjects relate to the holy office of baptism. We see John baptizing publicans, and preaching in the wilderness; the inscription referring to the "greater than he that was to follow" (Fig. 343). Then there is the baptism of Christ, and two other baptismal scenes taken from the Bible. This composition is already far freer and more raised, the form of the figures more natural, than before: the drapery is simple

Fig. 343. Relief from the Font in the Church of St. Bartholomew, Liège.

and clear, the whole pervaded with a fidelity to nature which pleasantly permeates the antique conception. The Cathedral at Osnabrück, designed by one Gerhard, contains another work of the same era. It represents the baptism of Christ, with an angel handing in officious haste a cloth to dry the Saviour. Here, too, a fresh, natural feeling, and effort toward dramatic action, successfully animate the stiff form. The doors of the Cathedral at Novgorod, and the bronze doors of the Gnesen Cathedral, also belong to the same period. The Cathedral at Hildesheim possesses a still richer font, of the thirteenth century, resting upon personifications of the rivers of paradise, while the surfaces are covered with animated bas-reliefs. In other church vessels the same love of rich work, and the same technical skill in the production of larger works of cast metal, are evident. We cite as examples the splendid seven-branched candlestick in the Cathedral at Essen, one of the few existing examples of a copy of the seven-branched candlestick in Solomon's Temple, so popular during the

Romanesque period; also the richly decorated sconce in the Prague Cathedral, whose bright mixture of graceful vines, human figures, and strange animals, forms an attractive example of the rich, fanciful, and significant school of Romanesque ornament (Fig. 344). The corona (circle of metal for holding lights) of the Minster at Aix, endowed by Emperor Frederic I., deserves special mention as a fine work of the closing period. Similar ones may be found in the Cathedral at Hildesheim and the Church at Comburg.

The works above mentioned being of a more movable character, we have now to consider sculpture, which was executed in stone or stucco, in the interests of architecture, and for the display of which doors, choir screens, etc., gave ample opportunity. The greater difficulty of handling the material made it natural that the demand for such decorative works should not be great until a period of richer development. Among older productions of the kind ascribed to the eleventh century are two interesting stone bas-reliefs in the Minster at Basle, which contain four representations of martyrs, and figures of the apostles, in pairs, between small rows of arches. Here, too, there is a manifest attempt to copy life, and a certain fidelity to nature, together with clear and effective drapery. The much-discussed colossal relief cut upon the "Externsteine," in Westphalia, hewn from a stone wall thirteen feet wide and over sixteen feet high, belongs to the early part of the twelfth century. It represents the Descent from the Cross, and is valuable for its deep symbolic meaning. The half-figure of God the Father hovers above the cross with the standard of victory, ready to receive his Son's soul, while sun and moon are placed on either side, as witnesses of the event; and at the foot of the cross Adam and Eve, as representatives of mankind, encompassed by the dragons of sin, stretch their arms imploringly toward their Saviour. Some traces of deep feeling shine with real force through the rude crudity of the picture, and the spaces are also arranged with due regard to architectural laws. Especially is this the case with the Virgin Mary, who is here represented as on the point of fainting, and holds the drooping head of her son in a close

Fig. 344. From the Candelabrum in the Cathedral at Prague.

and sad embrace, and presses her cheek to his in anxious love. The sensitive soul of a gifted artist speaks plainly here, even amid the close bonds of tradition.

The basilicas of Saxony and Thuringia (the ancient provinces bearing those names) contain a long list of compositions in relief and of consistently advancing stages of progress. Among the oldest and most severe are the figures of Christ (Fig. 345) and the apostles, executed in stucco on the parapet of a western gallery in the Church at Gröningen, near Halberstadt. The stucco reliefs on the choir screen in the Church of the Virgin at Halberstadt are freer and more fully developed, also portraying the apostles with Christ in their midst on one side, and his mother on the other—works in which the severe style has already developed into singular mellowness. Less noble, but more animated, are the figures in relief on the choir screen of S. Michael at Hildesheim, which are represented, not in a sitting, but a standing posture. This style attained a perfection rare at this period, and an almost classic grace, in the stone carvings at Wechselburg, near Dresden, and Freiberg. In the old monastic Church now connected with the Schloss at Wechselburg they chiefly take the form of reliefs in the chancel, treating of the doctrine of the redemption. Christ enthroned, surrounded by evangelical symbols, Mary and John on either hand, the mediators for mankind at the throne of the Most High, form the central group. Christ's sacrificial death and work of redemption are typified by the sacrifice of Isaac and the worship of the brazen serpent. Cain and Abel (Fig. 346) offering up their sacrifices stand for the good and the bad in their relations to God. Here, again, the symbolic significance is pervaded with freer artistic feeling, breathing a new and noble life into the traditional conceptions of nature. The altar of the same church, an extensive open arcaded structure, adorned with sculpture of a milder, freer, and more mellow style, and crowned by a crucifix between the figures of Mary and John, belongs to a somewhat earlier stage of development. It is a work of great merit

Fig. 345. Relief in the Church at Gröningen.

and surprising fidelity to nature. The most superb work of this final period, dating near the middle of the thirteenth century, or at the time of the beginning of the Sainte Chapelle in Paris, a perfectly developed Gothic structure, is the sculpture on the "golden gate" at Freiberg. This is the chief doorway of the old cathedral, elsewhere replaced by a late Gothic structure built after the burning of the older one. On the tympanum we find Mary enthroned with the infant Christ, who is adored by the three kings; while the figures of the Trinity, surrounded by angels, appear in the archivolt. On either side of the door, between the rows of pillars, four figures standing free are carved, representing the prophetic annunciation of the Messiah in varied symbolism. The whole has a deep, inherent connection; but the subjects are freely and independently handled. The sculpturesque treatment strikes us in the same way —delicate and refined, of youthful grace and free imaginative conception, even inclining to tenderness. The execution of the heads and the drapery at once recalls the dignity of antique art; but here a new vigor and deep sensibility find successful expression. These superb pieces of sculpture are by far the most admirable of the best and noblest work of the concluding Romanesque period, and their existence can only be explained by the assumption that they are the work of some peculiarly gifted artist. Yet they are evidently related to the vigorous and important plastic efforts to be found in Central Germany from the very first. We also find an analogous case in the classic delicacy and elegance of the richly modeled ornamental sculpture, such as is to be seen, for instance, in the Cathedral at Naumburg.

Fig. 346. Relief in the Church at Wechselburg.

A kindred effort, based on pure beauty and free action, is manifest, although more severe in character, in the reliefs on the eastern choir screen in Bamberg Cathedral. As for the monuments of Southern Germany, on the contrary, such as the portal of S. Gall in the Basle Cathedral and others, they testify to a striking persistence in rude,

clumsy rigidity, which, especially in many Austrian edifices—as, for instance, the Church at Schöngrabern*—contrasts strangely with the elegance of the merely decorative carving.

Many French works of the same school date back to the beginning of the twelfth century.† The most comprehensive monument of this epoch is formed by the sculpture on the main portal of the Abbey Church at Conques, representing in popular style the Day of Judgment. Christ, surrounded by angels, sits severe and stern upon his throne, in a mandorla or almond-shaped (i.e., pointed) halo. Below we see the separation of the good from the bad, who are led away to Paradise or the torments of hell. The whole large tympanum is filled with these sculptures, which have suffered very little. Later in the twelfth century, the custom was adopted, in France, of loading the capitals of columns with historical scenes from the Bible and from legendary lore, or with purely imaginative or symbolic figures. The limited space led to a somewhat wild, inartistic crowding of images; and the style of the figures varies from the stiff and lifeless to an almost barbaric wildness; as, for example, in a capital in the Church at Vézelay, representing Moses and the worship of the golden calf in rude, fantastic fashion. Sometimes heads of great interest, as being apparently portraits, are mingled with leafage; sometimes domestic animals or fowls, and sometimes lions and other savage creatures form the great *crochet* or angle piece at each corner; and at Moissac (Tarn et Garonne) a fierce head being established at each angle of the capital at top, two bodies and two necks are appropriated to it with admirable decorative result. At Notre Dame du Port, in Clermont-Ferrand, are griffins drinking from a font, evidently copied from some piece of Græco-Roman work. As the twelfth century advanced, the realism of these compositions increased, and we have figures in vigorous action mingled with the scrolls and leafage as if really entangled in vines. But sculpture was also employed elsewhere, especially on doors; and whole façades are carved in the same conventional style, particularly in the

Fig. 347. Statue from the Main Portal of the Cathedral of Chartres.

* G. Heider, "Die Kirche zu Schöngrabern"; Vienna, 1854.
† See Viollet-le-Duc, "Dictionnaire de l'Architecture," art. "Sculpture."

South. Thus in the Church of S. Trophime at Arles, there is a great portal which contains the often-recurring subject of the Last Judgment, spread over the tympanum, the soffit of the great arch, the lintel-course below the arch, and the wall-surface below and on either side. Still more in the famous Church of Saint Gilles the front with three portals and a massive colonnade separating and including them is adorned not merely by the sculptured tympanums of the three doorways, but also by long stretches of frieze carved with figures and statues larger than life between the columns of the lower story. In the north, in the center of France, are many superb doorways, as at Vézelay, Alençon, Poitiers, and Bourges. The statue compositions of Chartres and Le Mans are named below.

A more luxuriant fancy prevailed in Western France, notably in Poitou, decking the façade of the Cathedral at Angoulême with its most brilliant results in gorgeous decoration. Toward the close of the twelfth century, a severe revival of the old hieratic forms is noticeable in the northwest of France, shown by an almost columnar rigidity of figures, and a delicate but formal and architectural regularity of folds in the drapery, not dissimilar to the archaic sculptures of Greek art. The doorways of the Cathedrals at Bourges, Chartres (Fig. 347) and Le Mans are admirable specimens of this tendency, which might seem an anachronism if it were not the basis on which a new, generous, wondrously free and complete style of architectural sculpture was to be built up side by side with the new architectural life, dating from the beginning of the thirteenth century. The excessively tall and slender figures of the west front of Chartres and the south portal of Le Mans are deliberately planned to comport the better with the upright masses of the architecture. But with the closing years of the twelfth century are seen the first signs of a more perfect control over the materials and the conditions and the earliest Gothic porches have sculpture which is less formal and unreal, although equally valuable as decoration.

A transition from sculpture to painting is made by certain works of decorative art, which seek to gratify the splendor-loving tastes of the time, not only by the combination of the most varied and costly materials, but also by the union of the sculptor's and the painter's skill. Generally a metal ground, either of gilt, or copper, or silver plates, is covered with fine filigree patterns, gay enamel, precious stones, and especially with antique gems and cameos. Whatever any one had that was precious was devoted to the execution of such works, especially book covers, little altars, censers, reliquaries of all sorts, processional crosses, and even to the adornment of the larger altars with the so-called antependium. Various as are the

materials and the skill, these objects possess a highly picturesque charm, and are often of considerable original importance as works of art. Despite the fact that much has been destroyed, many noble and rich specimens still exist in museums and churches. The use of enamel was universally popular, first diffused by Byzantine examples, and afterward cultivated with great success at Limoges. The Byzantines soldered gold threads to the metal base, which divided the different colors, and prevented them from running together when melted (*émaux cloisonnés*); but the European workman hollowed out the ground to receive the enamel, and allowed the untouched

Fig. 348. Shrine of the Magi, Cologne.

surface to show as a border (*émaux champlevés*). In Germany it was more particularly in the Rhenish art schools, as at Cologne and Siegberg, that enamel-painting was cultivated.

Splendid works of this kind, dating from the eleventh century, are found among the treasures of the Church at Hildesheim, the Cathedral at Essen, and the Parish Church at Siegberg. The following century was uncommonly active in this direction, so favorable to the development of ornament and luxury, and more especially so in the manufacture of large reliquaries, in the form of oblong caskets with roof-like covers, resembling small, costly buildings; as, for

example, the beautiful casket of St. Heribert at Deutz; the two elegant jeweled reliquaries of St. Crispin and St. Crispinianus in the Osnabrück Cathedral, which are also decorated with arabesques; the two in the Minster at Aix; and the magnificent shrine of the Magi at Cologne, which also belongs to this concluding period, and is most exquisitely executed (Fig. 348). Among the most famous works of the kind is the Altar-frontal at Kloster-Neuburg near Vienna,* which was made by the artist Nicholas of Verdun in 1181. It is formed of fifty-one gilded bronze tablets, entirely covered with scenes from the Old and New Testament, engraved in deeply incised

Fig. 349. From the Verdun Altar at Kloster-Neuburg.

lines, filled in with red and blue. These engravings are of great value; for the skillful hand of an original and gifted artist is apparent in the dignity and grandeur of the figures as well as in the dramatic action. One picture represents Samson wrestling with the lion (Fig. 349); and, though violent and harsh, it is powerful, bold, energetic, and full of passionate action.

In the consideration of painting, we find the miniatures† in books to afford the most fertile field for the study of the various stages of

* Reproduced by A. von Camesina and Arneth in their publication, "Das Niello-Antependium zu Kloster-Neuberg," Vienna, 1856; and again, later, by Heider and Camesina.

† Kugler, in his "Kleine Schriften zur Kunstgeschichte," vols. I. and II., Stuttgart, 1853, gives numerous and faithful copies.

development. They begin with the barbaric imitation of the antique, universally prevalent in the Carlovingian epoch. In this department, Germany was rich in the earliest times. Her monasteries possessed the greatest knowledge of science, and fostered in their schools the study of ancient literature, which shows its results in the multiplication of books on many subjects, even of many poetical attempts, such as the comedies of the nun Roswitha of Gandersheim. As was generally the case with the art of the time, the illuminations with which the manuscripts were adorned were not studied from nature, but from traditional types. The figures have no natural surroundings, but stand out against a bright background often resembling tapestry; and are set in some architectural design, generally a pillared arcade. The magnificent missal in the royal library of Munich, identified as having belonged to the Emperor Henry II. (1002-24), has a page filled with figures on a diapered background: in front, the Emperor, his arms held up by haloed personages; and above, Christ in the mandorla, who places one hand upon the Emperor's crown and lifts the left hand in blessing. Angels fill the upper corners, and long legends in capital letters adorn the friezes which separate the compartments. The marriage of the Emperor Otto II. with the Greek princess Theophania, late in the tenth century, was of the utmost importance to the technical execution of this art; Byzantine art products being then introduced into Germany in great profusion, and the fine style of Byzantine workmanship acquiring a controlling influence. These works were copied the more zealously since they furnished a fixed canon adapted to universal application. The scale of colors was made richer and more manifold by the introduction of middle tints; but, as before, the essence of this art consisted in strongly outlined drawings, forms and draperies being strongly defined, and filled in with colors more or less flat, with occasional slight shading, the lights being laid on in white or yellow. The distribution of colors was directed by a general law of harmony, rather than by any regard to nature; and the hair and beard are not infrequently blue or green, if those colors seemed to the artist the most decorative. The faces are of a pale gray or greenish hue, which, taken in connection with the lean, haggard figures, and the lifeless, mechanical drapery, give a harsh, forbidding aspect to these pictures, in spite of all their display of color. Yet this chrysalis state of stiff formality preceded the birth of a noble and free art.

One of the most important works of this early period is the copy of the Gospels made by Bishop Egbert of Treves, which is in the town library of Treves. It is a work of the close of the tenth century. The coloring exhibits a lively, charming variety; the figures

of the evangelists are grand, and strikingly dignified, though somewhat stiff. Early in the eleventh century, in the reign of Henry II. (the saint), the art of illuminating made great progress, owing to that monarch's pious zeal. The libraries at Bamberg and Munich still contain a number of superb manuscripts, presented by him to his favorite foundation, the Cathedral of Bamberg. Later in the eleventh century, affectation impaired this style, making itself manifest in strangely distorted figures, intricate drapery, and repulsive ugliness, thus betraying a deep decline in art. But in the twelfth century, under the lead of architecture, it awoke to new life, to stricter conformity to law and to purity of design, which at first, indeed, threatened a revival of Byzantine stiffness, but soon, especially after the middle of the century, paved the way for a freer and more lifelike use of the old types. Under this favorable influence, miniature painting rose to that lofty, thoughtful, and imaginative conception which is shown in all the more important efforts of Romanesque art. The Strasburg Library formerly possessed one of the best works of this period in the "Hortus Deliciarum," which was written, and adorned with numerous illustrations, by or for the Abbess Herrad von Landsberg in 1175, to which the varied study of nature and life lends its simple charm.* This magnificent manuscript was destroyed during the bombardment of 1870. Three passionaries from the monastery of Zwiefalten, in the Royal Public Library at Stuttgart, are brilliant examples of a free and lively fancy which delights in marginal ornaments and initials.

Illuminating assumed a different style toward the close of the twelfth century, excited by the growth of chivalric poetry, which seems to have prevailed in Southern Germany, and particularly in Bavaria. It bears the same likeness to the former style that the simple popular ballad does to the solemn music of the mass. It appears mostly in the shape of slight pen-and-ink-sketches, in black and red, and sometimes lightly tinted. They are not so splendid as the earlier works; but neither are they so melancholy and severe. They are better adapted to tracing the flights of fancy, and expressing the poetic power of imagination. And as, in the development of music, the melody that lives in the songs of the people must come to the aid of the severely classical composition before a higher stage can be reached, so these simple pen-sketches seem to form the transition to that period in which the painter found a freer field wherein to express the emotions of his inner life.

It is generally some chivalric, secular poem to which these pretty

*Reproduced and described by Ch. Engelhard, Herrad von Landsberg, etc.; Stuttgart, 1818.

illuminations are added as ornaments, betraying, in their ingenuous, natural style, a hitherto unknown freshness of sensibility. But there were also many religious works with similar illustrations. The Berlin Library owns a manuscript of the monk Werner von Tegernsee's* poem on the life of the Virgin Mary, the illuminations in which reveal rare and vigorous feeling for truth and nature (Fig. 350). Another manuscript in the same collection, the "Æneid," by

Fig. 350. Apparition at the Birth of Christ. (From the Manuscript of Werner von Tegernsee.)

Heinrich von Veldeck, follows closely in this respect, as is shown in the picture of Dido giving free vent to her grief before Æneas, while he vainly strives to comfort her (Fig. 351).

French illumination in its development followed the same lines as in Germany; but of pure French work little is known previous to the Gothic epoch. Anglo-Norman manuscripts, that is, those written and painted for the Dukes of Normandy, who were also kings of England, form a style apart; and under the name of English illumination have been much studied. The whole western part of what is now France was controlled by those sovereigns down to the close of the fourteenth century; and the division between styles is to be made

* Compare Kugler's "Kleine Schriften," vol. i.

along a line drawn from Amiens to Bordeaux, all to the west of that being rather Anglo-Norman than French. England, on the contrary, continued to cling to the traditional Anglo-Saxon style of her early period far into the time of the Norman, until there, also, a change to the true Romanesque style of treatment took place.

Romanesque painting developed broader effects in the mural paintings of the churches. The style of these works was developed nearly in accordance with that of illumination, save that their solemn subjects, and their direct connection with architecture, lent greater sublimity to their general manner, limiting the freedom of action, but frequently replacing it by an impression of great dignity and power. There are sufficient examples to prove that it was a general custom to paint

Fig. 351. Dido and Æneas. (From the Manuscript of the "Æneid.")

the whole interior of churches—the walls, vaulted roofs, and wooden ceilings—and by this means to complete the artistic character of the whole, and to give it an expression befitting its sacred character. A simple, energetic style of figure drawing, which stands out in bold colors, generally against a blue background, was the element which produced this imposing result. Added to this was a clear architectonic arrangement, divided by painted ornamental bands of rich and tasteful pattern, and lending a clear distinctness, rhythmic alternation, and rich life to the vast whole.

Numerous writings testify to the extensive use of mural painting during the eleventh century; but nothing remains which can with certainty be attributed to this period.

Among the oldest works, dating perhaps from the tenth century,

is to be reckoned a representation of the Last Judgment on the western apse of the church at Oberzell in the plain or island of Reichenau, in Baden, showing Byzantine influence; then, in the same place over the arcades in the nave, some Biblical scenes occur, probably of the eleventh century. These are the Raising of Lazarus, of the Youth at Nain, and of the Daughter of Jairus; the Casting Out of the Devils, the Storm Upon the Sea, and the Healing of the Blind. It is deserving of notice, how vigorously German art aims at liveliness of motive. Between the upper windows appear the figures of the apostles, and there is a Christ, in the mandorla, of great beauty. All this work is done in pale browns, grays, and dull

Fig. 352. Wall-Painting in St. Savin.

reds on a brighter green background. S. Michael's Church at Burgfelden in Württemburg, has on the nave wall a Christ in glory with a broad band or frieze of angels. At Reichenau-Niederzell, in the Church of Saints Peter and Paul, is a similar decoration, and there are vigorous figures of saints under the arches of an arcade. A work of strictly Byzantine conception, belonging probably to the end of the eleventh century, is the decoration, with half-figures of saints, in the vestibule of the Conventual Church of Nonnberg at Salzburg, productions solemn in bearing and of imposing effect.

France possesses in the Church at S. Savin in Poitou one of the grandest and most comprehensive examples of mural painting. Probably executed during the first half of the twelfth century, this series

of pictures is grandly severe and concise in conception, and of pathetic effect (Fig. 352). They begin in the crypt with scenes from the legends of the saints. The choir and its chapels display the imposing figures of the Saviour and patron saint of the country, and illustrate the New Testament. On the vaulting of the nave are illustrations of the Old Testament; in the west porch, scenes from the apocalyptic vision; and in the galleries above, scenes from the Passion, and legendary events. The conception is severe and typical throughout; the figures are lean, long, and of the Byzantine type; but we trace the simple grandeur of antiquity in the drapery. These elements combine to produce an impression of grave dignity, which sometimes, as in the portrayal of Moses receiving the laws on Mount Sinai, rises to a really solemn effect. A painted ornamentation, which covers

Fig. 353. Wall-Painting from Schwarzrheindorf.

every part of the architecture—the architraves, shafts, and capitals of the columns—gives an harmonious finish to the whole. Of the same epoch is the decorative painting in the Church of S. Philibert at Tournus (Saône-et-Loire); also that of the church at Montoire (Loir-et-Cher), in which occurs the singular emblematic figure of Christ enthroned and surrounded by the mandorla, but with a separate circular glory about his feet. This composition is splendid with color, and the linear composition with details of extreme interest. A little later are the beautiful paintings on the vaults of the church of Petit Quevilly; a flight into Egypt is of peculiar excellence, as an almost realistic rendering of the event. Of the very close of

the Romanesque epoch is the painting which remains in the monastery of Rocamadour (Lot). Here in the chapel of S. Michael are an Annunciation and a Visitation, somewhat grotesque in line and harsh in color, but highly wrought in the modeling of the flesh.

In Germany, the wall paintings in the lower story of the curious double church of Schwarzrheindorf, near Bonn, rank first among the works of the progressive twelfth century in extent and artistic import. Executed soon after 1151, they give an impression of rare power and significance by the profound imagery contained in them. In the center of the main apse we see the Saviour enthroned; in the northern apse is the Crucifixion of Christ; in the southern, the Transfiguration on Mount Tabor (a few figures from which we give in Fig. 353)*; at the western entrance is the Driving of the Money Changers from the Temple, as the first divine lesson to those who enter the house of God. Amid these images, and in the broad rounded surfaces of the vaulting, we see single figures of saints, allegorical personifications, and portraits of kings and princes. Even on the vaulting are scenes of deep symbolic meaning, apparently referring to the contrast between the true worship of God and idolatry. The figures are drawn in simple outline and coloring on a dark blue ground, bordered with green. With these narrow limits we discover a rare purity of feeling, a lofty freedom of composition, an intellectual vigor and fullness of life, which undeniably indicate great artistic power.

During the final period of the Romanesque style, mural painting, especially on the Lower Rhine, in Saxony and Westphalia, seems to have developed extensive works in this severe traditional style. The most notable are the paintings in the Chapter House at Brauweiler, in the Nicholas Chapel of the Cathedral Church of Our Lady, at Soest, and in the Church at Methler, in Westphalia, and above all the important paintings on the vaults of the choir and transept of the Brunswick Cathedral. These are of the thirteenth century, and are much fuller and more brilliant in color than what the earlier churches have to show. One of the best works of this period is the wooden ceiling of S. Michael's Church at Hildesheim, which contains Christ's genealogical tree, or the so-called "Tree of Jesse," in extremely beautiful compartments, and in a rich, ornamental frame. A series of medallions begins with the fall of man, and continues through the progenitors of Christ to Mary (Fig. 354) and the Saviour enthroned in glory; while smaller medallions on either hand portray the countless patriarchs and prophets of the Old Testament.

* The illustration given is taken from the drawings by C. Hohe, in the Museum of Berlin.

In spite of the typical formality of style, there is a certain freedom in the work, which is also shown in the rich folds of the drapery.

Also in Southern Germany and in Austria many traces of Romanesque mural painting have survived. Thus, in Suabia, the relics in the Convent Church of S. Gilgen, near Comburg, and the paintings in the crypt at Alpirsbach; those in the Nonnberg Church at Salzburg, in archaic Byzantine style; those in the belfry of the Abbey

Fig. 354. From the Roof of St. Michael in Hildesheim.

Church at Lambach, which are no less primitive; further in Tyrol,* the mural paintings in the Catherine Chapel of the Castle at Hocheppan, likewise uncommonly severe; those in S. James's Church at Tramin, which are bold and animated, as also those in S. John's Chapel of the Cathedral at Brixen, which show greater freedom of

* G. Dahlke, in "Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft," v., vi., ix.

composition; others in S. Nicholas's Chapel, near Windisch-Matrei, have unfortunately been painted over. Dating from the closing epoch of Romanesque art, the grand cycle in the nuns' choir of the cathedral at Gurk in Carinthia is especially noteworthy; above all, a superb Madonna enthroned, surrounded by noble figures representing the virtues, while the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost hover above her in the guise of doves, works of supreme grace and solemn dignity, ranking with the best which that period has produced.*

We find a similar mode of treatment and artistic arrangement in glass painting, which was perhaps first employed in Byzantine buildings before the tenth century, but whose known monuments of value first appear in Germany in the Romanesque period, and which was followed up with great success, in France from the twelfth century. No window can be set down as positively anterior to 1200. The few early examples presented to us are distinguished by simple, severe handling, and superb, glowing color. The chief effect is produced by the colored glass itself, arranged in a kind of translucent mosaic; the painting upon it with vitrifiable color having but a small share in the early windows. There are several small windows in the possession of the Société des Arts Décoratifs, which were brought from Châlons-sur-Marne. All the French archæologists agree in fixing the years 1230-50 as the epoch of these, the earliest fully completed designs in window decoration. Of the same date are windows in S. Remi at Reims (Marne), at the Church of the Abbey, Church of S. Denis (Seine), and several at the Cathedrals of Le Mans and Bourges. All these are, however, complete triumphs of the art; the doubtful first experiments are lost. In Germany, in like manner, a few twelfth century pieces exist, as in the Church of Neuweiler in Alsace; but here, also, we have no complete knowledge of the state of the art previous to the year 1200.

ITALY.

While Italian art† generally followed the laws of development observed by Northern races at this period, to a certain extent it now opened an independent path, by which it passed to a very different goal. In the early periods, from the fall of the Empire to the tenth century, Italy had sunk to a low point both of general culture and artistic skill. The scarcely credible crudity of the time is strikingly shown by the bronze doors of San Zeno at Verona. They are

* Published in "Mittheilungen der K. K. Central Commission," xvi.

† Seroux d'Agincourt, "Histoire de l'Art." Cicognara, "Storia della Scultura," Venice, 1813. A later edition in a different form, 1823.

formed of nothing but small tablets in relief, laboriously secured to heavy doors of oak planks; and of astonishing rudeness, particularly those on the left wing of the door. Among the numerous stone carvings of the time, we may mention, as an example of this barbarous style, a representation of the Last Supper in the chancel of San Ambrogio at Milan. The only works of this period which show any refinement are those which betray direct Byzantine influence. The universal spread of this influence in Venice and Lower Italy is still proved by various large works which are thoroughly Byzantine in style; as, for example, the bronze doors of the main portal of S. Mark's in Venice; also the doors of S. Paul's Without the Walls, at Rome, which were made in Constantinople in 1070, and were destroyed by fire in 1823; and the bronze doors of the Cathedrals at Amalfi, Salerno, and Monte Casino (1067), which are of similar workmanship. All these works are reputed to have been brought from Constantinople. They are not mainly in relief, like the San Zeno doors, but are of that Oriental style in which the figures are engraved on brass, and have the incisions filled up with inlaid silver threads (damascening). The few figures represented at Amalfi are of stiff Byzantine design; while those at Salerno are rather better, and more naturally drawn.

A new tendency arose with the beginning of the twelfth century, but in a fashion which might be deemed the barbaric dissolution of all artistic form; for a rude, wild realism took possession of Italian sculpture, simply doing away with the old typical canons, without introducing new laws. The doors and façades of Upper Italian and Tuscan churches bear abundant traces of this new movement; but the less interesting they are, the more artlessly the maker parades his name upon them. If we compare with this our almost total ignorance of the names of the German sculptors of this period, even of the makers of very important works of art, we see that the self-consciousness of the artist was developed early in Italy. But this free forth-putting of personality is one of the powerful levers which finally raised Italian art to such a height. Two relievo tablets with the figures of Luke and John probably belong to this period. They were formerly in the porch of the church connected with the Baptistery at Aquileja, and give an idea of the strange symbolism of the Middle Ages (Fig. 355). There was a revival of bronze-casting in Lower Italy toward the close of the century, which replaced the Byzantine damascening of a century earlier by a natural and flexible style of execution in relief. An important example is the bronze door of the Cathedral at Ravello, dated 1179; the figures being treated in a new manner, following the classic models. The archi-

tectural borders surrounding the tablets and separating them are richly decorated with fine Romanesque foliage. The figures are indeed somewhat stiff, but quite free from rudeness. Barisanus of Trani is named as the maker of these doors; and he executed similar ones, which are still extant, for the cathedrals at Monreale and his native city Trani. The finest bronze reliefs of the time are those of Benevento Cathedral, where the main doors are covered with bronze plates, seventy-six in number, the joints covered by raised moldings of bronze, and the plates filled with figures of fine design, the drapery exquisitely modeled.

In such works, therefore, Italian sculpture attains a new canon of style, which only required for its higher development such genius as was displayed by the artist of the Golden Door at Freiberg, named above; and it appeared in the person of the great Niccola Pisano, born in 1204, whose works extend down to 1280. In him antique

Fig. 355. The Evangelists John and Luke. Relief from Aquileja.

art revived in splendor and power, and began a new and wondrous, though brief existence, far removed from the constrained and labored traditions which had hitherto been painfully preserved in the Romanesque style, and also far freer and more decided than it had shown itself elsewhere, even in the noblest creations; such as in the sculptures at Wechselburg and Freiberg. His work was as genuine a renaissance before the Renaissance as the façade of San Miniato or the Baptistery at Florence. But although these structures prove that genius of this style must have been innate in Tuscany at that day, the sudden appearance of this wondrous master is still inexplicable.

An early work by this master, a Descent from the Cross, in relief,

on the north door of the porch of the Cathedral of Lucca, probably done in 1233, proves that he was still held in the bonds of the universally prevalent Roman school.

In his later works the master moderated the unconditional severity of his antique conception, as is proved by his reliefs on the sarcophagus of St. Dominic in the Church of St. Dominic at Bologna, and even more fully by the pulpit of the Siena Cathedral. The latter even more superb than its Pisan predecessor, though nearly allied to it in design, was built in 1266 by Niccola, aided by his son and a few assistants. The bas-reliefs on the sides repeat the same series of scenes as are on the Pisan pulpit, only somewhat enlarged and enriched. A fresh and more fervent feeling pervades the noble antique conception, rising to the pitch of passion in the Slaughter of the Innocents and the Crucifixion, which may have been the work of his son Giovanni.

The great seven-branched candelabrum, sixteen feet high, in the north transept of Milan Cathedral, is an exceptional piece of bronze sculpture of the closing period of the Romanesque style. This grand monument of mediæval bronze rises in the shape of a stately tree with branches and foliage; dragon-like monsters form its feet; a throng of graceful figures in small groups, beginning with the fall of man, are introduced with great skill among the vines—all finished with admirable delicacy.*

Italian painting† at this period, like the great monumental works, followed in the footsteps of the Byzantines. Especially was this the case with work in mosaic, which was now much practised after old Christian traditions, at first stiff and mechanical, but displaying undeniable traces of fresh vitality and increasing originality during the twelfth century. The extensive mosaics in the interior of St. Mark's at Venice, which date back to the eleventh century (for many are of later epochs), are rigidly Byzantine. The rich mosaics of the Sicilian churches are an important contribution to the development of this style. The mosaics in the Church of La Martorana, built at Palermo by King Roger, about 1130, are entirely dependent on Byzantine art, stiff and solemn, quite without expression or spirit, and all accompanied by Greek inscriptions. Those in the choir of the Capella Palatina, at Palermo, are treated in an equally stiff, dry, mechanical, Byzantine style. In the nave we find tokens of independent life, however; and the figures, especially that of the enthroned Saviour, are full of grandeur, meaning, and expression.

* Figured in Didron's "Annales archéologiques," vol. xiii.-xv.

† D'Agincourt, "Histoire de l'art." Rossini, "Storia della Pittura Italiana." Crowe and Cavalcaselle, "History of Painting in Italy."

This style was developed with even greater independence in the exceedingly rich mosaics of the Church at Monreale. Here, again, the Byzantine element is often apparent, as in the Madonna above the entrance, whose narrow face and aquiline nose correspond to the Byzantine model. Elsewhere, particularly in the youthful figures, the antique model is followed. Fresh life breaks through the stiff shell, more especially in historical pictures. The action is duly felt, and even if awkwardly given, is effective. Indeed, a profound expression of fervor is sometimes wonderfully attained; and that excellent proportioning of space, henceforth the heritage of Italian art, is always observed; indeed, these are the finest gold-ground mosaics in the South. They are dated 1148.

In the choir of the Cathedral at Cefalù works of a kindred tendency may be seen.

Here and there a few mosaics have survived in Southern Italy. Thus, in a side apse of the Cathedral at Salerno is the great figure of the Archangel Michael with scepter and globe, beneath it S. Matthew enthroned, with four saints beside him, and the diminutive figure of the donor, Giovanni da Procida. But while these works everywhere bear the stamp of Byzantinism, we meet with an exceedingly active display of mural painting, which, although likewise showing isolated traces of Byzantine influence, breaks away with surprising energy from the fetters of that tradition, and in free creative power knows how to combine antique dignity with vigorous life.

To this category belong the noteworthy mural paintings in the village of S. Angelo in Formis, near Capua, the Church and its paintings dating from the eleventh century. In the apse there is a grand representation of the Redeemer enthroned between boldly treated evangelical symbols, among them the three archangels and the two saints. Below is a great band of saints. Next, on the choir arch, is an extensive presentation of the Last Judgment, and on the wall of the central nave are scenes from the Old and New Testaments. Over the nave arches is a nobly treated Crucifixion. The conception of the human form is still vague; but surprisingly expressive in treatment are incidents like the Crucifixion, and especially Christ and the Adulteress. The figures are grouped in a way that reminds us of fourteenth century Italian painting. Also, the picture in the apse of the Badia (Abbey) of S. Maria la Libera, at Carinola, near Sessa, dating from the same period, and representing the Madonna enthroned between two archangels, and S. Michael below surrounded by saints, is full of dignity. On the coast near Salerno is the Badia of Majori, which contains a noble Madonna with saints;

the drapery grandly modeled. In the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries this art advanced independently, and arrived at noteworthy results, also, from a pictorial point of view. Wholly Byzantine, yet full of noble vigor, is a Madonna enthroned, in the crypt of S. Basilio at Brindisi, especially effective through the depth of coloring. A much more diffident adherence to Byzantine models, on the other hand, is observable in the altar panels, where the mere traditions of the purely technical side of their art evidently made the painters as dependent as in the case of the mosaics. Proofs of this are to be found in the Madonna enthroned from S. Maria de Flumene, now in the Church del Rosario at Amalfi; further, an altar panel dedicated to S. Nicholas in the Church at Biscaglia, near Trani, and the Madonna enthroned in S. Stefano, near Monopoli, a work belonging to the close of this period which, in spite of its Gothic setting, still clings to the Byzantine type, although it does so with a quickening rejuvenation and a splendid glow of color.*

In Rome, too, at this period, there is no break in the sequence; and the eleventh century paintings in the subterranean church of S. Clemente are noble and dignified in design. In the twelfth century the severity of the old style is quickened with new life, though nowhere so fully as in the mosaics in the apse of S. Maria in Trastevere, which represent Christ enthroned with his mother, whom he embraces tenderly. This tendency continues here far into the thirteenth century.

Side by side with these superb works appear the products of a more modest and simple style of art, following the tendency of the Northern spirit. The most important work of this kind is to be found in the extensive wall paintings in the Baptistery at Parma, embracing figures and scenes from the Old and New Testaments, illustrating a parallelism of deep meaning; the work of a vigorous, active susceptibility to nature, often rising into passion in the historic scenes, and in the separate figures, sometimes of great beauty—as, for intance, the half-figure of King Solomon. About this time (1240) Giovanni Cimabue was born, with whose name and works we connect the lasting establishment of a sound style of painting, which did indeed have its origin in the severe magnificence of Byzantine form, but which aided to establish a new application of Nature in her truth and beauty.

Siena also took a forward step in painting at the same time, as is proved by the superb picture of the Madonna in S. Dominic, which bears the name of Guido da Siena, although the date given (1221) is impossibly early. It is marked by the same struggle to change and

* All these monuments are reproduced masterfully in chromotype in Salazaro.

transfigure the Byzantine form, together with a strong feeling for beauty and a clear flow of lines. These are the latest men of the time of first preparation. Duccio of Siena and Giotto of Florence take up the work, and the new epoch begins.

Chapter IV.

THE GOTHIC STYLE.*

1. Character of the Gothic Period.

IN the last period of the Romanesque style we saw the rise and gradual spread of an intellectual movement which sought to escape from the old rigid, traditional limits to new and freer forms. The revolution first shows marked results a little before the beginning of the thirteenth century; but it is not everywhere equally decisive and speedy. As long as it was merely a question of inoculating the Germanic mind with Christian and ancient tradition, Germany, besides being at the head of European political affairs, under the rule of her energetic emperors—recognized everywhere as the first princes of Europe, and the true successors of the shadowy dignity of imperial Rome—was also a leader of the other nations in civilization. But now, when the last step was to be taken, when the rights of the individual perception were to be vindicated, the kingdom of France—and especially the northeastern part of the modern state of that name, in which the Germanic element was the strongest—assumed the leadership. Here no such close and varied relations with Italy had existed as in Germany; and the country was therefore somewhat more independent of ancient traditions. Chivalry had developed there more rapidly and more brilliantly than elsewhere. During the First Crusade, princes giving allegiance to the French crown were the leaders. During the Second, the feeble Louis VII. of France with his followers bore at least half of the weight of the enterprise, and Bernard of Clairvaux, a French Burgundian, was the real leader. King Louis IX (the Saint) even undertook an independent crusade as late as the middle of the thirteenth century. Thus, the great social revolution which

* Gonse, L., "L'Art Gothique; l'Architecture, la Peinture, la Sculpture, le Décor." Moore, C. H., "Development and Character of Gothic Architecture." Prior, Ed. S., "A History of Gothic Art in England." Scott, G. G., "Secular and Domestic Architecture, Past and Present." "On the Development of Mediæval Architecture." "Gleanings from Westminster Abbey," etc. Street, G. E., "Some Account of Gothic Architecture in Spain; Brick and Marble in the Middle Ages." Ungewitter, G., "Lehrbuch der Gotischen Konstruktionen." Viollet-le-Duc, "Entretiens sur l'architecture." Von Essenwein, "Die Romanische und die Gothische Baukunst," in "Handbuch der Architektur," pts. i. and ii

these visionary expeditions caused in the life, manners, and views of the West was especially marked in France. The wonders of the distant Orient, the adventurous nature of the journey, the mingling with strange peoples—all these had changed the old habits of thought, and created a new circle of ideas. The old severe and formal age was past, and a new epoch had begun—stirring, brilliant, and full of varied action. At this time, too, Germany passed through that long period (1198-1250) of disorder and distraction which began with the displacement of the Hohenstaufen dynasty, and which, though favorable to the growth of cities and the burgher element, destroyed forever the powerful position of the Empire in the affairs of Europe. In France, on the contrary, the power of a kingly house, sprung from an insignificant germ, was gradually strengthened by skillful policy, and spread resistlessly from the north over the whole country. All these factors combined to place France, at this period, at the head of the movement of civilization, and to clothe the new spirit in that country, after a brief struggle with traditional forms, in a guise altogether novel; while elsewhere, in Germany as well as in Italy, a similar though less energetic intellectual movement contented itself with a richer and more brilliant adaptation of the Romanesque methods.

This new spirit, this free movement, is distinctly evident in the various branches of culture. Its dimly discerned but eagerly sought goal was the freeing of the individual from the rule of the priesthood, though only in the limited degree consistent with the religious ideas of the Middle Ages. No one wished directly to oppose the Church; though there was much less shrinking than formerly from uniting against even the highest decrees of the Pope, if need be. In the sphere of the Church itself, scholasticism rose to the highest importance, drawing out the most brilliant and the boldest minds, and leading to a more profound appreciation of religious dogmas. The more general spread of Mariolatry and the fact that religious devotion now assumed the character of a sacred love are peculiarly characteristic of the spirit of this age. This tendency, too, was most closely connected with the extreme reverence for women that then went hand-in-hand with the perfection of chivalry. In the poetry of this time the knights are occupied, as though in a holy rapture, solely with the thoughts of their mistresses and seem as though thus completely spell-bound. Nothing announces the new life of this era more strikingly than the rise of a national poesy. Hitherto the Latin language, though in a withered and distorted form, had been the only channel of intellectual expression. The historian and the poet could speak through that tongue alone, and the languages of

the people were condemned to inglorious silemce. Suddenly—near the close of the twelfth century—the national spirit seems to have become conscious of its own existence. Minstrels boldly struck their strings, and animated the long-scorned mother tongue to utter the most lofty thoughts, the deepest feelings. Provençal troubadours sang their inspired lays; and the German chivalric epic, slowly following the French example, found its most perfect development in Wolfram von Eschenbach—the highest expression of the poetry of that day.

Art could least of all escape this mighty influence. Great as had been its significance in the Romanesque epoch, it now assumed even more importance. If it had hitherto attained higher development just in proportion as it withdrew from the narrowing influences of the monasteries, it received a far deeper and stronger life now that the national spirit was directly infused into it, and the awakened feeling of the laity sought expression through it. Architecture first acquired a new, bold, and original form, in whose miraculous structures the subtlest thought finds its highest triumph; while at the same time the living effect of the whole, the freedom with which it soars aloft, and the delicacy of its proportions developed in countless graceful forms, give ample poetic expression to the awakened aspirations of the spirit. In the plastic arts, the formal style of the Romanesque was now entirely set aside; and the silent dignity of those forms which recalled ancient models now gave place to inspired fancy and sensitive imagination. A youthful, delicate life pervades every artistic creation, and affects us like the prophetic spirit of the opening spring-time.

In France this movement burst forth as early as the later decades of the twelfth century; and in the first quarter of the thirteenth it had acquired such consistency and strength, that it at once spread with amazing rapidity in all directions over the other European countries. But as the idealism of that whole period tended too strongly toward mere sentiment, and in its enthusiastic impulse kept itself too far from any basis of reality, it could not long remain at such a height. As scholastic learning soon degenerated into mere hair-splitting casuistry; as the expressions of the most delicate love soon petrified into mere conventional courtly forms; so also the arts—architecture as well as sculpture and painting—were, even as early as the fourteenth century, marked by that striving for mere external effect which is even more fatal to idealistic tendencies in art than to any others. From 1350 these ominous symptoms perceptibly increased, and with the fifteenth century began that powerful reaction toward realism and the antique which put an end to mediævalism.

2. *Gothic Architecture.*

A.—ITS SYSTEM.

The same effort which produced such important architectural changes, even during the Romanesque period, led to an architectural style which, in its principles and conditions, was still allied to that of the older epoch, but in its construction and artistic character had an altogether new and original significance. In a later epoch of partial and prejudiced ideas, buildings of this style were contemptuously called "Gothic," because it was supposed that only such barbarians as the old Goths were assumed to be could produce such works. Latterly, however, this Gothic style has won an honorable place in art history, and may continue to bear its old name; the more so that the experimental names of "Teutonic," "Old Teutonic," "German," "English," "Christian," are inaccurate, and the terms "pointed style," and "pointed-arch style," are neither exact nor exhaustive. The term "pointed style" has even been used to describe systems in which the pointed arch is much used, and which yet are not Gothic; such as the Moslem architecture of Cairo and Damascus, or some part of the Southern French Romanesque.

If we inquire into the origin of this style, which may seem capricious and arbitrary in contrast with the variety and splendor of the Romanesque, we discover that it owes its existence solely to a striving after a constructional and artistic ideal. The national spirit, once strongly roused, longed for freer, more independent expression in every sphere—it everywhere strove for the utterance of its deepest feelings; but the immediate cause of the change of style was the demand made by each town for a larger and nobler central church, and for a system of vaulting which would make such a church possible. That the resulting style was free, light, and bold in character, and peculiarly slender, bright, and beautiful, was a necessary consequence.

The pointed arch was one of the most potent aids to this revolution. This form is not new to us. We found it in Egypt as early as the ninth century, and saw it everywhere a favorite with the Mohammedans. Coming from the East it reached the Normans in Sicily; but it is also found, to all appearance as an original expedient, in the cylindrically vaulted churches of Southern France. Very probably the familiarity with Oriental buildings gained in the Crusades caused the pointed arch to be more readily adopted in Europe, as it is constantly more prevalent in German Romanesque buildings

of the latter part of the twelfth century, particularly after the reign of Frederick I. But all these examples are of a peculiarly decorative use of it, or are isolated instances. The pointed arch is never made the fundamental law of the construction; nor do we ever find vaulted roofs, arcades, windows, and niches worked out by its aid, save in the Gothic style of architecture. It is therefore one of the chief merits of that style, that it recognizes the constructive importance of this form, which had hitherto been only arbitrarily applied, and makes it the central point of its whole system.

But this importance is two-fold. The pointed arch, in its more or less acute or blunt and obtuse shapes, admits of the giving of different heights to the individual arches, or—what was more important—carrying arches of different widths to the same height. This did away with the necessity for the square division of the vaulting imposed by the Romanesque style. The broad, open vaults of the higher and wider spaces disappeared, and the nave could now have the same number of vaults as the aisles. In like manner, it now became easy to vault the irregular spaces of the curved aisle running around the apse. The arrangement of the ground-plan was therefore subject to less restraint, and the general effect of the interior became more varied. More than this, the pointed arch diminishes the side thrust because of its decreased proportionate width of span; and the pressure is downward, rather than directly lateral. This entailed another important innovation. Not only were the arches of the nave and aisles made of strong quarried stone, but the diagonal lines of the vaults had similarly treated cross-ribs; thus making a firm scaffolding, into which the lightest, thinnest possible rubble stone masonry was set as a mere filling. The massive vaulted roof of the Romanesque period, which exercised an equal weight of lateral pressure in all directions, and therefore required equally strong buttresses (heavy masses of wall), was now abandoned. It was not the stone roof only that grew lighter. Under the new conditions it was found to be only necessary to give the wall a strong support where the main arches and ribs of the roof met, in the pillars; and the intervening parts could be treated as a light wall merely for shelter, or pierced with windows.

This innovation caused a revolution to which architecture owes an entirely new change of face; for buttresses were now introduced at the points specially requiring support, and high broad windows were inserted between them, supplying the interior with an effect of light hitherto unimagined, and totally changing its character. Nor were these distinguishing features all. The majority of ecclesiastical buildings having three aisles, the side aisles being much lower than

the middle one (the nave), it was impossible to find an immediate and sufficient counter-fort for the vaulting of the latter, especially imperiled by its double height and width. One or two flying buttresses were therefore thrown from each of those points of the nave which required strengthening to the outer wall of the aisle, which thus received the whole lateral pressure, and met it by means of strong resisting piers (Fig. 356). The principle of construction already extant in the tunnel-vaulted churches of Southern France was thus remodeled to suit the new system. The advantages of a support of this kind at once led to new and still more brilliant developments of the plan in the larger churches; the high nave being inclosed on each side by two lower aisles, thus going back to the five-aisled basilica. In this case, piers were carried up from the row of pillars dividing the two side aisles, which received the flying buttresses of the nave and were, in turn supported by similar buttresses extending to the outer wall; and in cases where two arches were sometimes used, one above another, four flying buttresses even were introduced to strengthen the one point sufficiently.* Even in these important features of the construction, it is clear that the Gothic style was the result of practical considerations, and of constructive need; but, impelled by an æsthetic principle, it soared beyond mere necessity to a point to which no style of architecture before or since has ever aspired.

Fig. 356. Cathedral of Amiens. (Section, to show construction of vaulting.)

Under these constructive conditions, the plan of the Gothic church returned to the ground-plan of the old basilica, but with the addition of the cross-vaulting of the Romanesque structure. Choir, transept, and nave, with a large tower, continued to form the ground-plan of the church, but all these integral parts enlarged to the utmost extent,

*In the constructional theory of Gothic see Dr. H. Graf, "Opus francigenum, Studien zur Frage nach dem Ursprung der Gothik"; Stuttgart, 1878. Viollet-le-Duc, "Dictionnaire de l'Architecture," s. v. "Construction:" "Voûtes." Sturgis, "European Architecture," chapter v. ("Origin of Gothic"). Choisy, "Histoire de l'Architecture," xvi. "Dictionary of Architecture and Building," s. v. "France"; pt. i.; Gothic.

and developed into a rich, effective, and spacious whole. For the choir, the richest design which the Romanesque style had created was adopted—that of Southern France—with a surrounding aisle and numerous chapels; only, instead of the semicircular apse, a polygonal termination was used, an uneven number of sides being usually chosen, so that the axis might pass through and bisect a wall, and not an angle. The octagon and dodecagon are the favorite forms, from which the choir gets its pentagonal or heptagonal end. In a similar way polygonal aisles were added to the main building, and little chapels to them (Fig. 357). The transept also, in this richer period, has generally three aisles, and often has large portals at the ends; the nave sometimes containing as many as five aisles. The rich form of the most important early Christian basilicas is thus renewed, and even surpassed; but the effect of space is quite the opposite, because the breadth is diminished in proportion as the height is increased. For example, the nave of San Paolo in Rome is about 80 feet broad and 110 feet high; while in the Cathedral at Cologne the nave is only 45 feet wide, and 140 feet high. But the special triumph of Gothic architecture is, that it transformed the old stiff frame of the basilica into mobile architectural life, into a complete and consistent organic structure.

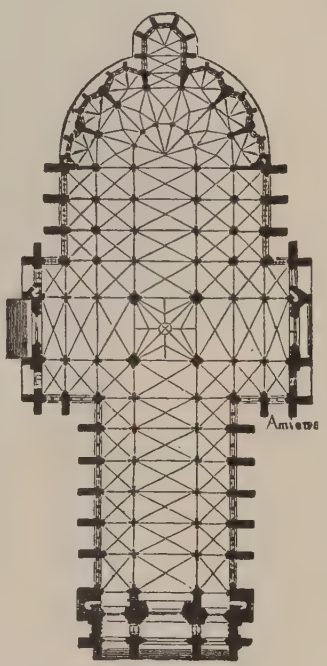


Fig. 357. Ground-Plan of the Cathedral of Amiens.

To this basis of the Gothic style the development of its details added a completely new expression. The last remnants of antique forms were done away with; and the northern mind set its brilliant impress on every detail, and marked every feature with its own laws. The piers which divide the aisles were sometimes made with a round core, to which a number of three-quarter columns were added as supports for the main arches and ribs. Sometimes the slender shafts, which in this way carried down the lines of the vaulting, were stopped at the capital of the great pier instead of reaching the floor; and in that case the pier was left a simple cylindrical shaft. Sometimes the core, or central pillar, was fluted between the separate vaulting shafts, thus affording sharper contrasts of light and shade; while the

slender uprights lose their character of individual colonettes and become mere moldings. In like manner, the delicate, sharply articulated moldings of the capitals were carried round the whole pier; which thus grew into a pillar of a new sort, having a most complicated horizontal section, adorned with a base and a capital adapting themselves to all the subdivisions of the shaft. The floral sculpture of the

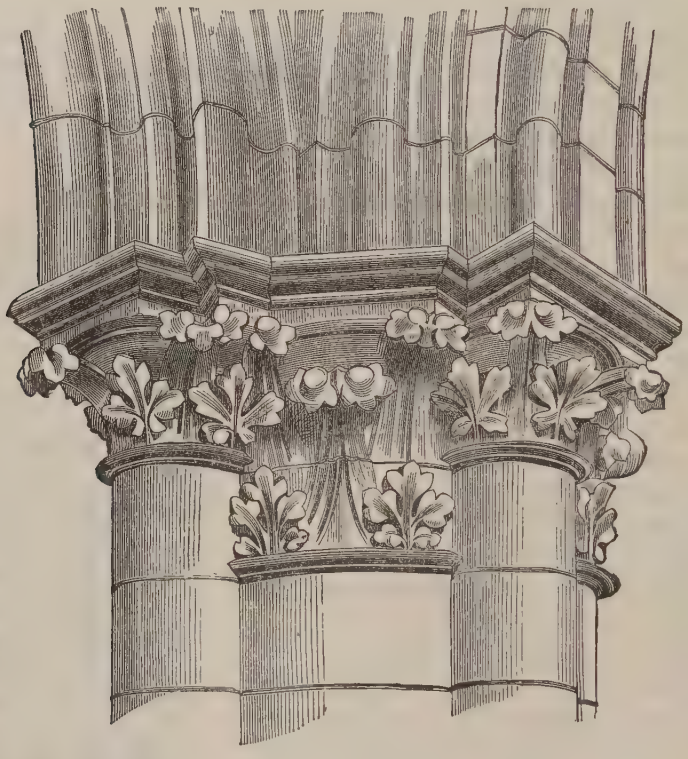


Fig. 358*a*.

capitals is often carried around the whole pier. Sometimes, also, it is mainly concentrated upon the central mass, while that of the slender members is proportionally narrow. This ornamentation was far removed from the plastic abundance and variety of Romanesque detail; while in contrast to the formal and conventional leafage of the Romanesque style, the Northern love of nature is here displayed in all its fullness: the oak, oak-leaves, the thistle, the ivy, the vine, the rose, the holly, and all the native flora, being brought into play with great effect. Animal and human forms, as well as the fantastic

images of an earlier period, are almost unknown to the earlier epoch of Gothic art* (see Figs. 358 *a*, 358 *b*).

The design of the arcade arches, and of the arches and ribs of the vaulting, corresponds to the more graceful proportions of the pillars. The stiff, rectangular form hitherto employed is first relieved by splaying, fluting, and the use of rounded moldings; but it soon assumes a form completely adapted to the new style. In this new form we find only deep fluting, alternating with round moldings, and with a projecting pear-shaped or heart-shaped section, which seems to have had its origin in a pointing of the round molding, and forms one of the specific characteristic elements of the Gothic. We generally

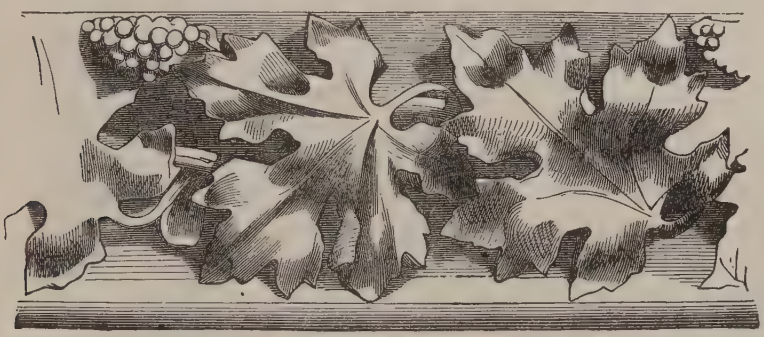


Fig. 358*b*.

find it single in the cross-ribs, and variously combined with other forms in the main arches (Fig. 359). The windows also play a very important part in the formation of this style. Even during the latter Romanesque period, there was an effort to gain freer perforation of the wall, and greater light, by grouping the windows. Here, again, the Gothic style worked out the idea to its final results. It broke the wall space between two pillars by one large window, divided in a vertical direction by stone bars (mullions) (Fig. 360). These mullions were joined at the top by small arches, and inclosed in the large arch of the window. In the openings thus formed, circles or other geometric forms were introduced in the stone tracery; and these, again, were filled with trefoils, quatrefoils, or still richer forms† (Fig. 360). These bars and this tracery received a molded or variously complicated profile; and the mullions, at first treated as slender columns with special bases and capitals, afterward passed immediately

* See Viollet-le-Duc, "Dictionnaire de l'Architecture"; s. v. "Flore," "Sculpture."

† Viollet-le-Duc, "Dictionnaire de l'Architecture"; s. v. "Fenêtre," "Meneau." See "Dictionary of Architecture and Building;" s. v. "Tracery;" "Window."

into the tracery. These broad, beautiful windows, filled with glowing colored glass, make one of the glories of the Gothic style, and undergo constant and ever-charming changes in their various combinations.

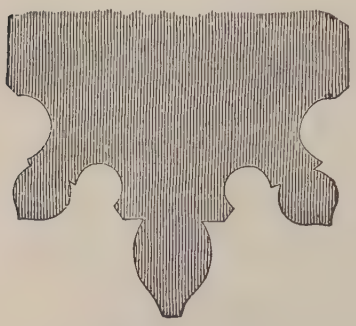


Fig. 359. Molding on Main Arch in the Choir of Cologne Cathedral. (Section.)

Under the windows of the clear story we often find triforiums, already known in the Romanesque period, and now enlivened with richer tracery, and forming, indeed, a part of the window itself. The lofty arches, slender, delicately composed pillars, and broad, glowing windows, are the chief elements in the general effect of the interior. The windows, indeed, with their stained glass, take the place of the wall-painting once so eagerly cultivated; for they almost entirely replace the walls. In contrast with the Romanesque style of architecture, the effect of the interior is free, airy, bold, and graceful. The spirit is borne aloft by the soaring pillars and lofty arches, and recognizes the inspiration of an age of fresh and ardent faith, in these sacred halls illumined by a mystic light.

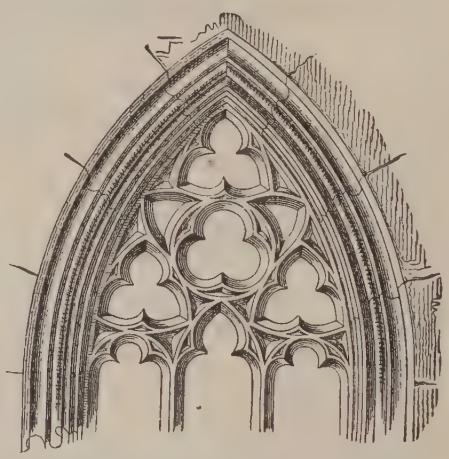


Fig. 360. Window-Tracery of Developed Gothic.

On the outside (Fig. 361) the buttress system is especially noticeable. The buttress piers have massive foundations, but taper toward the top in pyramid fashion, graduated by various fillets, and in part connected with the rest of the building. Their surface is enlivened by tracery, and by niches containing statues. The top forms a slender tower ending in a slender pointed roof (Fig. 362). Sometimes this is replaced by a canopy with a statue (Fig. 361). No less rich is the form of these buttresses, their upper edge sloping sharply down; while cut upon them are gutters to carry off the water, which is led beyond the outer buttresses through the mouths of fantastic figures of animals (gargoyles), and is thus thrown clear of the building.

The body of the buttress is generally delicately relieved by sunken panels or tracery. The whole surface between the buttresses

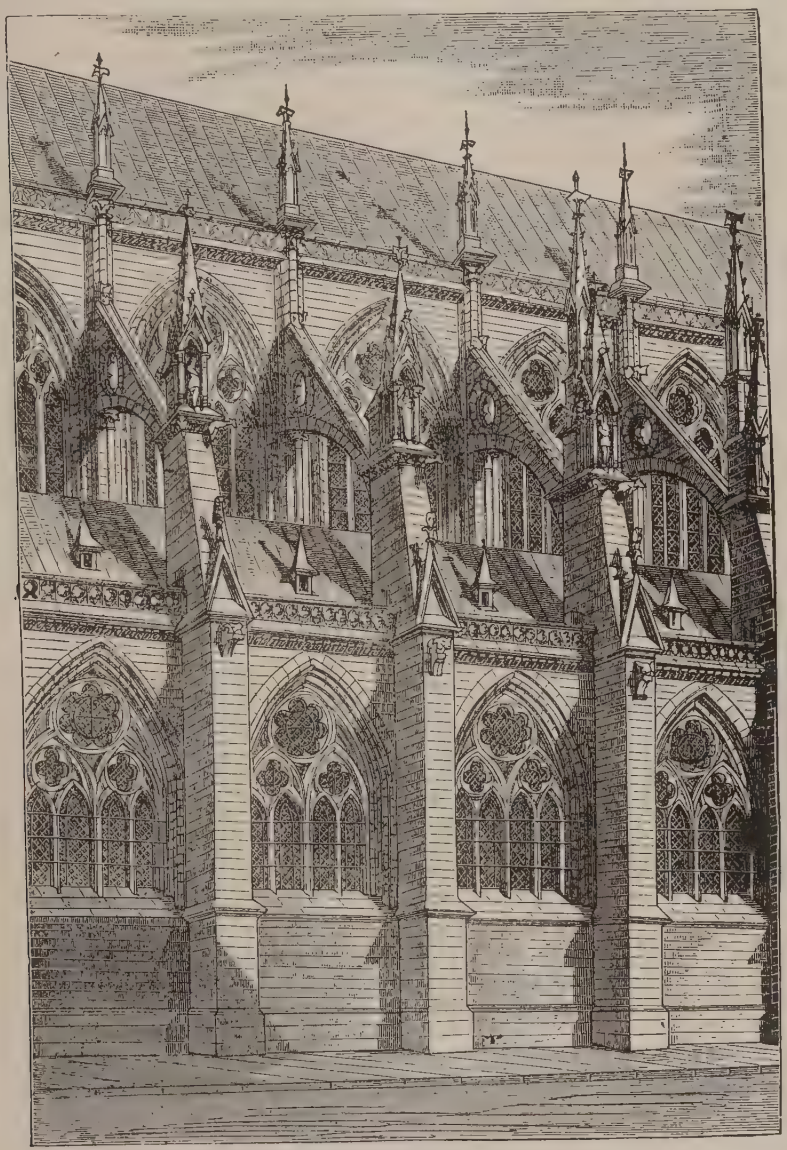


Fig. 361. Minster at Strasburg. Portion of Side. (From Dollinger.)

is filled by the broad windows, which sometimes terminate above in a projecting gable, designed to shelter the frailer portions from the weather. Its upper edges are decorated with crockets, and the apex is

crowned by a finial, while the surface was at first plain, but later was adorned with tracery (Fig. 363).

This inexhaustible richness of sculptured detail—extending like filigree work over every part of the structure, everywhere dissolving the firm outline of the whole into a multitude of airy members, and causing the stone mass to blossom, as it were, in countless flowers—produces a wonderfully gorgeous, lifelike, and striking effect; and this the more when seen in combination with the rich windows, the sharp roof cornices with their deep flutings and clear-cut projecting moldings, and the railings of stone tracery, which, with the gutters, form a border around the whole building. What a contrast to the quiet, sober masses of the Romanesque style, broken only by small windows, and relieved by inconsiderable pilaster strips or half-columns, friezes, and cornices, and seeming to bear a formal character of haughty reserve! Here, on the other hand, everything thrusts itself into prominence, everything strives for outward effect, everything endeavors to work out its individuality with spirit and energy; so that, amid all the jutting, projecting, budding details that compete in it, the effect, as a whole, is often too restless.

Fig. 362. Finial. Foundation Church at Herrenburg.

The façade, on the contrary, makes a much quieter and more compact impression, with its massive towers, which also vividly reveal the tendency to the pyramidal form, to restless growth, to tapering and diminishing forms. Often, also, the south and north fronts of the transept receive a treatment similar to that of the great west front, except that they are not flanked by towers.

The portals play an important part, not only in the façade, but also in the general exterior. Narrower and higher than those of an earlier period, they are generally divided by a central stone pillar, and display in the ornamentation of their sides a rich variety of forms. which carry on, only more boldly and brilliantly, that which was begun in the Romanesque period. This ornamentation consists of a number of sharply defined, strongly projecting, and deeply fluted members; and in the deeper flutings are statues of saints standing on slender pillars with delicate capitals; while in the archivolts separate seated figures or little groups are to be seen, ranged in rows one above the other, placed on consoles, and protected by canopies. But inasmuch as the

arrangement of these groups with their bases corresponds to the respective radii of a circle, they have something forced and unnatural about them. The tympanum under the arch is also adorned with representations in relief, that are generally arranged in separate rows one above the other; which is rather an arbitrary division than an organic proportionment of the space. Nevertheless, these portals, by the richness of their adornment, as well as by the generally significant, symbolic composition of their sculpture, create an impression of the greatest richness and imaginative power.

Fig. 363. From the Sainte Chapelle. Paris.

Such are, in the main, the chief features of a system, which, it is true, is not always so richly and consistently developed, and which, moreover, allows a considerable scope to national peculiarities. Everywhere the style retains its pure beauty and harmony until about the year 1300 only. From that time forth there begins a restless fermentation in architectural taste, which undermines the harmonic unity, wrests the decorative portion from its combination with the constructive, and ends in the partial dissolution of the style; which, however, gained a new splendor in the florid Gothic of the fifteenth century. We must bear in mind the peculiarity of this process of development when we come to consider the separate local groups.

B.—THE GOTHIC IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES.

FRANCE.

The very natal hour of Gothic architecture, and the spot whence it arose, may be accurately determined as in no other case among the earlier styles. Paris with its immediate vicinity was its cradle; and the first processes of its development took place in the northeastern districts of France. The ingenious architects of Northern France, with their clever combinations, first found out how to blend into one effective whole the separate elements produced here and there by the various French schools. Before the middle of the twelfth century, while the remainder of the Western world still built and thought according to the strictly Romanesque manner, several small churches which still remain for us were built in a novel way: Tracy-le-Val, Morienval, S. Léger—all in the Department of the Osie, and therefore all within sixty miles of Paris. Soon after, a new choir was added to the Church of S. Denis, near Paris, on the North (consecrated 1144), under the brilliant and energetic rule of the art-loving Abbot Suger, which, in spite of later restorations, exhibits a complete system of buttresses, with the pointed arches accompanying it, and the beautifully designed choir with its surrounding aisle and wreath of chapels. It is true that this aisle, with its chapels, was still semi-circular; in fact, the Romanesque forms were adhered to in many matters of detail in all buildings down to the thirteenth century. Notwithstanding this, the idea of the construction and composition was a new one: it was, in short, the Gothic. The Church of S. Martin des Champs at Paris (now included in the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers) has a choir and ring of chapels of the same date, though the vaulting of the chapels is not so developed. The year 1140 may be taken as the time of erection of both these important monuments.

A whole series of church edifices, far and near, speedily followed this system: at first exhibiting all manner of experiments and innovations, while still adhering in their details to the Romanesque element; but later showing a consistent development and progress. The beautiful Church of S. Remi at Reims, whose choir is surrounded by a semi-circular aisle with five chapels, the central one far projecting, and the grand Cathedrals of Paris, Soissons, Noyon, Amiens, all belong to this series. In all these buildings the effect of the façade is one of impressive strength and massive grandeur, adopting anew, as a special feature of the main structure, the great wheel window, rare

CATHEDRAL OF NOTRE-DAME, PARIS

in the Romanesque epoch—a feature destined to a richer and more splendid perfection by the adoption of Gothic tracery.

In the design of the ground-plan sundry vacillations are still apparent; for while the choir in Paris is conspicuous for a double surrounding aisle, but shows the chapel system yet scantily developed, the Cathedral of Laon has even the square termination of the

Fig. 364. Façade of the Cathedral of Reims.

choir, extremely rare in France. The vast Cathedral of Bourges, begun at this time, is an example of the same class. Its choir is not unlike that of Notre Dame in Paris, though larger; five little apses projecting from a double aisle, but the transept wholly wanting. The broad upper gallery of the Paris church has disappeared. The exterior of the chevet or rounded east end shows an advance upon that of Paris in unity and compactness of design.

With the beginning of the thirteenth century, the consequences of the movement previously started began to be more strictly defined; the system of the interior attained to its freest and clearest expression; and the superstructure acquired that airy lightness, that imposing boldness in its proportions, which henceforth necessarily gained for the Gothic style its supremacy throughout the Western world. The earliest of its productions, the Cathedral of Chartres—the choir and

Fig. 365. Interior of the Cathedral of Beauvais.

nave of which, after having been burned, were rebuilt with great celerity, and finished before 1240—shows a massive severity, reminding one of the Romanesque manner, especially in the formation of the windows and buttresses, as well as in the development of the choir. The effort after rich display in the choir is especially remarkable, although it does not yet attain to perfect clearness. The choir is surrounded by double aisles widened by three larger and four

AMIENS CATHEDRAL

smaller apsidal chapels which are still far from being grouped in a uniform series. But considerable progress is effected by raising the side aisles and by the bold elevation of the nave. The Cathedral of Reims—begun in 1212, and completed in the course of the century by Robert de Couci—is freer, bolder, and lighter; the choir attaining to a clearer development by being limited to a single aisle, from which radiate five chapels, still disposed in a semi-circle; and its façade, although weakened in effect by the unusual opening up of the two great towers by means of huge windows in their second architectural story (Fig. 364), offering the most splendid example of the perfect unfolding of the early Gothic idea.* But the Cathedral of Amiens (built from 1220-1288) is in itself a magnificent epitome of the results of all preceding experiments, carrying out, as it does, for the first time, the principle of the Gothic style in successful consistency, down to the last detail; and offering in its ground plan and superstructure a perfect model, destined to exert no unimportant influence upon the most considerable monuments of the West. The pillars in this structure had gradually acquired their slender, clustered form; the capitals were adorned with elegant foliage; the unwieldy upper galleries were done away with, but the triforia and windows fill their place with the utmost splendor; and in the ground plan of the choir, with its seven chapels, the polygonal design is carried out in a regular manner. While in this church the nave attains a height of 132 feet and a width of 42 feet, the Cathedral of Beauvais (Fig. 365), begun soon after, aimed in so daring a manner at surpassing all proportions hitherto successfully attempted, with its nave 45 feet wide by 146 feet high, that in 1284, only twelve years after its completion, the choir fell in, rendering a complete remodeling and restoration necessary. The system of the Gothic style was now firmly established, and was introduced everywhere with the most magnificent results. The reign of S. Louis, about the middle of the thirteenth century, was the epoch of the noblest and most perfect development of it; and the chapel erected by this king in his palace, now the Sainte Chapelle at Paris, (built by Peter of Montereau, 1243-51), is a faultless gem, showing the Gothic style in its highest development possible apart from the great complex plan out of which it had grown. This building consists of a three-aisled, cellar-like lower church, and a slender upper church without aisles which forms a single unbroken vaulted room rising to a height of more than 60 feet by 32 feet in width and 91 feet in length. The latter produces an enchanting effect by its graceful and noble proportions, its rich articulation, the broad windows

* The reader should note that these great cathedrals all, except Chartres, are without the spires which should complete the west front.

filled with stained glass which almost entirely dispose of the wall, and finally its gorgeous polychromatic decoration. Besides such structures, the architectural enthusiasm, which had now reached its high-

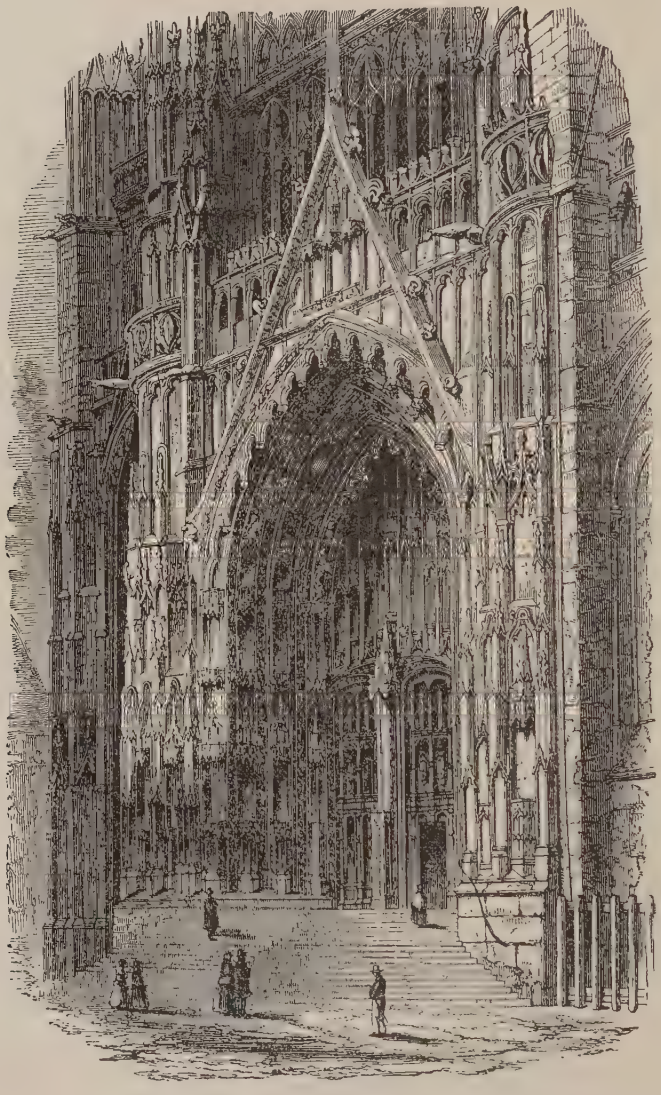


Fig. 366. Doorway, South Transept, Beauvais. (From Chapuy.)

est point, led to the splendid renovation of many of the cathedrals in other parts of France. The rebuilding of the Cathedral of Troyes was begun in 1208. In Normandy the vast Cathedral of Rouen was

constructed between 1200 and 1280. The Cathedral of Le Mans in Anjou received the addition of a superb choir, designed in the noblest Gothic, as a complement to its fine Romanesque nave. The smaller Cathedral of Tours was an elegant imitation of the Church of

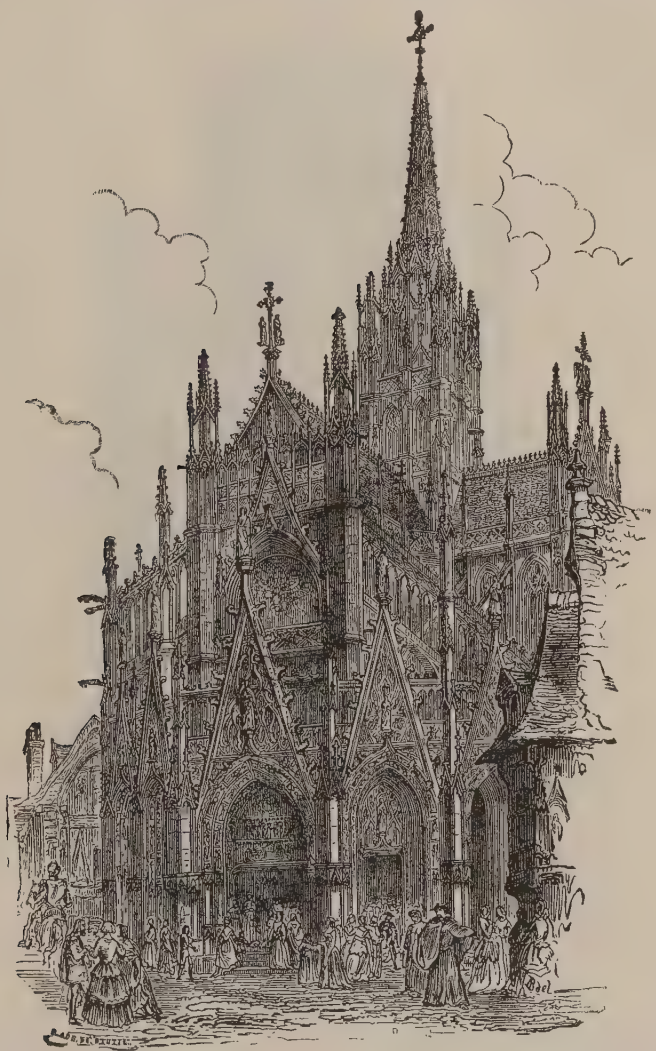


Fig. 367. Church of S. Maclou at Rouen.

Amiens. Farther south, this style was universally popular; and the Cathedrals at Auxerre, Lyons, Clermont-Ferrand, Limoges, and the choir of the Narbonne Cathedral bear witness to the almost undisputed sway which it henceforth exercised. In the French cantons of

Switzerland, its influence may be recognized in the Cathedral of Geneva; and even more markedly in the noble, severe, early Gothic Cathedral of Lausanne. Yet a simple ground plan, with a broad single-naved main structure and chapels built within the walls, still

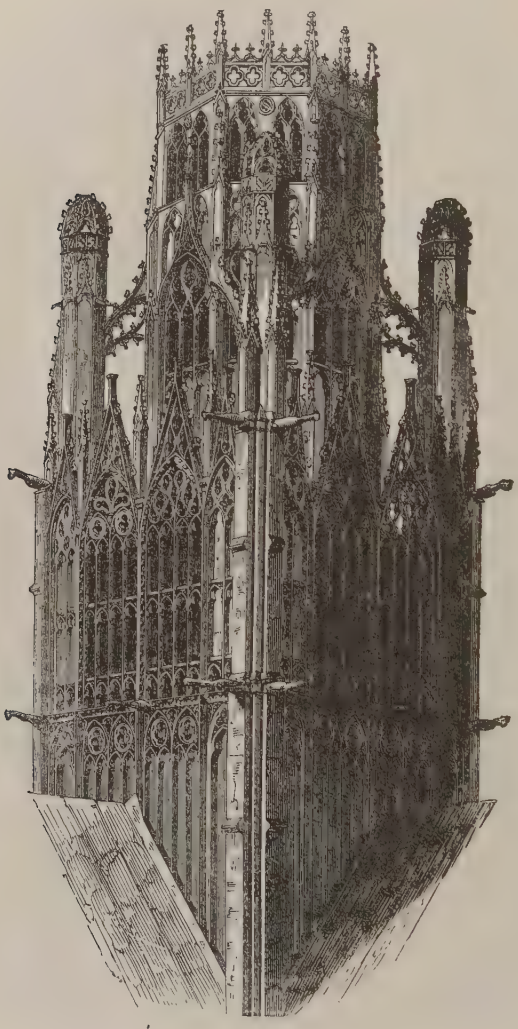


Fig. 368. Lantern, St. Ouen, Rouen. (From a print by Chapuy.)

held its own in rare cases in Southern France, as in the case of the magnificent Cathedral of Albi, begun in 1282, and slowly carried on till its completion, while the Cathedral of Poitiers and that of Carcassonne depart not less decidedly from French traditions, by

having their three naves carried to nearly the same height, after the manner of the hall churches popular in Germany, and the termination of the likewise three-naved choir being rectilinear. The Cathedral of Poitiers has moreover its three aisles all of one width,

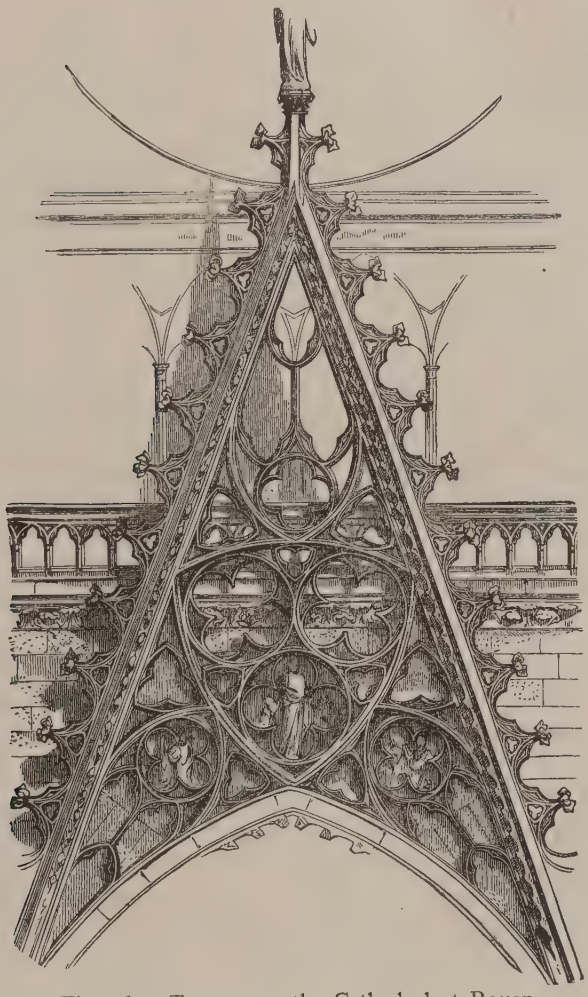


Fig. 369. Tracery on the Cathedral at Rouen.

and no transept other than on either flank a tower occupying a single square of the vaulting. A work quite unique of its kind is the Abbey of Mont S. Michel, in Normandy, towering upon a precipitous cliff on the seacoast, like a mightly citadel that reaches its climax in the boldly enthroned church.

During the fourteenth century, when the country was exhausted

and divided by the disastrous Hundred Years' War, a less rich development is observable in France; though even at that time there are instances of partial renovations and restorations of older structures. Not only are the older cathedrals (still in process of construction) completed, but the daring, almost exaggerated slenderness and airy elegance of the system, which had now attained to its final development, are most admirably illustrated in churches like S. Ouen at Rouen (Fig. 368) (begun in 1318), and the still unfinished S. Urbain at Troyes. After the beginning of the fifteenth century, a gorgeously rich aftergrowth of the Gothic began to unfold itself, designated by the French under the name of the Flamboyant style. This style delights in a preponderance of magnificent decoration, which goes hand in hand with a playful, fanciful treatment of the details. The tracery of the windows is particularly affected by this manner, being composed of flame-like curves. The arches also assume, in connection with tracery, or where they form window heads in civic architecture, an outward curve produced by an arc tangent to each curved side of the arch and producing a sharp upward point; an exuberance of splendid but somewhat lifeless tracery spreads itself over the exterior (Fig. 369). Normandy is particularly rich in unusually elegant productions of this style, among which S. Maclou at Rouen is conspicuous for the magnificence and richness of its execution (Fig. 367). This closing epoch is marked by a richer decorative construction in secular buildings and private houses. Of the splendid Hôtel de S. Paul, erected under Charles V., and of the still richer Hôtel de La Tremouille—both in Paris—nothing remains; and of the oldest residence of the French kings in the island where is now the Palais de Justice, only the glorious Sainte Chapelle, and the gloomy fortification towers looking out upon the river still exist. The Hôtel de Cluny at Paris is a fine mansion of the fifteenth century and the Palais de Justice at Rouen is a still larger and more stately building. As a magnificent princely stronghold of the Middle Ages, the castle of the Popes at Avignon survives, erected in 1336 and the following years, with two chapels and the imposing Hall of the Consistory, outwardly distinguished by massive towers, and now badly disfigured by its use as a barracks. The castle at Pierrefonds, likewise of the fourteenth century, recently restored by Viollet-le-Duc, is a stately edifice, and marks the highest development of mediæval military architecture. Even the castle of King René of Anjou, at Tarascon, dating from the fifteenth century, preserves the character of a mediæval fortified structure. Of the many other secular buildings* still extant, let us point

*Compare the splendid work by G. Eyries and P. Perret, "Les châteaux historiques de la France"; Paris, 1882.

out the Château Meillant, belonging to the closing epoch marked by its rich decorative display. The Palais de Justice at Rouen, and the house of Jacques Cœur at Bourges, are equally important civic buildings of the latest Gothic.

THE LOW COUNTRIES.

The provinces of the Low Countries, bounded by the great realms of France and Germany, present, as might be expected, a distinctly defined reflex of the influence and artistic position of these powerful neighbors in their architectural works. During the Romanesque epoch, when Germany was preëminent in Europe, the architecture of the Low Countries was marked by the predominating characteristics of the neighboring Rhineland; but when the influence of France became all-powerful during the Gothic era, this influence, in turn, was most strongly felt by the small states on the north; and henceforth the architecture of the Low Countries adopted the severe early Gothic style of France, and long continued in this primitive method.

The Cathedral of S. Gudule at Brussels, a building of impressive forms and grand proportions, belongs to the more notable edifices in what is now Belgium; as do also the Cathedral of Utrecht in the more northern kingdom, likewise executed on a French ground-plan, and the elegant choir of the Cathedral of Tournay, consecrated in 1318, whose slender proportions and lavish execution of the ground-plan with a surrounding aisle and five radiating chapels constitute a splendid termination to the likewise noteworthy Romanesque nave structure. The latter ranks with the great Rhenish monuments on account of its transept, which terminates in semicircles and is surrounded by passages, and because of its magnificent device of five towers, one on the intersection being flanked by two pairs on the arms of the transept. As belonging to the late era, we mention here the Cathedral of Antwerp, begun 1352, and only completed in the fifteenth century—this last a structure of grand and vast design, to which subsequent enlargement has added a main building with seven naves, quite unrivaled in the loveliness of its picturesque vistas. In Holland, this style, even in buildings of considerable design, is robbed of its richness by the employment of brick and by the frequent use of wooden roofs instead of stone vaults. Nevertheless, there are to be named, besides the Cathedral of Utrecht already mentioned, several stately churches, which followed the French choir plan, although keeping within reasonable limits; thus, the great church at Dordrecht, S. Stephen's at Nymwegen, the New Church at Amsterdam and the Church of S. Lawrence at Rotterdam, built since 1472. In other

churches, like S. Bavo's at Haarlem, S. Peter's, and the imposing Church of S. Pancras at Leyden, the great Church at Arnheim, the termination of the choir appears simplified by retaining the surrounding aisle, but dispensing with the chapels. Finally, a few hall churches occur, edifices with naves of equal height and mostly also of equal

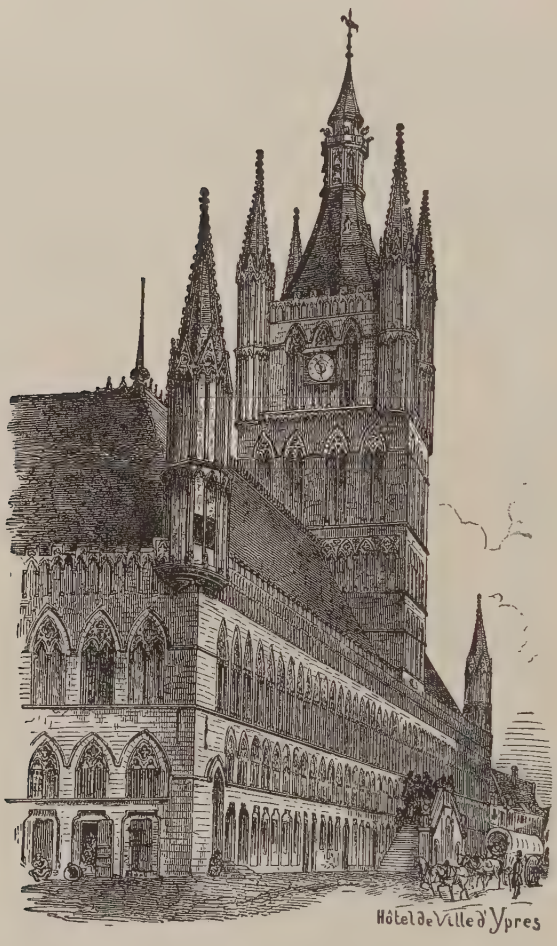


Fig. 370. Cloth Hall at Ypres. Ypern.

width, like the Lubenius Church at Deventer, S. James at Utrecht, and the Walpurgis Church at Zütphen, which has, moreover, a choir aisle of the same height and a ring of chapels. Of simpler design are the churches at Hasselt and S. Michael's at Zwolle, where, in order to avoid the weighty high roof, each aisle was provided with a sepa-

rate peaked roof, a disposition which is also found in Antwerp Cathedral and which recurs in the Prussian brick structures.

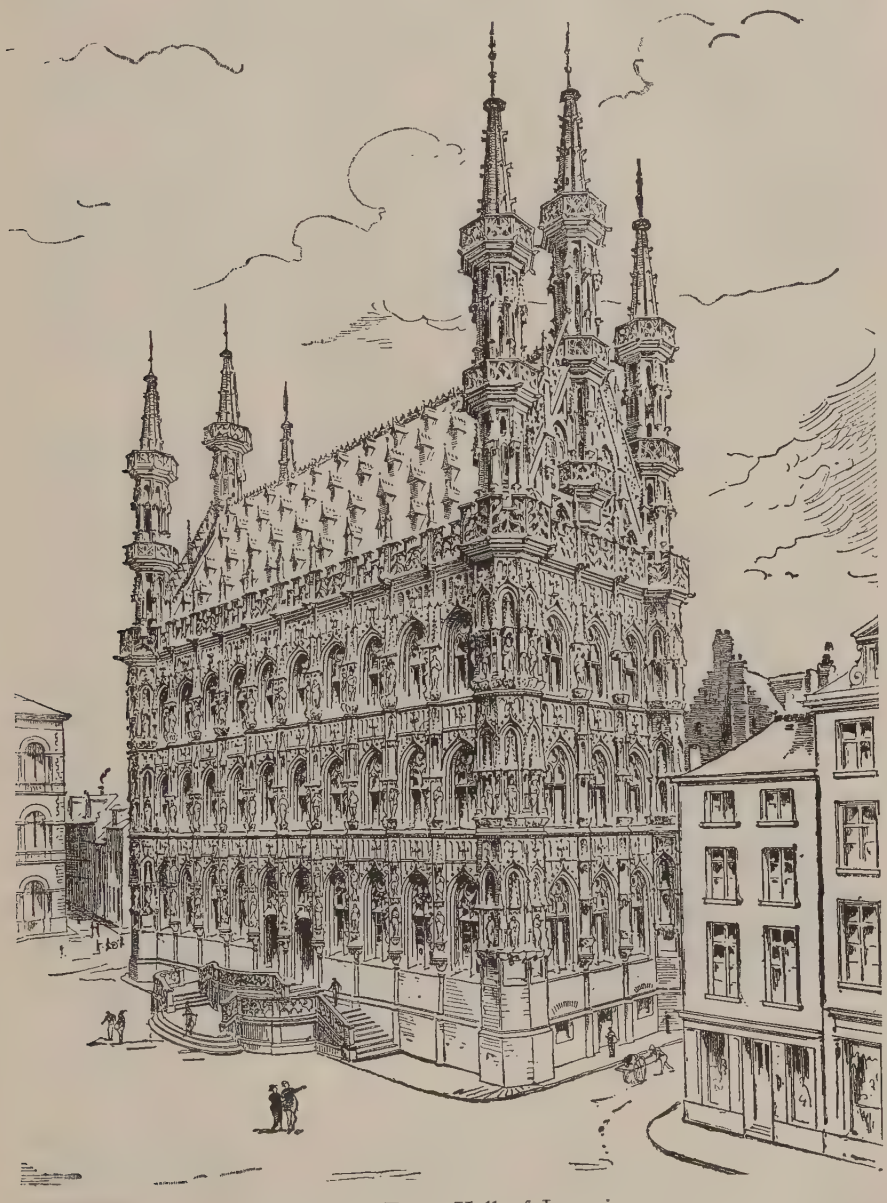


Fig. 371. Town Hall of Louvain.

Secular architecture in the Low Countries, especially in Belgium, had attained to great importance, resulting from the power and con-

sideration which had been acquired at that time by the Flemish cities through trade and commerce—a power only rivaled in all Europe by that of the great free cities of Italy. Burgher opulence and energy are grandly and vigorously expressed in the secular buildings of these towns. The design is often grand and spacious, far exceeding the actual requirements of the building. It borrows the essential features of its decoration from contemporaneous church edifices, but in such wise, that, in its employment and composition, the secular character is distinctly to be recognized. Thus arose not only town halls, but also guild halls, and various other structures for the public objects. Jutting turrets generally spring from the corners of the buildings; while the center is crowned, at Brussels and at Ypres, by a mighty tower, which in the case of Brussels is the *beffroi* (belfry). In other cities the beffroi stands usually alone, or is attached to another building, as at Bruges.

How large must have been the means at the disposal of the rich guilds of these mighty towns for such public buildings is proved, among other kindred structures, by the Hall of the Clothmakers at Ypres, built between 1200 and 1364, and now used as the Town Hall (Fig. 370). The building, of considerable dimensions, rises in two stories, with finely executed pointed-arch windows. It is surrounded by a rich cornice, and has turrets at the angles, while an immense square tower rises from the middle of its front and dominates the town. The Town Hall at Bruges is of fifteenth-century general design, though begun much earlier. It is a charming piece of graceful design with lofty pointed windows; but the Market House (Les Halles) to which is attached the famous Belfry, is small and plain. The town Hall at Courtrai is not dissimilar to that of Bruges. That of Ghent is a noble piece of transition work, in which the latest Gothic seems about to relinquish its most noticeable feature—the pointed arch. Of all these civic buildings the superb Town Hall of Louvain is the chief in varied beauty (Fig. 371); and that of Oudenarde, studied from it, but with a tower added as if in imitation of Brussels, is almost equally fine (Fig. 372).

GERMANY.

At first, Germany appears to have set her face against the Gothic style more strenuously than most other countries. Her adherence to the traditional Romanesque permitted only a very gradual recognition of the excellences of an architectural method which had sprung up on a foreign soil; indeed, this recognition did not take place until the

new manner, through the so-called Transition style, began, as we have seen, to exercise a modifying influence upon architectural productions. Even then, for a long while, the Gothic appears only in isolated cases; while the Romanesque tradition retains its power until late in the

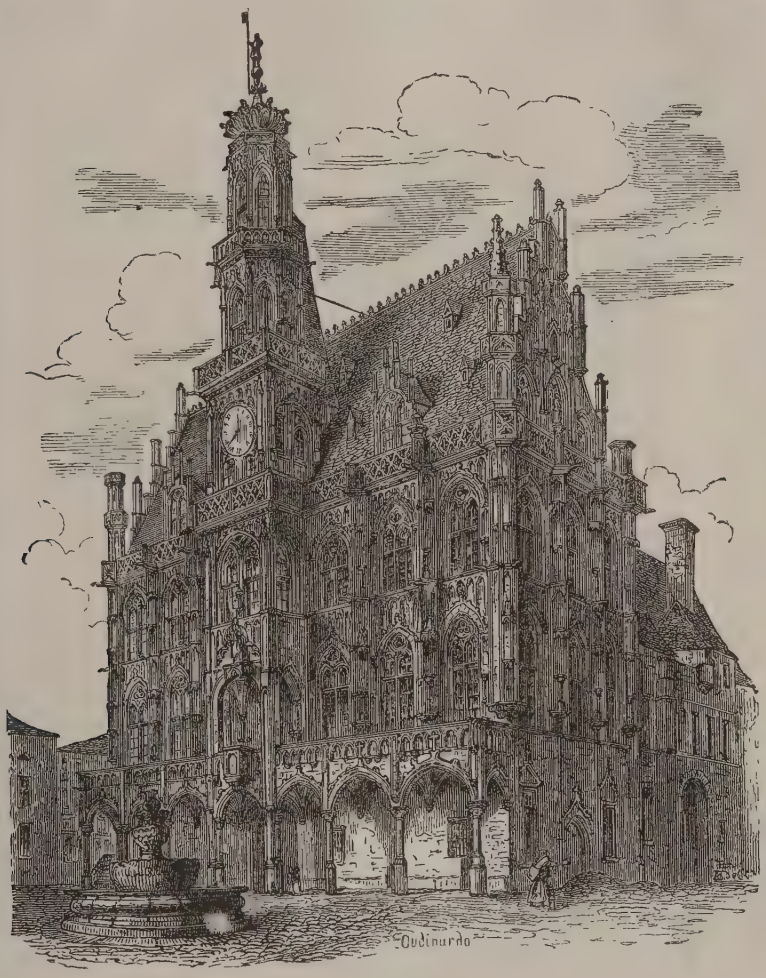


Fig. 372. Town Hall at Oudenarde.

thirteenth century, producing at that late day a series of its most notable works.

That the Germans were conscious of the foreign origin of this style, we shall see when considering the collegiate church at Wimpfen; but even in the earliest structures we recognize the effort not to yield unconditionally to French traditions, but to defer to national customs

by an independent reconstruction of the style. The resplendent beauty of the French cathedrals with their increased upward tendency, the walls almost entirely dissolved into radiant windows, but especially

Fig. 373. Interior of Church of Holy Cross at Gmünd, in Württemberg.

their richly developed choir plan with surrounding aisle and complete ring of chapels, was indeed so tempting to the German masters of that time that they bore witness to their admiration in a series of im-

posing monuments, among which the Cathedral of Cologne stands foremost. At the same time, however, a counter-current made itself felt, which may be thought consciously national. It found expression, primarily, in a lessening of the upward tendency, but especially in a simplification of the choir plan, thus forming a link with the traditions of the Romanesque epoch. The ring of chapels and the surrounding aisle were rejected, and a simple polygonal termination of the choir was deemed sufficient even in such stupendous edifices as the Minster at Ulm, in Württemberg; or three parallel polygonal terminations were adopted, as in the case of S. Stephen's Cathedral at Vienna, when the transept also was generally dispensed with. The abandonment in part of the high nave and its clear story, although that was a Romanesque feature as well, and the preference for quite or nearly the same height for each of the three naves. This form of church, called the "hall church" or "hall building" (Hallenkirche or Hallenbau), which we have already found in Westphalia during the Romanesque epoch, lacks indeed the brilliant effects, the rich gradation and distribution; there is in it something more simple, calm, almost domestic. But for this very reason it expresses the spirit of mediæval city life with surprising clearness, and often with great beauty of proportion; and during the latter stages of that epoch it attained to ever-increasing popularity in all parts of Germany. If, on the one hand, the clear story of an elevated central nave with its rows of windows was dispensed with; on the other hand, stress was laid upon uniformly lighted spaces of about the same width and height, illuminated by the high windows of the outer walls. On the exterior, the simplification was not infrequently carried to baldness, and especially the broad and high roof which covered the three naves together was cumbersome and clumsy in effect (Fig. 374). On the other hand, it may be claimed that by the removal of the complicated buttress system the external appearance gained much in simplicity of design, and retained a certain gravity more in accordance with other styles of architecture than the complete Gothic of France admitted.

This simplest form, however, was only the starting-point. The feeling of power in the cities and the emulation in brilliant enterprises produced a counter-current, from which resulted a superb enhancement of the ground-plan of the hall church. Again the rich French choir plan was reverted to, by adding to the polygonally closed choir a surrounding aisle of equal height and with a complete ring of chapels. Yet the single chapels were not extended into polygons, but presented themselves outwardly as a second, mostly lower, surrounding aisle, from which only the buttress piers with their plain surfaces projected. Often the buttresses received a richer organization by

tracery and finial crownings, sometimes also by statues, and the broad roofs are partly hidden by galleries. There is no doubt that the Ger-

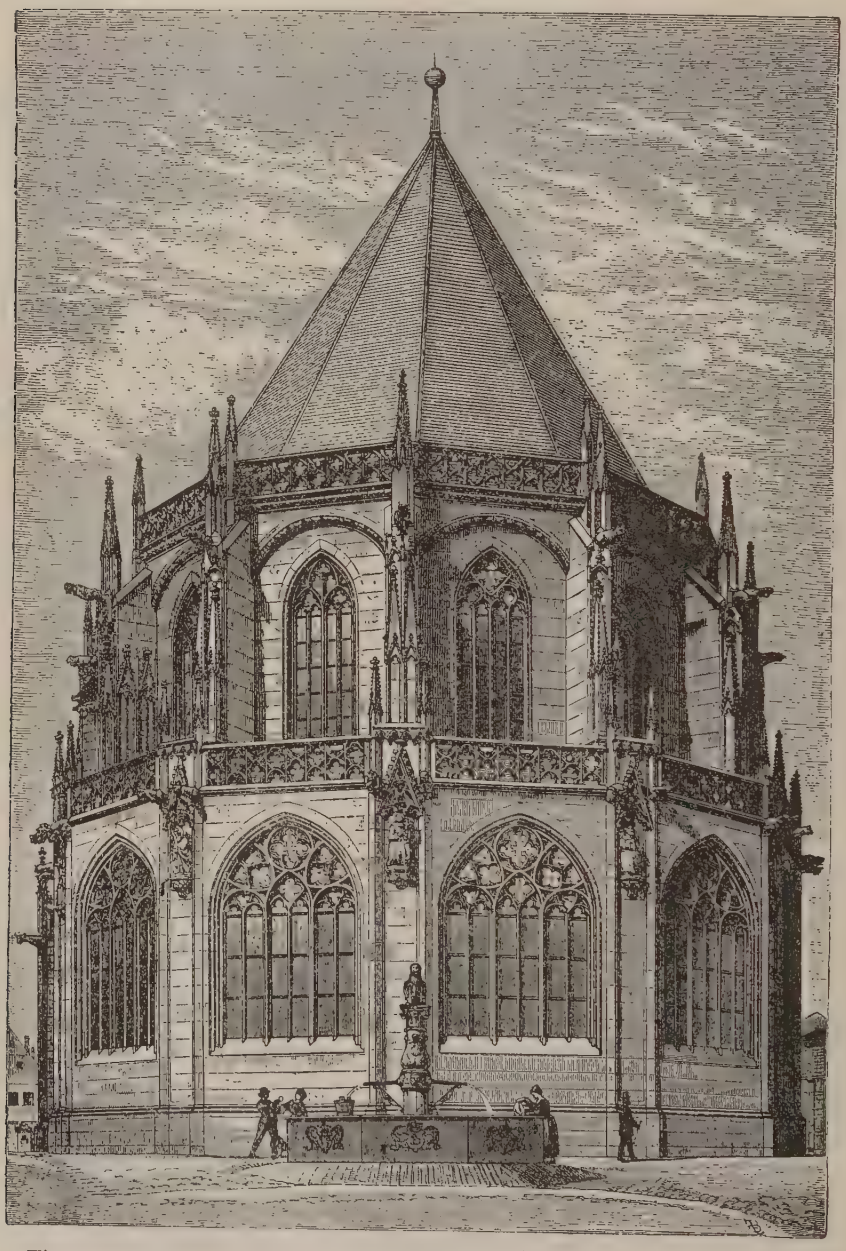


Fig. 374. Choir of Church of the Holy Cross at Gmünd, in Württemberg. (Baldinger.)

COLOGNE

CATHEDRAL RATHAUS

man Gothic produced in these works its most characteristic creations. It was preëminently in South Germany that this form was cultivated.

The choir of the Dom at Magdeburg, in Prussian Saxony, begun in 1208—which exhibits the polygonal termination of the choir, with its surrounding aisle, and series of chapels, after the French model, still interwoven throughout, however, with Romanesque details—is among the very first buildings which betray a tendency to the Gothic style in Germany. The main structure of this church belongs to the fourteenth century; and the façade with its two stately towers was finished only in 1520. Unique in character is the Church of the Virgin at Treves, in Rhenish Prussia (Liebfrauenkirche), built between 1227 and 1244, in which reappears the old round-church plan with the high nave used as the central mass, as in the Romanesque churches at Ravenna (S. Vital) and Aix-la-Chapelle (the Minster). This ancient plan, formerly regarded with so much favor, receives new life from the Gothic system, and especially from the spirited application of the French wreath of chapels. It is much to be regretted that no further attempts were made in this direction. Not less original, but richer in results, is the impress of the same tendency on the Church of St. Elizabeth at Marburg, in Hesse-Nassau (1235-83), which, in the construction of choir and transept, goes back to the older Rhenish design of a termination at the east end in three great apses, extending to the east, north, and south, and offers in the main structure a notable example of the first Gothic hall church, with three naves of equal height.

In its famous masterpiece, the Cathedral at Cologne (commenced in 1248), the German Gothic adheres more unconditionally to French models; so that the entire choir, with its aisle, and ring of chapels, is almost identical with the Cathedral at Amiens. But in the details the coldness of the fourteenth century and of later imitative work is too evident—a fault resulting from the slow carrying out of the work. After the consecration of the choir in 1322, the builders gradually advanced toward the completion of the transept and main building; in the design of the latter, with its five naves, again reaching almost the highest development of spacious and grandiose building. The central nave rises to a height of 145 feet, with a breadth of 44 feet: the highest Gothic nave except Beauvais and Milan, 153 feet each, and Amiens, 147 feet; and probably the fourth highest interior in Europe, if S. Peter's Church at Rome be taken as 148 feet high to the crown of the vault. The total exterior length of the vast building is 544 feet. The whole was to have been finished with two colossal towers, with slender open-work spires. These remained unfinished; but the original drawing of the design discovered in modern times

encouraged the Prussian authorities. The work was undertaken anew, and completed about 1880. These great towers are 511 feet high to the top of the terminal crosses; and are therefore the highest stone structures in the world except the plain obelisk in Washington City.

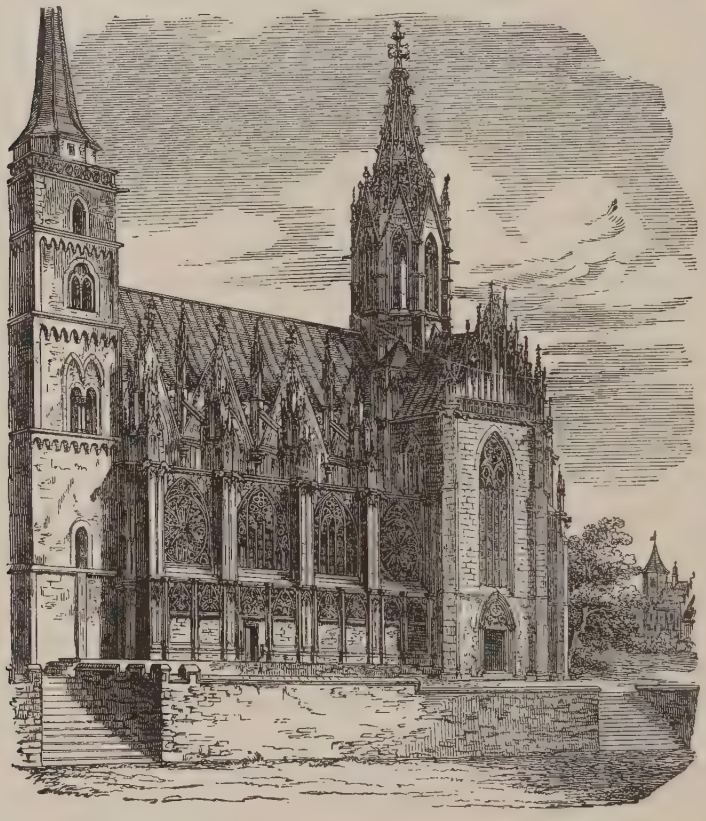


Fig. 375. The Church of S. Katharine at Oppenheim.

Farther up the Middle Rhine, the Church of S. Katharine at Oppenheim* (1262-1317) is a far more original monument, and especially remarkable for a splendidly ornamented exterior (Fig. 375). In the course of the thirteenth century the nave of the Cathedral at Freiburg in Breisgau, in the duchy of Baden, was erected; a somewhat heavy structure, though its west tower, which projects from the façade, is the noblest specimen extant, as it was the first instance, of a fretted, open-work spire. The Minster at Strassburg, too, exhibits a certain

*F. H. Müller, "Die Katherinenkirche zu Oppenheim"; Darmstadt, 1823. A splendid work in folio.

grave severity of proportion in its enormously broad and splendidly finished nave, completed in 1275; but preserves an admirable specimen of the amalgamation of the German and French methods in its façade, begun in 1277 by the architect Erwin von Steinbach. The gloriously beautiful wheel window, 42 feet broad, as well as the sharp accentuation of the horizontal members, belongs to the French school; while the German tendency is expressed in the particularly well-defined arrangement of the bold plan of the double tower; though only the north spire—soaring to a height of 465 feet from the ground, together with the somewhat lawless and playful sculptured decoration of a later epoch—was completed by Johann Hültz of Cologne in the year 1439, after Ulrich von Ensingen had previously supervised the erection of the façade. More in the spirit of the French school—after the manner of the Cologne Cathedral, yet with the choir plan simplified—the Cathedral of Metz in Lorraine, with its slender, splendidly finished nave, is in the main a work of the fourteenth century; while the noble Church of S. Vincent, in the same city, maintains the more austere character of the early period, and in its choir design, with side choirs, conforms to the ground-plan customary in Germany. It is significant that in Alsace, as well as in Lorraine, the German arrangement in the treatment of the ground-plan prevails exclusively. Especially attractive examples are in Alsace, the Minster at Schlettstadt, near Strassburg, exhibiting the noble forms of the early period and a most attractive scheme of vaulting; the collegiate church at Weissenburg, in the extreme north, distinguished also by exquisite cloisters; the simpler church of St. Martin at Colmar, with beautifully sculptured portals; and, of the later era, the Church of S. Theobald at Thann, which has most graceful towers with open-work spires. The same noble and severe early Gothic style is represented by the Collegiate Church at Wimpfen im Thal, on the Neckar, with its exquisitely finished transept. Retaining the Romanesque façade with the two towers, it was erected from 1259 to 1278 on a simplified ground plan, but with the choir towers effected in South Germany. The structure is of a more general significance from the standpoint of art history, inasmuch as a contemporaneous account emphasizes its erection in "French style," reporting that it was built by an architect from Paris, "opere francigeno." On the other hand, the choir of the still unfinished Cathedral at Prague, in Bohemia, begun in 1343 by Matthias von Arras, and continued by Peter of Gmünd in 1385, displays an entire return to the French ground-plan. Also the Romanesque nave of the Cathedral at Augsburg, in Bavaria, was endowed with a choir of stately design similarly treated. In Switzerland we must give prominence above all

to the two towers of the noble Minster at Basle, with their open-work spires; to the Minster at Freiburg in the Uechtland, which still clings to severe traditions; to the lofty Minster at Berne, a work of the Suabian school of architecture; and finally, to the graceful Church of St. Oswald at Zug, the last two being of the late Gothic period.

The greater number of the structures we have named, though their foundation dates back to the thirteenth century, were, owing to their great size not completed before the following century, or, in some cases, even later. Altogether, Germany in the fourteenth century experienced a renewal of her golden age of art. Indeed, for the second time she stood forth a leading spirit in the artistic world, and through the influence of her architecture, which had now completely passed into the flesh and blood of her national life—while that of most of the provinces of France was greatly retarded in its national development and its foreign expansion by the invasion of the royal domain by the English and Burgundian rulers—German architecture influenced nearly the whole European world, even to Italy and Spain. The beginning of the nave of the Cathedral of Halberstadt, in Prussian Saxony, dates back to the thirteenth century, though its choir—which retains the surrounding aisle, but rejects all the chapels excepting one on the eastern side—was added only after 1327. However, the structure as a whole remains one of the finest possible examples of the massive and well-proportioned yet exquisitely developed German Gothic. The five-naved Minster at Ulm, in Württemberg, commenced in 1377, is one of the most imposing designs among South German structures; its somewhat bare proportions being counterbalanced by its vast dimensions. The unfinished tower was to have tapered into a bold open-work spire. Next to the choir two smaller towers were erected in accordance with a system popular in South Germany and capable of great effectiveness; their harmonious completion is due to the modern architect of the Minster, about 1830.

Besides these great church edifices, all those monastic structures, like cloisters, chapter houses, refectories are to be considered, in which a particularly original development of the style is often noticeable. Out of the great number of such works we may instance the lofty early Gothic cloisters of the Cathedral at Treves, and of St. Emmeran's at Ratisbon, in Bavaria; the cloisters of the monastery at Maulbronn, in Württemberg, dating from different epochs; the cloister and chapter hall at Bebenhausen, near Tübingen in Württemberg; and the picturesque late Gothic structure of the cloister of the Minster at Basle.

A degeneracy in the nobler type of architectural conception, from this time onward, must be attributed, more than to any other cause,

to the preponderance of the burgher element in society. Architecture acquires a somewhat mechanical expression. The details are not free from a certain arbitrary and artificial treatment; for instance, the

Fig. 376. Chapter Hall at Bebenhausen. (Baldinger.)

playful forms of stars and net-work noticeable in the vaulting are solecisms in architecture, and diminish the dignity of the building with which they are associated. In the tracery of the windows, the so-called vesica piscis form prevails; while, on the other hand, the

division of the pillars is less strict. Sometimes, indeed, the capital is altogether omitted; and the moldings of the pillar, branching out on every side, radiate immediately into the ribbed vaulting (compare Fig. 376). The dimensions, however, are usually considerable, though the more refined beauty of proportion may be lacking—a

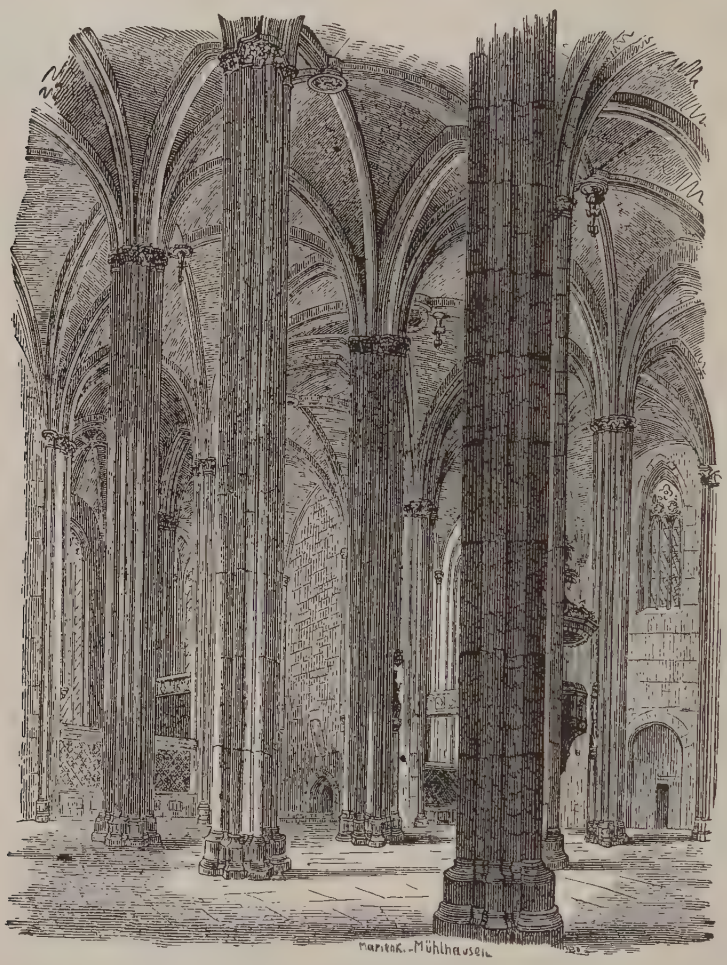


Fig. 377. Interior of the Church of S. Mary at Mühlhausen.

want which is made good by the lavish wealth of detail; portals and pulpits, tabernacles and lecterns, being often ornamented with an admirable exuberance of fancy. The preponderance of that far balder form of the hall church in which the ground-plan was either square or rectangular, and undivided by aisles, which form came

more and more constantly into use in Germany after the fourteenth century, had its origin in the same cause. The principal seat of this style is in Westphalia, where the Liebfrauenkirche and the Church of S. Lambert at Münster, the Wiesenkirche at Soest, the five-aisled Church of S. Mary at Mühlhausen (Fig. 377), and the Cathedrals of Minden and of Meissen, in Saxony, the former entirely built in the thirteenth century, are noble specimens of this architectural form. There are only isolated instances of hall churches in South Germany. One of the most elegant examples, the Church of Our Lady at Esslingen, in Württemberg, is remarkable for richly decorated gates and an exquisitely graceful open-work spire (Fig. 378). The Church of the Holy Cross in Gmünd, mentioned above, is a structure of slender elegance and beauty of proportion, and rich in plastic decoration. The Church of Our Lady (Frauenkirche) in Nuremberg (built from 1355 to 1361) is particularly interesting on account of its rich façade. In the same town, S. Sebald has a choir which, in its surrounding aisle of equal height, displays an imposing example of this hall design as applied to a polygonal ground-plan; and the Choir of S. Lawrence (1439-77) follows the same model. The nave of

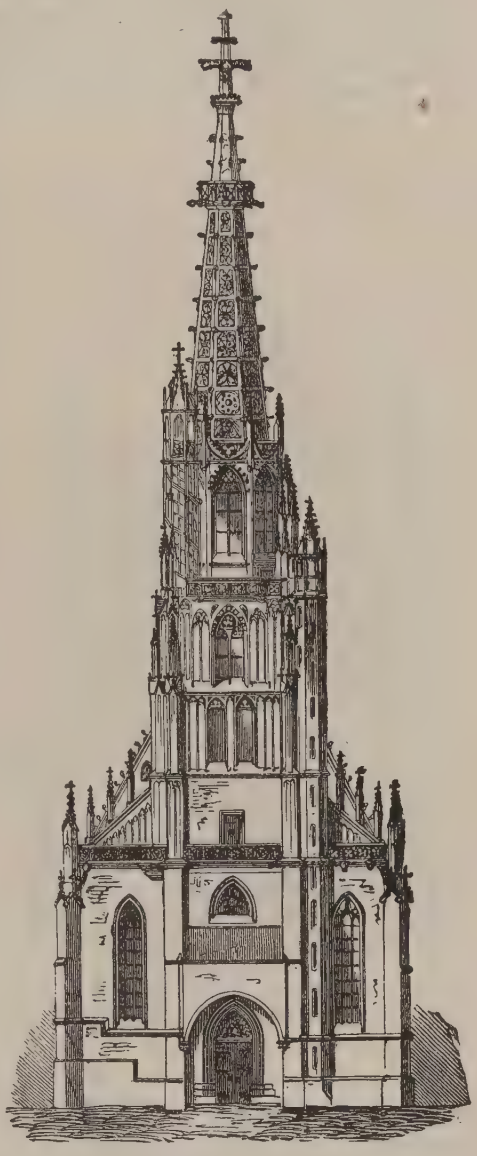


Fig. 378. Church of Our Lady at Esslingen.

this latter church is a noble production of the thirteenth century, with a façade remarkable for a superb wheel window, and a portal decorated with unusual lavishness. In the Church of S. Stephen at Vienna, one of the grandest specimens of German Gothic architecture, the hall plan is still retained, although the middle nave is somewhat higher than the sides, without rising into a clear story, and therefore windowless. The choir, begun in the fourteenth century, exhibits, on the contrary, three naves of exactly equal height, ending in polygonal apses. On the exterior, however, the clumsiness of the colossal roof is modified by singularly beautiful side gables with pierced tracery (Fig. 379); while in the giant tower, soaring, pyramid-like, 435 feet into the air, we behold one of the most superb masterpieces of Gothic architecture. This structure was completed in 1433.

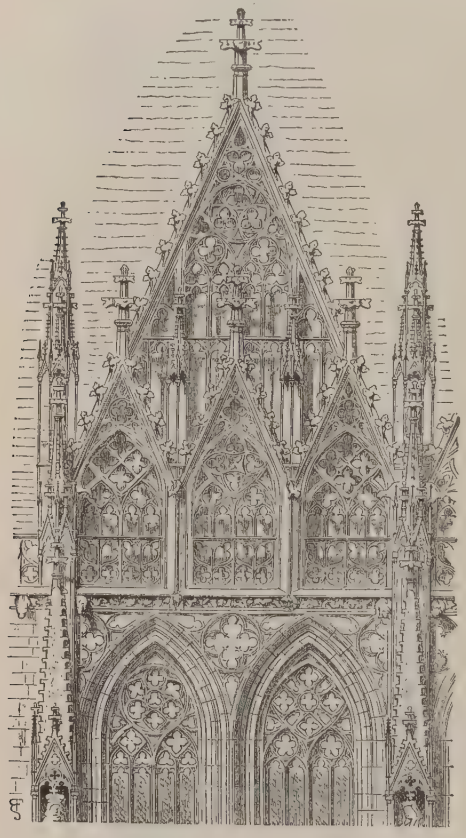


Fig. 379. Gable from the flank of the Church of S. Stephen at Vienna.

The last period, beginning with the fifteenth century, shows a considerable number of specimens of the hall form, in the Saxon provinces particularly. The churches of this class are mostly of a light and spacious appearance, soaring upward freely and boldly, but in the execution of details already infected with all the degeneracy of this half-insipid, half-fantastic period. A restless winding, twisting, curving and intersecting of parts is observable, and may be set down as a specimen of true Gothic pedantry — as in the case of the north portal of the Cathedral at Merseburg, in Prussian Saxony, near Halle, whose nave was consecrated in 1517. Another eccentricity, not less barbarous, occurs in cases where architecture so far forgets

itself in crude realism that it loses sight of the ideal laws of construction upon which all its power rests, and slavishly imitates the exact shapes of trees and branches in stone, combined with all manner of fantastic monstrosities. This is noticeable on the gate of the Conventual Church at Chemnitz, in the kingdom of Saxony, southwest of Dresden, which belongs to this closing epoch. The Church of SS. Peter and Paul at Görlitz, in Prussian Silesia (1423-97), is particularly light, bold and free. The Church of the Virgin, or Market Church, at Halle, in Prussian Saxony, on the Saale (built as late as 1530-54), and many of the same kind, may be mentioned as among the edifices of this period.

In the provinces of the North German coast a quite special modification of the Gothic may be observed in the case of brick structures,* which, departing in no wise from their earlier traditions, still expressed a certain individuality by means of robust and massive designs and strong piers, as well as by a rich and elegant surface decoration. Taking them as a whole, the earlier structures are without doubt more complete from a technical point of view, as well as more thorough and solid; while after the middle of the fourteenth century, and still more decidedly after the beginning of the fifteenth, a growing rudeness in the style of the whole keeps pace with a luxuriantly rich surface ornament. It is worthy of remark that these structures remain unplastered both without and within, showing the unadorned, grave, strongly effective color of the brick.

A few churches follow up the plan of the lofty nave, and even have the richly constructed French termination of the choir, save that the buttress system is noticeably simplified, and the splendid groundplan is likewise essentially modified. The Church of S. Mary at Lübeck on the Baltic (begun 1276), a structure of grand proportions and severe gravity of construction, is decidedly the masterpiece of this school. Of kindred style is the Church of the Cistercians at Doberan, in Mecklenburg-Schwerin, near Rostock, completed in 1368, noble in its execution, with an elegant lightness of effect. The Cathedral at Schwerin is of much the same type as this last, only more grandly massive in its effect; nor are the vast Churches of S. Mary of the neighboring cities of Rostock and Wismar less so. The same conception finds an outgrowth in Pomerania also, in several considerable monuments; as, for instance, S. Mary's Church at Stargard, in Pomerania, near Stettin, and another at Stralsund on the Baltic (completed in 1460). A simplified system of the same style is exhibited by the Cathedral at Havelberg, in the Prussian province of Branden-

* "Denkmäler der Kunst," plate 56.

burg, as well as the Cathedral at Breslau, in Silesia—restored in its older parts—and S. Elizabeth's Church in the same place.

The number of hall-formed churches is far greater in which a splendid effect is reached, especially in more recent times, by means of

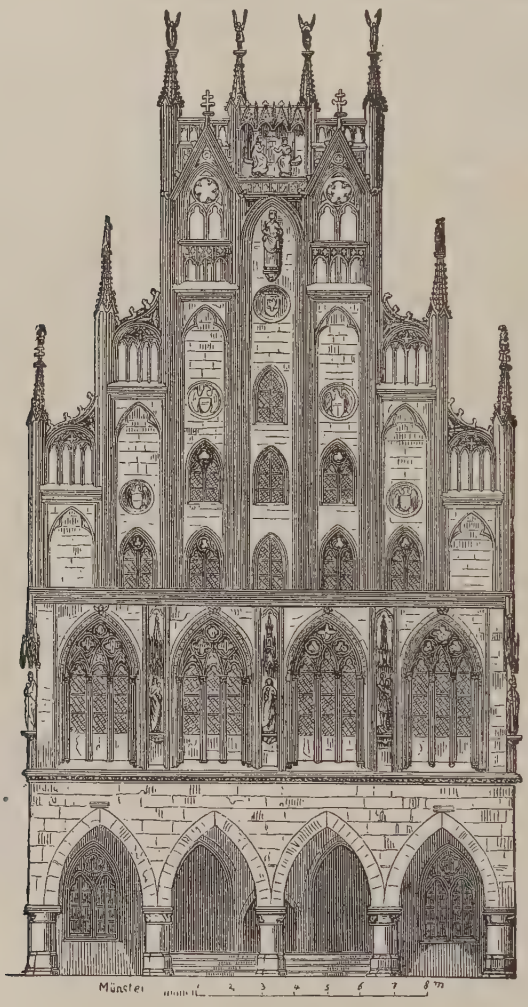


Fig. 380. Town Hall at Münster.

rich surface decorations, with colored glazed tiles in the most elegant patterns. This style appears in singularly rich and yet noble forms in S. Mary's Church at Prenzlau, in Brandenburg (1325-40), and is finely and harmoniously displayed in the Cathedral and S. Mary's Church at Stendal, in Prussian Saxony; while it attains giant propor-

tions in S. Mary's at Colberg, in Pomerania, and is grander still, though without any effect of detail, in the mighty Church of S. Mary at Danzig, on the Baltic—a contrast to the last-named being presented by the lavish development of gorgeous surface decoration in S. Katharine's at Brandenburg, begun in 1401 by Master Heinrich Brunsberg of Stettin. Although the Cathedral at Königsberg, almost at the extreme northeastern border of German lands, has a more lofty nave, it must be classed among hall churches, because the nave, like that of S. Stephen's at Vienna, has no clear story windows. Finally, South Germany can boast of brick structures of the same order, re-

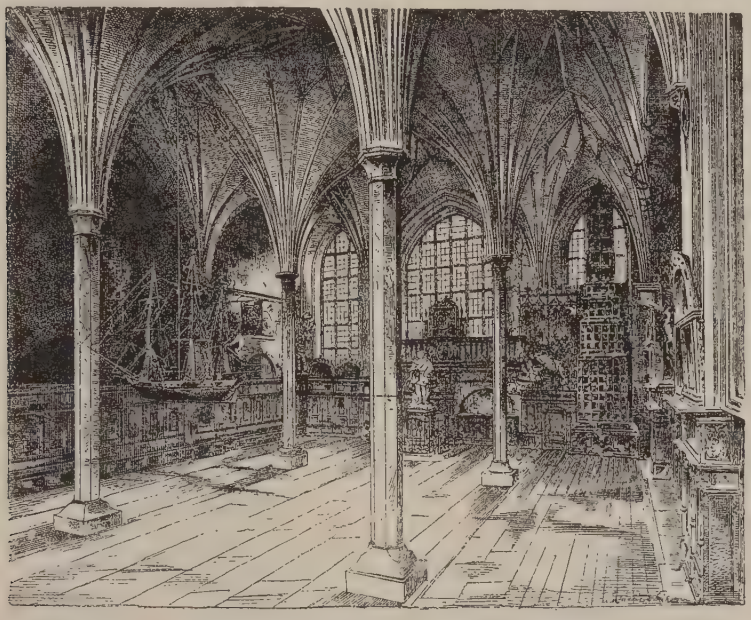


Fig. 381. Hall of the Artushof at Danzig.

markable for their vast proportions, as the Church of Our Lady (the Cathedral) at Munich (1468-88), and the Church of S. Martin at Landshut, in Bavaria, finished in 1473.

In Germany, buildings for secular purposes are not constructed on so grand or so splendid a scale as in the Flemish towns; but they are not lacking in variety and often nobility of form. Some stately town halls are good specimens of building in hewn stone. The Hall at Brunswick, near Hanover, especially, is remarkable for its original design and graceful two-storied arcades; while the Hall at Münster, in Westphalia (Fig. 380), has a gable rising in slender proportions, well designed, and adorned with windows and statues. Noteworthy

private residences may be found at Münster, at Kuttenberg, in Bohemia, and at Nuremberg, where the Nassau House is noticeable for its simple design and elegant hexagonal angle turrets. Among the castles, that of Karlstein in Bohemia, built by Charles V., and the grandly planned Albrechtsburg at Meissen, in Saxony, are prominent. The elegant Town Hall at Wernigerode, in Prussian Saxony, is a specimen of those frame structures of wood, of spirited execution, many of which exist of this epoch in North Germany.

The progress made by secular architecture in the regions where brick was used—that is, in the flat country of Central Prussia—is considerable. Tangermünde possesses one of the most sumptuous council houses extant, with a richly pierced and ornate gable; while Stendal can boast, in its Uenglinger Tower, of a town gate that unites a certain graceful elegance with spirited construction and bold strength. The secular edifices in the Prussian provinces formerly belonging to the Teutonic knights are the most magnificent of all. The Artushof in Danzig, the ancient assembly hall of its merchant-princes, belongs to the most admirable structures of this class. The vaulted roof is supported by slender columns of granite, its ribs expanding on every side like palm-leaves, giving an elegant fan-like shape to the vaults—a favorite style in the Prussian houses of this Order (Fig. 381). This architecture achieves its greatest triumph in the chief seat of the Teutonic Order, the proud Castle of Marienburg, near Danzig, which united in its central structure the residence of the grand-master, with its superb offices, the refectory of the order, and other subordinate buildings of great variety in their design, in a complete whole as grand as it was artistic.

ENGLAND AND SCANDINAVIA.

For the second time, England received a new style of architecture from France; but she now understood, even better than on the first occasion, how to mold it to an independent characteristic expression; so that the English Gothic offers a sharply defined contrast to that of the Continent. The design of the ground-plan now undergoes an essential simplification, not only in the fact that the main building never has more than three naves (to compensate for which, however, it has an unusual length), but in the plan of the choir, which goes back to very sober and moderate proportions. Not content with an almost entire rejection of surrounding aisles, and ring of chapels, the choir, as well as the aisles, usually terminates rather tamely in a straight wall; only receiving as an addition on the eastern side the Lady Chapel, but not enriched by it. Added to this, the choir is fre-

quently of equal length with the nave; so that the whole structure stretches out to a great length, only somewhat interrupted by the two transepts, which are now often retained. Thence it happens that the comparative height of these buildings is singularly unimpressive, and that the cross-vaulting of the roof often springs from corbels on the wall either below or above the triforia, without any connection with vaulting shafts; so that the vertical development can only be regarded as subordinate. The Cathedrals of Wells (Fig. 382) and

Fig. 382. Interior System of Wells Cathedral.

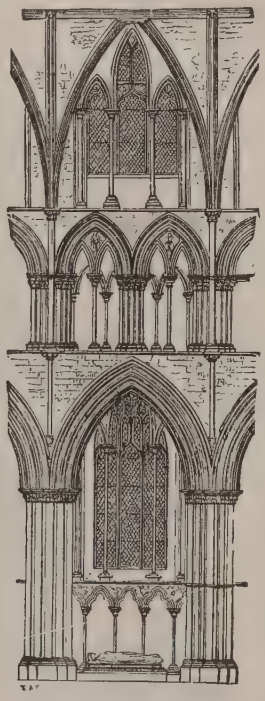


Fig. 383. Interior System of Worcester Cathedral.

of Worcester (Fig. 383) offer examples of this arrangement: the first in quite a disconnected composition; the last with an attempt to bring about at least an apparent connection of the supports of the vaulting with the arcades. In this fact we again perceive that English disinclination, more decidedly evinced during the earlier periods, for the vaulted structure; which, even at this epoch, is not apprehended in its full organic consistency. The exterior likewise experiences a kindred simplification; for the buttress system is confined to cases of unavoidable necessity, and the flying buttress especially is often dis-

pensed with. Hence a severe horizontalism of outline preponderates here as well, being brought out still more decidedly, in later years, by the low roof, hidden from sight behind the lofty battlements. As a rule, two stately towers spring from the façade, with the usual addition of a third massive tower over the great square where the transept intersects the nave; but even these towers very frequently were

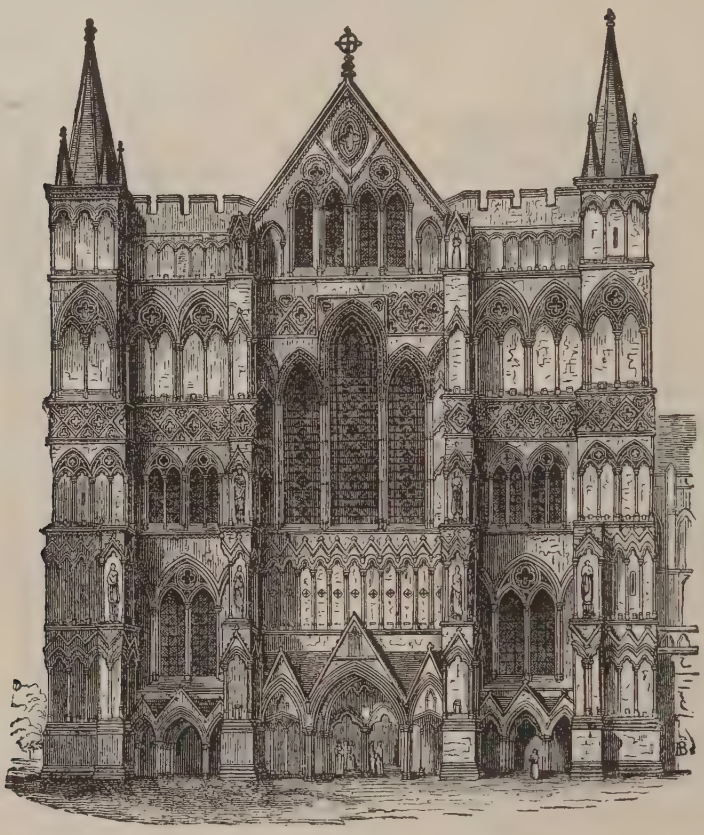


Fig. 384. Façade of the Cathedral of Salisbury.

left without tapering spires, being generally finished with battlements, and with small turrets or large pinnacles at the angles.

The first introduction of the Gothic style in England took place in 1174, when a French architect, William of Sens, was called upon to carry out the restoration of the Cathedral at Canterbury after its destruction by fire. The semicircular termination of the choir, together with the surrounding aisle, and the construction and organization of the whole structure, no less than its details, correspond, for the most

WESTMINSTER ABBEY

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH

part, with the early Gothic, just then prevalent in Northern France, though still with some intermixture of the Romanesque style. In the course of the next century, Westminster Abbey in London, the choir of which dates from 1245-69, is the only work, except Canterbury (although the Romanesque plan of Norwick is of this character) originally built on the model of the French-cathedral design, with its polygonal choir, surrounding aisle, and circle of chapels, to which is added a fully organized system of buttresses. For the rest, England soon generally adopted the new principle, with such specific modifications, however, that her people, not without reason, have given the name of Early English to the style of their architectural monuments of the thirteenth century. Starting with the common ground-plan described above, this style developed a severe simplicity in the fundamental forms, which, however, reveal in the details a rich capacity for life. Since the piers stand without any apparent structural connection with the vaulted roof, even when there is vaulting, they resolve themselves, as it were, into a sheaf of slender shafts, which often loosely encircle the central pier. The moldings of the arches of the arcades correspond to these clustered columns in the richness and variety of their profiles. Above the arches of the nave there is always a triforium, consisting either of separate lancet arches, or of groups of lancet arches separated by slender columns. As a rule, the windows do not yet contain Gothic geometric tracery, but are usually narrow and lanceolate, and arranged in groups of two or three together. The simple cross-vaultings of the nave rest upon short columns supported by corbels projecting from the clear story wall, and only occasionally carried down to the arches of the nave, though even then without any structural connection with the piers (consult Figs. 382, 383).

The Cathedral of Salisbury belongs to the most important structures of this epoch (1220-50), being perfectly sustained and consistent throughout—a noble and graceful building, a pure and clear expression of the English style, particularly in the design of its choir, together with a second transept, and the exquisite Lady Chapel, projecting, in part, within the building. The façade, flanked by two slim towers of no superior height, is constructed with special care and thoughtfulness of design (Fig. 384). The proportions of the whole church are remarkable for English architecture; for, with a total length of 430 feet, the middle nave is only 33 feet wide and 75 feet high. The Minster of Beverly, in the eastern part of Yorkshire, exhibits the same treatment, and a consistent execution in the style of the early English Gothic; as does also the choir of Worcester Cathedral (dedicated 1218), with clustered columns, groups of lancet windows, plain triforia, and cross-vaulted roof, the nave having been

added subsequently. In equally strict accordance with this primitive style are the long main building and transept of Wells Cathedral, erected from 1214 to 1239; and the broad and powerful façade

Fig. 385. Cathedral at Lichfield.

(1242), with its two towers and unusually rich sculpture; while the choir was added in the fourteenth century. To this epoch, likewise, must be assigned the choir of Ely Cathedral, built from 1235 to

LINCOLN CATHEDRAL

1252. The great octagon above the square of this cathedral, begun in 1322, exhibits a motive which recalls Italian domed structures; though in this case the stone vaulting is copied in wood, resulting in a structure, which would have been impossible to a race of builders to whom the Gothic style was native, or made really their own. Next in importance stands Lincoln Cathedral, with its mighty structure, 524 feet in exterior length, likewise completed in the thirteenth century. Finally, this style is splendidly developed in the Cathedral of Lichfield (Fig. 385), its main structure and transept belonging to this epoch, while the eastern portion is of later date. Its two west towers, and the great tower at the intersection of the nave and transept, have remarkably high, slender spires.

The fourteenth century sees in English architecture that richer treatment, aiming at a splendid effect in details, noticeable everywhere at this period, and leading in England to the so-called *decorated style*. This tendency finds expression especially in the adoption of a lavish, if not altogether consistently developed geometric tracery in the windows, as well as in the elegant star and net-work vaulting constantly employed. Among the finest productions of this era, the Cathedral of Exeter stands preëminent; its chief portions, constructed on one design, having been built from 1327 to 1369. Exquisitely organized clustered piers, rich tracery in the windows (Fig. 386), and elegant star vaulting, with an unusual completeness of the buttress system on the exterior, combine to give the whole structure an impress of spirited grace. Nor is the Cathedral of York less important (Fig. 387), its choir falling in the first and its main building in the second half of the fourteenth century—a building of splendid appearance and grand design. The Abbey Church of Melrose, in Scotland, on the Tweed, now a picturesque ruin, represents the same stages of development; while the nave of Winchester Cathedral, rebuilt in 1393, with its slender piers of spirited construction, its blind gallery taking the place of the triforium, and the rich net-work vaultings, indicate the transition to the following epoch.

Toward 1370, this architectural style passes completely into the *perpendicular style*, which had taken shape in the buildings of Gloucester Cathedral twenty years before. This, in its increasing opulence, adopts an element of fanciful geometric work, leading to a lattice-like perpendicular bar-work in the tracery of the windows, and generally spinning a net of such tracery over all available surfaces. Somewhere about 1400 there came into use the so-called Tudor Arch, a flattened type of arch struck from four centers; pointed, and even in some cases curved upward at the crown with the reverse curve called the accolade; and the arches of arcades and

vaultings are covered in a fantastic fashion with a profuse decoration of pointed and scalloped work. The vaulted roofs grow much lower in pitch and flatter in curve, and the ornamentation of the arch structure goes so far with heavy pendants hanging down like stalactites

Fig. 386. Window and Section. Exeter Cathedral.

Pier.

that the vault appears to hang suspended. An endless profusion of tracery completely covers the surfaces between the ribs of the vaulting, and the richest development of fan-shaped roofing comes more and more into favor. This style attains to its most brilliant manifestation in the Chapel of King's College, Cambridge; and its most extravagant or decadent form in the Lady Chapel added to the choir of Westminster Abbey between 1502 and 1520 and known as Henry the VII.'s Chapel. This fan vaulting then marks a complete abandonment of the ribbed vault and a return to a solid single shell of cut stone, on the face of which ribs are worked for purely ornamental purpose. Here every available space on walls and vaultings is overspread with an exhaustless profusion of splendid detail, so that the grave dignity of the architecture is almost lost sight of in a fascinating play of fairy-like fancy (Fig. 388). This later style is not less charmingly displayed in the wooden roofs, which were built with much deliberate care, to combine a fanciful and varied kind of design with great solidity. These, owing to the national predilection for building in wood, had in many instances, even in the preceding century, been employed instead of stone vaultings; and were still more frequently used in this later time, splendid examples being found in the chapter houses and castle halls, and in the colleges

Fig. 387. Pier from York Cathedral.

connected with the universities. Even in the principal portions of the churches—the nave, the choir, and the transepts—such wooden roofing is frequently used instead of vaulting, as in S. Alban's Abbey, now the Cathedral of S. Albans; and in the churches at Lavenham or Laneham and Long Melford, both in Suffolk; and many other structures. The wooden roof is elegantly, even splendidly, developed in all its divisions; and not unfrequently the forms of tracery borrowed from stone architecture play a conspicuous part in its ornamentation. Of this sort of work the most important example is the octagon at the crossing of Ely Cathedral, in which the most elaborate Gothic vaulting is imitated in oak. In this connection we may note as specially gorgeous the chapter house of

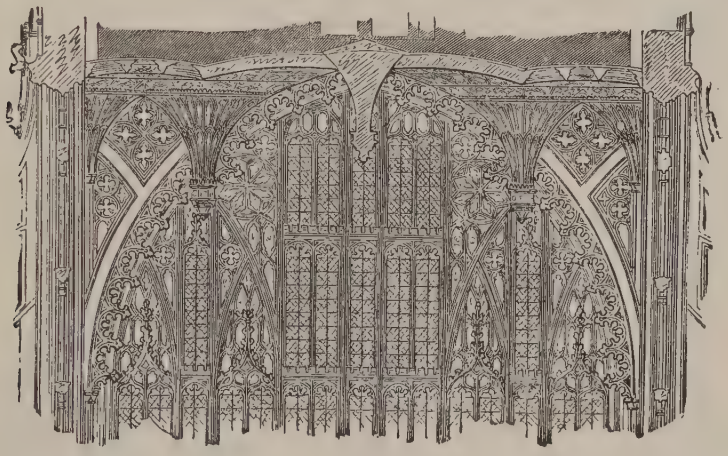


Fig. 388. From the Chapel of Henry VII. (Westminster Abbey.)

Exeter Cathedral, the great hall of Eltham Castle, and many other works. But the chief of all the wooden roofs of England is that of Westminster Hall, in London, of a date hardly later than 1325.

Chief among the Gothic edifices of Scandinavia* is the grand Cathedral at Drontheim, in Norway, belonging mainly to the thirteenth century. In the development of its ground plan and the treatment of details, the influence of the English early Gothic is unmistakable; but the decorative effect has been enriched by sundry specifically eastern elements, and reaches the utmost splendor. The design of an octagonal domed structure with a choir surrounded by an aisle is especially noble, and makes a charming perspective (Fig. 389). Among brick buildings constructed on the French ground

* Important work by A. V. Minutoli, "Der Dom zu Drontheim"; Berlin, 1853. Consult also the works cited in the chapter on the Romanesque style.

plan, with a more richly designed choir, may be mentioned the Cathedral of Upsala in Sweden, north of Stockholm; begun, it is said, in 1287, by a French architect, Étienne de Bonneuil.

Fig. 389. Cathedral of Drontheim.

A foreign architect, Gierlach of Cologne, is likewise mentioned in connection with the newer portions of the stately Cathedral at Linköping, southwest of Stockholm, the earlier parts of which are described above. The choir, with its aisle running round three

sides, as well as the two towers, bear the stamp of the later German Gothic. Among the churches of Wisby, in the island of Gothland, S. Katharine's is remarkable as an aisled church, built after German models. In the whole Scandinavian North, indeed, after the fourteenth century, German influence seems to have attained an ascendancy over English, especially in the case of Danish structures, and buildings in the modern Swedish Province of Schönen, subject to Denmark. The brick churches of Lübeck and the seaport towns of Mecklenburg evidently served as models—sometimes in the form of the hall church, sometimes in the type of the loftier middle aisle. S. Peter's Church at Malmoe, in the extreme south of Sweden, is a particularly pleasing edifice, having a total length of 235 feet, with a lofty nave,* with a pentagonal choir termination encircled by a low aisle with five polygonal bays—a modified form borrowed from North Germany (Fig. 390). The model in this instance was evidently the Church of Dobberan, from which was also taken the design of the transepts with their double naves. The Church of the Virgin at Helsingborg, not far north of Malmoe, has the choir aisle without the chapels, and its plan is further simplified by the omission of the transept. The main nave has no windows of its own, although it overtops the side naves by twenty-two feet: hence the effect is like that of a hall church, as in the Cathedral at Königsberg. Finally, the Cathedral at Aarhuus, on the mainland of Denmark, presents the perfect hall type (Fig. 391), recalling the North German style in its rectangular choir. Thus it may be seen

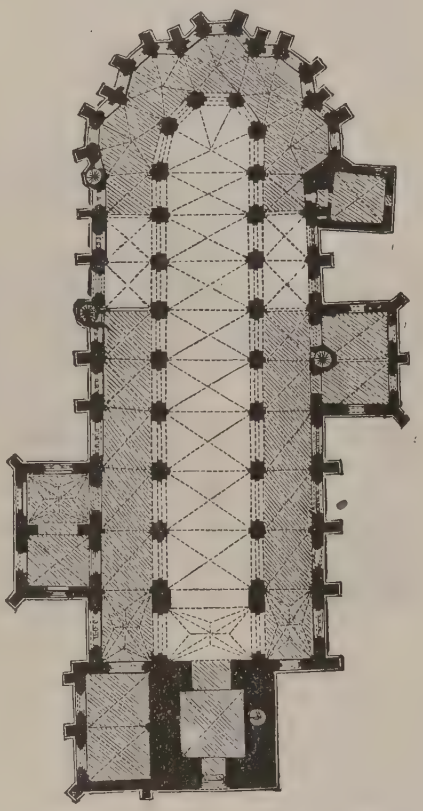


Fig. 390. St. Peter's Church at Malmoe.

* The higher parts are left white in the given plan.

that Scandinavia was even less successful during the Gothic epoch than in an earlier period in casting aside foreign influences, and arriving at an independent artistic development of her own.

Fig. 391. Cathedral at Aarhuus.

ITALY.*

Gothic architecture in Italy attained quite as independent a development as in England, being modified after a not less original fashion, in harmony with the national ideas and necessities. The overpowering influence of antique tradition upon the genius of the people placed them in quite an exceptional position in regard to the Gothic. During the Romanesque period the greater part of the country remained faithful to the simple, wood-roofed basilican plan; or followed a system of vaulting for small spans and spaces of plain quadrilateral form, all very slight and unconstructional. How was it possible, then, that a style so utterly foreign as the Northern Gothic

* "Denkmäler der Kunst," plates 57, 58. Consult also the works referred to in the chapter on the Romanesque style.

YORK MINSTER

should succeed in breaking the chains of a tradition so exceptionally rigid? But, for all this, the universal tendency of the time was so strong, even here, that as early as 1220-1240 several churches had been built with pointed arches, and even with ribbed vaulting in some form, though only in rare instances was the Northern ground plan adhered to. What was chiefly adopted from the Gothic was, in the first place, the pointed arch, which, however, chanced to be especially employed with a view to satisfying by its assistance the predilection for vast, broad spaces. The vaulting of the main nave was raised by only a small space above that of the aisles, having small, usually circular, windows in the clear story; so that the principal means of lighting was through the lofty windows of the side aisles, and more especially the windows of the West ends. Moreover the inner surfaces were as flat and as free from architectural subdivision as those of a sixth century basilica. All this was widely removed from the tapering, upward-soaring tendency of the Northern Gothic, and from the effort of that style to break up all broad, calm surfaces, resolving them into a number of slender parts, supporting or buttressing one another. The taste for extensive mosaics or frescos had formerly been so strong and exclusive, that it did not seem possible to do away with the blank, open spaces necessary for these; and hence only small, narrow windows were introduced—which, indeed, were all-sufficient for purposes of illumination under that brilliant Southern sky. In this way grand breadths of space were secured, with a free and broad span, often marvelously harmonious and impressive in their effect.

The exterior as well as the interior rejected the rich, complicated composition of the Northern Gothic. Since the central nave only slightly overtopped the aisles, and since, furthermore, the genial climate and the custom of the country were favorable to low pitched wooden roofs, the buttress system was limited in its application, while flying buttresses are for the most part abolished, and even the buttresses exhibit more the character of Romanesque pilaster strips. Thus the calm effect of broad surfaces, in connection with the massive prominence of the principal parts, continues to be analogous to the antique and Romanesque usages, while a glowing decoration constantly carries out the spirit of the earlier time. As a rule, the traditions of the Romanesque remain in force throughout, not only as regards the plan of the whole structure—as shown in the favorite dome over the square, and the façade treated as an independent decorated screen—but likewise in the details of the ornamentation, where we see the pointed arch and other Gothic peculiarities—such as crockets, finials, etc.—introduced in a hetero-

geneous mixture with the round arch and other Romanesque elements. Thus the Gothic in Italy does not aim at or attain to a sustained organic development, but only to a modification of the earlier manner on the side of decoration. However, these buildings possess, by virtue of the spacious beauty of their interiors, the comprehensive

Fig. 392. View of the Cathedral of Siena.

effect of their outward aspect, and the noble splendor of the picturesque adornment of the whole—a quite independent artistic importance.

The Gothic was introduced into Italy, in the first place, by Cistercian monks from Burgundy. But as the Burgundian school was not, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, perfect mistress of the

Gothic style as developed in the royal domain of France, the earlier conventual churches in Italy are still transitional in character. The Church of Fossanova near Rome, and that of San Galgano in Tuscany, not far from Siena, are of this character. Their date is known to be of 1200-1218; and the Church of S. Martino, near Viterbo, in the Province of Rome (Lazio), was begun about the same time. S. Francesco at Bologna was built between 1236 and 1240, and is less Northern in character; the ribs of the vault descending no farther than the capitals of the heavy pillars, which are only a little way below the springing line of the arches. S. Francesco at Assisi, in Umbria, is of the years before 1236, and must have been nearly completed at that time. Now, none of these buildings are completely Gothic in the way that contemporary buildings in the neighborhood of Paris are Gothic. They begin the long succession in Italy of churches which, though built with pointed arches and with some use of ribbed vaulting in its true sense, are yet Southern in spirit. They have low-pitched roofs, large, flat wall-surfaces within and without, and small windows; and the flying buttress is almost wholly unknown. Nothing is known of the designers of these buildings; and it can only be inferred that they originated in those Northern buildings which are most like them. Such are the Abbey Church of Pontigny near Auxerre, that of Vézelay, that of Montréal, and that of Pont-sur-Yonne, all these churches being contained in a small region of Northern Burgundy which did not become an integral part of France until 1477.

The Church of S. Francesco at Assisi exemplifies in itself the Italian way of treating the Gothic style. This church has its broad wall-spaces covered with elaborate figure-paintings, and the ribs of the vaulting, which are large and extremely simple in section, are richly painted with varied patterns, these patterns being matched and even surpassed in variety and beauty of design by the broad, flat borders which surround and set off the pictures of religious incident. A very grand effect is attained in the spacious plan of the Cathedral at Florence, begun in 1294 by Maestro Arnolfo di Cambio (called, erroneously, Arnolfo di Lapo). In this case, too, the love of broad spaces is apparent, and is sustained with great boldness, especially in the square divisions of the vaulting of the middle nave, about sixty feet wide. But this tendency is here carried to extremes, and the unfavorable effect is increased by the particularly meager means of lighting. The colossal octagonal domical building, with the three transepts studded with chapels, was completed only at a later epoch. A superb marble façade was begun as an addition to the building in 1357, but never finished, and, later, torn down. This last was

wrongly attributed to Giotto, who died in 1336. However, this great master really directed the noble marble casing of the two portals situated on the north and south sides, next the façade, besides having erected the bell-tower (Campanile), which soars aloft close to the façade—a rare artistic harmony of noble construction and rich marble decoration. After the master's death, his pupil Taddeo

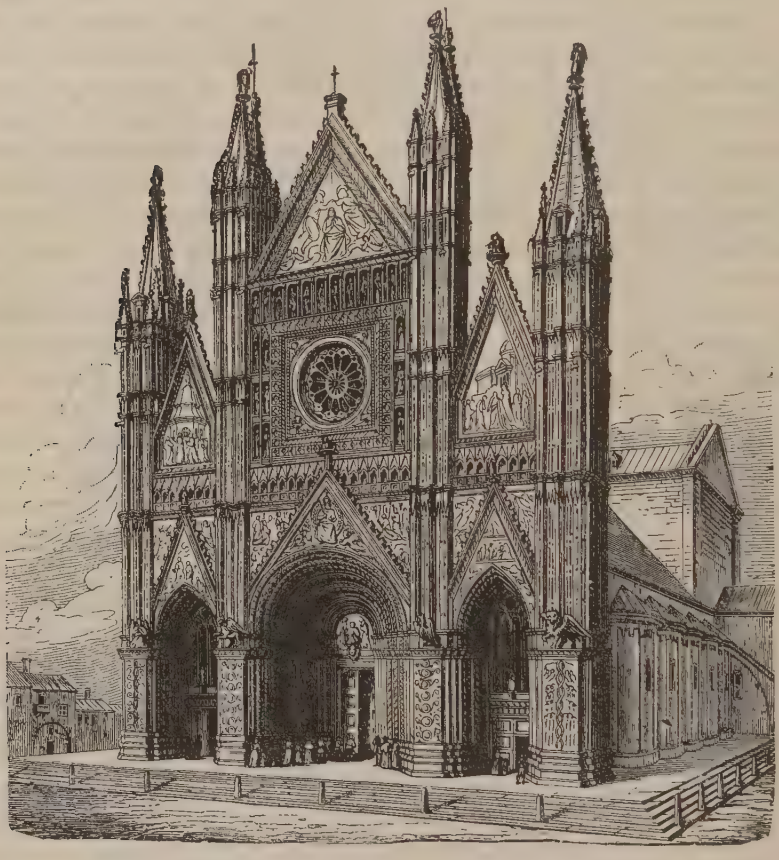


Fig. 393. Cathedral at Orvieto.

Gaddi carried on the building of the Campanile according to Giotto's plans. A modern west front designed to correspond with the ancient flanks of the church was built between 1880 and 1885.

The Cathedral of Siena, built in the thirteenth century, carries out the same idea of the union of the domical building with the parallelogram; without, however, succeeding in bringing the hexagonal dome into clear relations with the three aisles. The spacious effect of the interior presents an animated and charming perspective, though

MILAN

THE CATHEDRAL

the tranquillizing effect is lessened by the use of alternate bands of black and white marble. This interior is, however, only the transept of the proposed vast structure which the Siennese undertook. The exterior (Fig. 392) is made especially remarkable by the façade, fronting southwest, and built before 1280, with its richly colored decoration, which was added in the nineteenth century. But the façade design, considered apart from the body of the church, first rises to its highest perfection in the Cathedral of Orvieto (Fig. 393), begun in 1290, and attributed to Master Lorenzo Maitani of Siena, being no less conspicuous for the prodigal magnificence of its marble sculpture and its great mosaic pictures, than for its clear, harmonious composition. The interior, on the other hand, shows a retrogression toward the timber-roofed basilica.

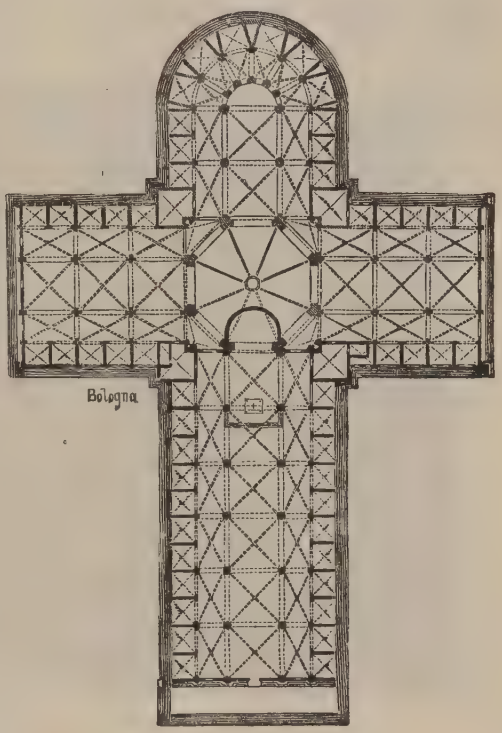


Fig. 394. Ground-Plan of San Petronio at Bologna.

The Cathedral of Milan, recommenced toward the close of the fourteenth century on a new plan, has nothing in its design to recommend it. It is of very great size, 486 feet long—covering more ground than any other building of Gothic type—and having a central spire which rises to the height of 365 feet; moreover, it is built entirely of white marble, extremely elaborate in design and decorated with sculpture, which includes a great number of free statues; but it is feeble in composition, and inartistic. The five-aisled nave, the three-aisled transept, the uncommonly close position of the piers, the presence of a choir aisle, are unmistakable illustrations of a Northern, probably German, tendency; though in the heights, Italian taste carries the day, resulting in a threefold gradation from the central nave to the outer side aisle.

Great as is the effectiveness of the interior, and magical as is the brilliancy of the marble splendor of the exterior, architectural claims of a higher order are nevertheless, on the whole, unsatisfied. It is after quite another fashion that a second colossal structure of this late era—the Church of San Petronio at Bologna, begun, according to the plan of Antonio Vincenzi, in 1390—seeks to adapt Gothic forms to Italian needs. In the system of the main building (Fig. 394), a tendency to return to the principle followed in the Cathedral of Florence is quite unmistakable; but through the addition of two

Fig. 395. Church of La Certosa at Pavia.

chapel aisles the structure acquires a richness of perspective which makes one doubly regret the only partial completion of the colossal plan. A transept, divided like the main building into five aisles, was to have been added, as well as a great central, octagonal dome; while the choir was to have been carried out in harmony with the main building, and finished with a surrounding aisle and circle of chapels. The total length would have reached 640 feet, the dome equaling that of the Florentine Cathedral in size. As it is, the parallelogram ends rather barely in a semicircular or apse-like niche. Finally, the Church of La Certosa, near Pavia, begun in 1396 (Fig. 395) may be reckoned among the noblest of those structures in which the

Italian love for spacious effect finds, in the Gothic system, a perfectly unfettered and beautiful expression. The Cathedral at Como is of kindred design, and of an equally high order of spacious beauty. Its nave was begun in 1396; and about 1513 choir and transepts were added in the stately style of the early Renaissance.

Among Italian civil and secular buildings there are a great number of considerable works. The palaces of Florence, the most notable of which are the Palazzo Vecchio and the Bargello, bear the impress of bold, defiant strength, with something of the gravity and gloom of a fortress. In the Loggia de' Lanzi, on the other hand (built after 1376), Florentine secular architecture attains a rare distinction and light beauty of proportion, in which, however, the round arch is again employed. The palace architecture of Siena, making a considerable use of brick, has a thoroughly consistent, noble organization, as in the vast Palazzo Publico and a number of fine private residences, prominent among them the Palazzo Buonsignori (Fig. 396). Among the open arcades erected in the various towns, the Loggia de' Mercanti (Exchange) at Bologna exhibits the elegant style of the fourteenth century carried out in rich brick architecture. Light and graceful are the Gothic palazzi of Venice; their façades almost invariably enriched by exquisite loggie, thereby showing their special adaptation to life on the canals, as well as supplementing the limited courtyard space. The brilliant Cà d'Oro is a daintily elegant building (Fig. 397); and no less bright and graceful are the Palazzi Foscari, Pisani, and others. This style reached an expression of magnificent grandeur in the Doge's Palace, of which the present exterior was commenced about the middle of the fourteenth century, its upper and lower colonnades being the most

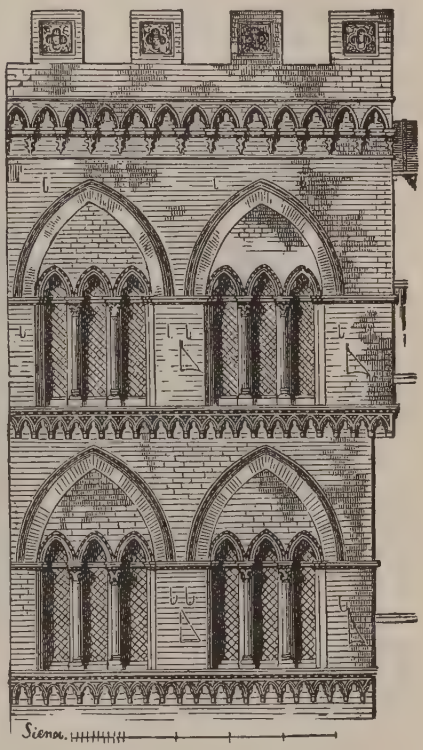


Fig. 396. The Palazzo Buonsignori at Siena.

magnificent of their kind in the world. And, finally, the Castello at Ferrara, with its frowning brick walls, and its towers with their defiant battlements, should be mentioned as an example of the fortress-like dwellings of Italian princes.

It has been noted how little the Italians cared for the essential charm of Gothic architecture, its highly organized building. They clung to old habits of simple walls carrying low-pitched roofs; and avoided the flying buttress, and, within the great height of the nave above the aisles, with all that that difference in height brought with

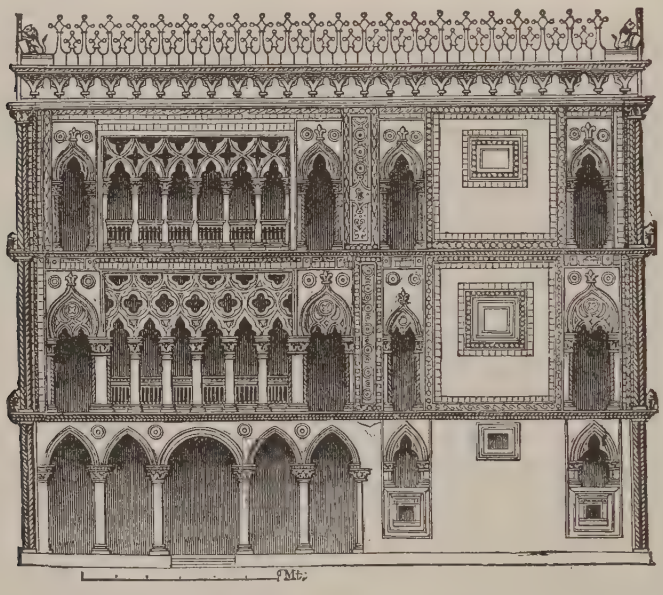


Fig. 397. Cà d'Oro, Venice.

it in the north: triforium, high clear story, carefully marked and decorated vaulting shafts. In a similar clinging to ancient Southern habits and tastes they used sculpture largely as the Romans of the great Empire had used it, more modified by the architectural requirements than among the Greeks, but much less so than among the Northern Gothic builders. In like manner, too, they used what was almost unknown in the north at this time—inlay, incrustation, and mosaic. The Cosmati, who have given their name to the richest form of this work, first appear in the twelfth century, but their chief works are of 1224-1231 (S. Magnus at Agnani), of 1296 (S. Maria in Cosmedin, Rome), and, later, in several of the greater Roman churches. The twisted columns of the cloister at S. John Laterano is

a famous instance of their exquisite inlay of triangles and squares in color and gold, the glass mosaic being incrusted in the marble.

As early as the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Gothic was displaced in Italy by the revival of the Antique (the Renaissance), and was able to maintain itself only in isolated instances and in a few places; its character even then being essentially modified by the introduction of elements tending toward the spirit of antique models.

SPAIN.

The Gothic was first introduced into Spain from the neighboring realm of France. We frequently notice in the earliest Gothic buildings not only traits that recall the rich Romanesque style of the country, but likewise an occasional adoption of some of the lavish decorations peculiar to Moorish architecture. A particularly brilliant style seems to have been thus developed. Although we have no sufficient data as to the progress of this development, owing to a lack of complete research in that direction, the Spanish Gothic in its perfected form nevertheless exhibits a suggestive individuality. The consistent constructive system and the varied ground plan are here grasped with spirit and understanding; while in the proportionment of height, a method of gradation is adopted which corresponds to the Italian Gothic. There is, however, a predilection for the construction of the façade after the Northern fashion, not even lacking the open-work spires. But at the same time there is an equal fancy for retaining the tower over the transept square, which tower often takes, as in the Romanesque style of Spain, the low and ample form of a lantern; while the ornamentation brings the rich Gothic world of form into combination with the luxuriant decorative magnificence of Moorish works. From this combination structures result which may be reckoned among the chief monuments of the whole mediæval period for grandeur of plan and splendor of erection.

The Gothic style seems to have been domesticated in Spain with the rebuilding of the Cathedral of Lerida, the building of that large part of Burgos which belongs to the thirteenth century, and the noble west front of Leon in 1221. Burgos Cathedral is a vast building with polygonal choir, including an encircling aisle and chapels, suggesting the French model as plainly in its ground plan as it shows in its details an interweaving of Moorish reminiscences. The façade, however, with its open work spires (Fig. 398), is, traditionally, a production of the German master. Still more grandly planned and boldly executed is the Cathedral of Toledo (1227), at-

tributed to a Spanish architect called Pedro Perez (or Petrus Petri), and intended to outrival even that of Burgos. The proportions are still more considerable; and the whole structure is designed with five aisles and with a polygonal choir, around which the side aisles are carried as deambulatories, with little chapels; an arrangement which likewise finds its prototype in a French work, the

Fig. 398. The Cathedral at Burgos.

Cathedral of Bourges. The central nave rises to a great height, while the aisles, as in the case of many Italian buildings, are graduated in their height; so that the inner portion considerably overtops the outer. French influences may be still more unmistakably traced in the noble Cathedral of Leon, the plan of which bears most resemblance to that of the Cathedral of Reims. Begun in the middle of the thirteenth century, this superb specimen of architecture is remarkable for the nobleness of its forms and the tapering boldness of its proportions, as well as for the magnificence of its broad and lofty windows.

In Spanish monuments of later date, foreign influences are modified in favor of a type more in harmony with national customs and a Southern climate. The height becomes less marked; but a rich lantern is generally placed above the square, which the Romanesque epoch had already made familiar. The windows grow smaller, the wall-surfaces greater, and the breadth of the main building, as in Italy, is often very considerable; so that frequently an effect similar to that produced by Italian buildings is suggested. The Cathedral of Valencia is noted for a beautiful domed tower; this church was begun in 1262, but is in greater part a production of the fourteenth century. The Cathedral of Barcelona ranks among the most important of the buildings executed in the true national spirit; an imposing edifice with rich choir aisle and chapels, a central nave forty-two feet wide, with aisles flanked by a series of chapels placed at regular intervals. The motive which pervades such designs, which are special favorites in Catalonia, recalls Italian architecture in such buildings as San Petronio at Bologna and La Certosa at Pavia. Great quadratic vaultings, with yet greater boldness of span, are exhibited in the same region by Santa Maria del Mar. The Cathedral of Gerona has a choir with three aisles and circle of chapels, and to these has been added a single-aisled main building seventy-three feet wide, flanked by a series of chapels (Fig. 399) placed at regular intervals. This is much the widest Gothic vault in existence or on record; the next in order being that of Toulouse in Southern France.

Two peculiarities of the greater Spanish churches remain to be noted; the outer roof and the divided service choirs. It was always rather common to cover the roofs with slabs or large tiles of stone, laid at a very low pitch; and these nearly flat roofs alternate with steep tiled roofs of the ordinary sort, even in the same building. The inclosed space for the clergy and choristers, called *coro* in Spanish, is often made very large, and carried far down into the nave; then to allow a passage across the church, it is divided into "Coro" proper and "Trascoro."

The later architectural attempts reject, for the most part, the more splendid French choir design, and favor a simpler arrangement of the ground plan in all respects. Among such edifices, the Cathedral of Seville, begun in 1403, is one of the most imposing. Its five aisles are of different heights, graduated according to the precedent set by the Toledo Cathdral. The transept square is carried into a dome.

In Portugal the only Gothic buildings that have attracted the attention of students are of late epoch. In these buildings a style is seen to have begun to form itself—a style worthy to be compared with the late Gothic of England or of Germany. It is

noted above how commonly the different nations of Europe show more originality in their fifteenth-century Gothic, and that of the succeeding styles, than in the purer thirteenth century work which

Fig. 399. Cathedral of Gerona.

was inevitably taken almost unaltered from France. Thus, the late English Perpendicular passing into Tudor architecture, the florid Spanish work of the same epoch, the town halls of Belgium, are all

independent styles. But it is also clear that no one people acting in this way largely by itself was able to build up a style so important and of such permanent influence as to carry it over the hostile influence of its neighbors. Even the magnificent French Gothic, the Flamboyant style of the fifteenth century, but slightly influences the work of the people on the Rhine or in the Spanish Netherlands immediately to the north of the French kingdom. So small and so poor a country as Portugal could not fail to share in this experience, and accordingly the style called Manuelino, from the king Don Manuel who was reigning in 1500, and the somewhat more entirely mediæval style contemporaneous with it, are limited for important monuments each to a single group of buildings at Belem and at Batalha.

There is, indeed, a large church at Alcovaça and the Cathedral of Lisbon, each of which has a perfect Gothic plan and the remains of thirteenth century buildings. The same purity of plan occurs in the Conventual Church at Batalha, where indeed the chevet with its ring of flying buttresses is perfectly carried out. These buildings are full of suggestion, and contain much that is novel, with but little evidence of pure Spanish influence; but they are not of importance in the general history of fine art.

3. *Gothic Sculpture and Painting.*

A.—ITS SUBJECTS AND MANNER.

While architecture gradually passes from Romanesque to Gothic, a similar process takes place in the plastic and graphic arts. The change is, however, far less plainly marked in sculpture and in painting; and this because the basis of architecture was changed by the adoption of a new way of building, while the foundation of representative art remained still, as before, the study of visible nature. The circumstances, the task, and the theme of these arts remained materially the same as in the preceding epoch; but a new spirit is behind them. The circle of representation is enlarged and enriched; and, most of all, the art of such representation becomes an earnest and loving study of nature rather than a patient following of tradition. We have, indeed, conspicuous examples in Germany and Italy, reaching into the thirteenth century, of a movement extending throughout the whole range of the plastic arts, the productions of which still held fast to the Romanesque style and to antique tradition. Nevertheless, this antique sentiment, however noble and elevated, by no means filled the measure of the requirements of the quickened national spirit. As

the case of architecture has already shown us, an energetic struggle between two equally powerful forces resulted in the transformation of the ancient forms, and produced, toward the middle of the thirteenth century, a new style, which differed radically from the Romanesque in every respect. This style had barely reached its full development before it spread over the entire Christian world of the West, and was adopted with a unanimity which bore witness to the fact how completely it was accepted as the exponent of that age. Late in the fourteenth century, and during part of the fifteenth, the new method was held to; although, perhaps on that very account, it asssumed a somewhat conventional character, and often became corrupted by an external mannerism.

This new style did not arise because there was anything especially new to express, but because the old thought was conceived with fresh fervor, because it was enlivened by a constant reference to natural form in its working out, and because it sought in this way a more adequate expression. The soul of the individual, stirred to its depths, yearned to put into visible shape its own personal interpretation of the sacred doctrines of the redemption. The sculpture and painting of that day were intended to embody, and do embody, a glowing enthusiasm, a longing intensity, and a noble self-surrender; but the method of expression was in a realism so sincere and complete that even in our modern day of much greater knowledge, we are amazed and put to shame by the thoroughness of naturalistic treatment of the thirteenth century sculpture. These figures lose the stately dignity and elevated expression of repose which characterize the antique works of art. They are slender and slim and willowy, and generally represented with a dreamy poise of the head, adorned with curling locks. The inclination of their bodies is at an angle, which throws the center of gravity to one side, while the other is far drawn in, swaying the body out and in, as though they followed every impulse of the emotions. The impulses of their souls find expression in a look of radiant purity which, almost without exception, gives a winning brightness to the face.

This predominant expression is intensified by the predilection for representing youthful form. There can hardly be conceived a sharper contrast than between this tender, blooming youth and the hoary, aged figures of Byzantine art. To be sure, the new style loses in bold, robust manliness, since even representations of men are clothed with a feminine grace; so that one may find in them a reflection of the culminating period of chivalry, of Mariolatry, and of the worship of women. The drapery falls in soft, undulating folds about the slender, graceful limbs, down to the feet. The principal features of

the antique costumes have been retained, in point of fact; but they have been so far modified in accordance with the practical aspect of the age that they appear to be entirely novel. The actual garb of the age had preceded the work of the artist; and as his eye was by this time trained to receive impressions of the outward world with greater definiteness, differences in costume were also indicated in his creations. Indeed, even so seemingly insignificant a circumstance as that of the use of soft woolen fabrics, instead of the linen ones previously preferred, had its influence in the transition from the stiff, lifeless parallelism of the linen folds to the soft and innumerable plaits of woolen material.

But great as was the internal difference of sentiment between the figures of this and the preceding age, a still sharper division existed as regarded their relation to the architectural whole. Although the figures were animated by a new sentiment, and individual aspiration endeavored to find expression in them, still no single figure possesses any special personal meaning. It still appears with a background of architecture, or in an architectural framework. Hence these figures, in spite of whatever individual expression they may have had, were subordinated to the sway of that great universal thought which they helped to illustrate; and only through their relation to that thought are they made distinctly and clearly intelligible to the race.

In one respect, Architecture had a direct effect upon the productions of the plastic arts, when, in her rich plastic decoration, she opened a wider field to sculpture. At the same time, the complete breaking-up of the surfaces of the walls into windows almost entirely put a stop to wall-painting, and in its stead opened the field to glass-painting—a style of art which, owing to its unusual technical limitations, could never advance beyond a certain point. Only Italian art continued to preserve the wall surface, and thus at this very time laid the foundations for its subsequent great achievements in painting.

With the fourteenth century the severity of taste and the logical exactness of work diminish; but this tendency is seen far more in architecture than in sculpture or in painting. In architecture the rigor of the law early relaxed; but, in the plastic and the graphic arts, the movement so firmly fixed in the universal mind, and so ingrained in the very being of humanity, continued until some time later. As late as the fifteenth century, representative art not only maintained considerable purity, but also, to a certain extent, gained in depth and sentiment. Then, however, a new force—that of the new knowledge gained largely from the study of antiquity—appeared in the world, bringing about a complete transformation of artistic con-

ceptions, and introducing a new style into the plastic arts, which swept on with a powerful impulse, away from mediæval forms, and toward a new epoch.

B.—HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE NORTH.

In sculpture, now most intimately associated with architecture, France takes the lead. New cathedrals required sculptured decorations, as no earlier epoch had known to the same extent. The great portals with their expanding shape, giving sloping side walls and arches; the tympanum; and, later, the horizontal galleries so dear to the French Gothic style, which complete the principal division of the façade, were profusely adorned with sculptured figures. These, in the lowest rank, where they are backed by the walls of the porch, are often larger than life, while those of the curved intrados above are

Fig. 400. Southern Side Portal of the Cathedral of Paris.

naturally much smaller. When the enormous extent of these structures is considered; when it is reflected that there are generally three doors in the west front, to which are frequently added as many doors in the façades of the transepts; it is easily conceivable that a wider range is here accorded to plastic art than had been in any other epoch. Hence arose, along with the demand, power to create these profoundly symbolic representations which appeal to us like a "Divina Commedia" carved in stone. The tympanum, or flat surface beneath the arch and above the square head of the doorway, is charged with relief sculpture. The fall, the work of redemption, the resurrection, and, as a climax, the Judge of the world enthroned, dividing the good from the bad—such is the constantly recurring theme of these great cyclic works; about which, as a central idea, are grouped the saints of the particular locality, in appropriate arrangement, with their special legends. Thus the spirit of the people was raised from the holy legends with which it was most familiar to what was general, and embraced all mankind. Events were also portrayed, having a still closer relation to human life itself and to the circle of daily

activity, set in the frame of the changing hours and seasons; and these, too, were again brought into connection with the divine governance of the world.

We are first met by a series of works of this description, which, like the buildings of that period, mark the transition period between the Romanesque and the Gothic. The sculptures on the façade of the Cathedral of Paris are of remarkable design, although much injured and in part restored. The representation begins on the north door with the life of Mary; and even here the rigid traditional style is already developed into flowing life and noble grace, particularly in the sentiment and the form of the heads. The principal door, with its elaborate representation of the Day of Judgment, has suffered the most from injuries and restorations. The sculpture of the south door belongs, for the most part, apparently to an earlier period. On the other hand, the sculptures on the façades of the transepts, which date from the latter half of the thirteenth century, show a complete emancipation from the stiff, archaic types, and the noblest and most distinct perfection of style (Fig. 400). A central thought, resembling that on the façade of Notre Dame in Paris, is splendidly wrought out on the three doors in the façade of the Cathedral of Amiens. Here scenes from the life of Mary, and of a local saint likewise, furnish the themes for the representations on the side doors; while the principal door contains the impressive representation of the Last Judgment. The colossal figure of the Redeemer on the middle pillar of the door gives a vivid illustration of the noble style of the whole, especially of the beautiful treatment of drapery (Fig. 401). Beneath his feet there is a personification of Evil overcome by him, in the shapes of a lion and dragon. The sculptures which decorate the porches of the north and south transepts of the Cathedral of Chartres, are still more comprehensive. Almost two thousand figures, large and small, are grouped according to a fortunate architectural arrangement, and set forth the story of the redemption, as well as the entire circle of knowledge of the time, with lavish historical and symbolic illustrations. Here, too, the style is one of elevated solemnity, with suggestions of the stern earnestness of the earlier period. The majority of the magnificent sculptures on the portals of the chief façade of the Cathedral of Rheims exhibit, on the other hand, the plastic capability of the period developed to the loftiest freedom and grace. They repeat the same theme; and over the main entrance is a representation of the Last Judgment, the different parts of which show a marked versatility in artistic treatment. The Judge of the world, stern and awful in look, is throned in the tympanum; the figure of the Redeemer, on the

middle pillar, is, on the other hand, noble and mild in expression, and is one of the most perfect works of all mediæval art; the apostles on either side the entrance are figures full of strength and meaning; the sitting figures of the saints, finally, in the tympanum (Fig. 402), are executed with delicacy and grace; while the naked figures of the dead, in *naïve* and natural attitudes, are leaving their tombs at the resurrection.

Fig. 401. The Christ of the Cathedral of Amiens.

When we survey the almost incredible multitude in this world of figures, of which we have only mentioned the most conspicuous, and which were all executed in the course of the thirteenth century, we are amazed at the energy and creative power of this epoch, the youthful vigor of which is, perhaps, not more brilliantly preserved in anything than in the intimately associated creations of architecture and sculpture. The last half of the century, the reign of S. Louis, attained a climax which has been likened, not without justice, to the age of Pericles; in fact, the whole Middle Ages can offer nothing, in point of classical purity and elevation, to compare with the finest among these works. The artists of the sculptures at Rheims have attained a height of style which recalls the noblest works of antiquity, with the addition that an individuality of sentiment finds a deep yet gentle expression in them. There is an illustration of this gentleness carried to excess in the sculptures of the Sainte Chapelle in Paris, where the figures of the apostles almost verge upon sentimentality, in the peculiar bend of their attitudes, their constrained positions, and the expression of their heads; though this defect is kept within bounds by the free, fine grouping, and moreover by the dignified treatment of the draperies. After the thirteenth century had expressed itself in such glorious productions, sculpture, as well as architecture, greatly degenerated in France in the fourteenth century; and the more scattered works of this period already incline to a conventional style. But in Germany, about this period, artistic skill received a fresh

impetus, and produced works which, if not so magnificent, still possessed the charm of variety and pleasing grace. We may find many examples of plastic works even in the thirteenth century which take up with fresh spirit the new style just arisen in France. The new manner is easily recognizable (though in a Romanesque interpretation) even in compositions like those referred to above, in Wechselburg and Freiburg. Similar creations, but with a still more decided introduction of the new principle, are the statues on the south door of the east façade of the Cathedral of Bamberg, as well as in the interior of the church, on both sides of the east choir. This youthful, vigorous period, in its fresh feeling of the importance of the individual, ventures even upon equestrian statues, as is shown by the life-

Fig. 402. Figures in Relief from the Cathedral at Rheims.

like esquestrian statue of King Conrad III. in the Bamberg Cathedral, and the statue of the Emperor Otto the Great in the Square at Magdeburg. Also a series of sculptures in the Cathedral of Naumburg belong to the most conspicuous works of this category. On the other hand, in Germany only exceptionally, as in Minsters of Freiburg and Strasburg, do we find that profounder, more comprehensive decoration which belongs to the French cathedrals (Fig. 403).

In the fourteenth century, sculpture in Germany reached a high stage of varied beauty; and if it did not attain to magnificent grouped compositions—which were, indeed, precluded by the almost exclusively architectural ornamentation of the churches—there nevertheless exist in many isolated works, perhaps on that very account, a great depth of sentiment, and often a great finish of execution. The

statues of Christ, of his mother, and of the apostles, on the pillars in the choir of the Cathedral at Cologne, are of great value from this point of view, though they were completed after 1350. Although of great freedom and beauty, especially in the treatment of the drapery, they show that gentle inclination of the body and swaying attitude which become almost universal, even to mannerism, in the works of this period. They are, besides, of special interest through

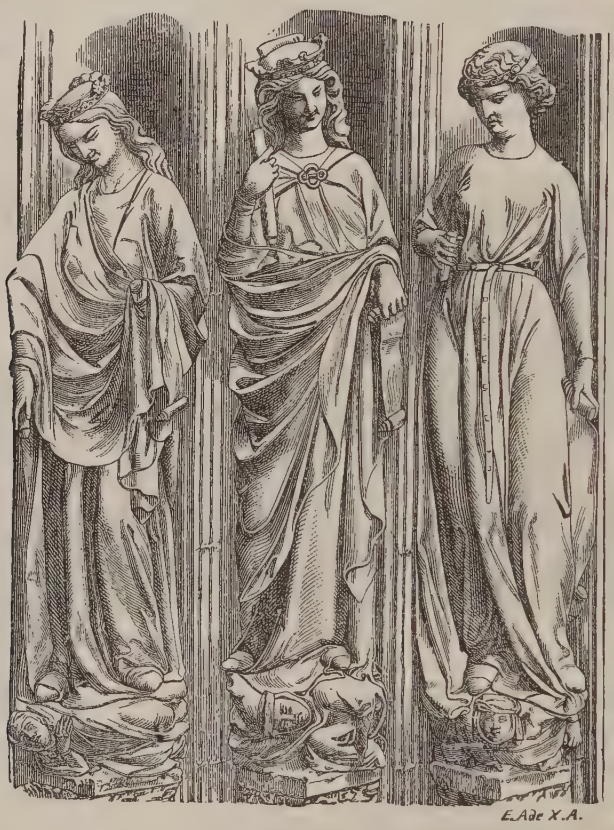


Fig. 403. Statues from the Minster at Strasburg.

their excellent polychromatic coloring. The sculptures of the southern door of the façade and the reliefs of the high altar belong to a somewhat later period: they are exceptionally carved in white marble upon a dark marble background. Much else of interest is found in other Rhenish churches.

A peculiarly vigorous and influential activity appears to have arisen in Nuremberg. The rich sculptures on the magnificent façade of St.

Lorenz probably occupy a position just between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The principal door has upon its middle pier a statue of the Madonna; on both sides, apostles and prophets; in the tympanum, scenes from the life and passion of Christ; and, finally, the representation of the Last Judgment, composed of numerous figures. The decoration of the "Beautiful Fountain" (1385-96) has

Fig. 404. The Last Judgment. From the Frauenkirche at Esslingen.

hitherto been erroneously ascribed to a so-called Master Sebald Schönhofer, probably an altogether mythical character: Its design and arrangement afforded a field for representation of the secular art of the period. There are sixteen full-length figures on the eight pillars, standing under handsome canopies: First the seven electors; then three Christian, three Jewish, and three Pagan heroes—Clovis, Charlemagne, and Godfrey of Bouillon; Joshua, Judas Maccabæus, and David; Hector, Alexander the Great, and Cæsar; higher up are Moses and the seven prophets; and besides these, all manner of heads of men and beasts, gargoyles, and so on. The sculptures in the vestibule and on the principal entrance of the Church of the Virgin, the central point of which is the history of Mary and her glorifi-

cation, are of a somewhat later date—perhaps about the beginning of the fifteenth century. The sculptures on the southern and northern doors (the latter known as the "Bride's Door") of the Church of S. Sebald are of a somewhat inferior style, and belong to the latter part of the fourteenth century.

Suabia appears to have been active in the production of sculpture in the first quarter of the fifteenth century. It found a rich opportunity in the decoration of the Frauenkirche at Esslingen, which displays a goodly number of sculptures on its buttresses and doors. There is a representation of the Last Judgment over the main entrance of the south side, which, in its vigorous freshness, is not without *naïve* touches, and which deserves mention also on account of its original architectural surroundings. The figures still have the stamp of ideal dignity, but with it an effort at energetic realism, which gives to the whole an original and vigorous character. This is aided by the more massive treatment of the bodies, which do not run into the extreme of thinness (Fig. 404). The plastic works with which the stately Church of the Cross at Gmünd was adorned about 1410 are very much richer, and also more important. The main entrance of the Church at Thann in Alsace possesses a magnificent sculptured decoration.

The numerous works of the school of sculpture of Tournay in Belgium take a very high place in the history of art, its activity having extended from the middle of the fourteenth century until far into the fifteenth. Its principal productions are sepulchral monuments, representations in relief, which, though proceeding from a basis of mediæval sentiment, exhibit a close study of nature in all the details of their work, and thus foreshadow the tendency which afterward appears so strikingly in the realism of Flanders. These monuments are, for the most part, in the possession of a private individual; others, again, are in the different churches of the city. To these should be added the productions of the architect Claux Sluter, whose name plainly indicates a German or Netherlandish origin, and who was much employed at the courts of France and Burgundy. The Fountain of Moses in the Carthusian Monastery at Dijon, in Burgundy, a work executed by him, dates from the year 1397, and is in a free and bold style, which indicates the beginning of a more delicate understanding of nature. This is exhibited with surprising vigor and definiteness in the monument of Philip the Bold, executed by the same master in 1404, and at present in the Museum at Dijon. The road is here opened toward that energetic realism in representation which, twenty years later, was introduced as a new conquering principle into painting by Hubert Van Eyck.

England also takes part in the plastic efforts of this period, although her architecture is but little adapted to decorations in sculpture. The façade of the Cathedral at Wells is a brilliant exception,

Fig. 405. Tomb Slab of Archbishop Peter von Aspelt. In the Cathedral at Mayence.

however. It has an extensive series of sculptures in the noble, severe style of the thirteenth century, in which the cardinal ideas of Christian doctrine—from the creation to the day of judgment, from the beginning to the end of time—are set forth. The style of the equally numerous reliefs which adorn the spandrels of the arches of the tri-

forium in the Cathedral of Lincoln is far more free and graceful; noble figures of angels in lifelike motion admirably filling the spaces.

Far more important in the history of English sculpture are the designs of its sepulchral monuments. In these, even at an earlier period, the position and character of the deceased were indicated and expressed with much delicacy of comprehension. These tombs are generally flat stones with reliefs, upon which the figure of the deceased is represented as in life, generally with crossed legs—a position in which we see an early manifestation of the tendency toward what is natural and realistic. Numerous works of this kind are in the cathedrals and other churches of the country. Several are in the Church of the Templars in London; and the tomb of Duke Robert of Normandy, the eldest son of William the Conqueror, in the Cathedral at Gloucester, is especially interesting by reason of its striking characterization.

Fig. 406. Tomb Slab of Duke Henry IV. In Breslau.

Tombs in other countries do not have the relative importance of these in England, although they generally indicate important periods of development in art. As a rule, they are simply tombstones, which, when let into the floor of the church, are covered either with very low reliefs, or else simply engraved with figures in outline, the lines of which are often filled in with some colored material. Occasionally, however, the stones were placed in the walls in an upright position; in which case the sculptures were brought out into bolder relief. There are conspicuous instances of this latter style in France, in the Crypt of S. Denis; in Germany, in the Church of S. Elizabeth at Marburg; and in the Cathedral of Mayence,* where, especially worthy of notice, is the monument of Archbishop Peter of Aspelt, who crowned the

* Excellent photographs of these sculptures are in the work of H. Emden, "Der Dom zu Mainz"; Mainz, 1857.

three emperors of Germany, Henry VII., Louis of Bavaria, and John of Bohemia; a circumstance of which the sculptor (Fig. 405) has availed himself in an amusing glorification of the Prince of the Church, who is portrayed as of colossal size, and quite overtopping the temporal princes. There is also in the Cathedral of Cologne, where various other monuments in the sarcophagus style show progress in sculpture, the beautiful Monument of the Archbishop Frederick von Saarwerden, who died in 1414—one of the most complete and superb works of its kind. Similar in treatment, and with rich polychromatic coloring, is the Tomb of Duke Henry IV., who died in 1290, in the Church of the Holy Cross at Breslau (Fig. 406).

Fig. 407. Tomb Plate in the Cathedral at Bruges.

Bronze-casting is chiefly used during this epoch for fonts, candelabra, lecterns, and other articles of church furniture; but it is also

quite often employed for tombstones (Fig. 407). Beautiful examples of monuments of this sort are the Tombs of King Henry III. of England and Queen Eleanora, in Westminster Abbey in London, executed by William Torell in 1290, and marked by a distinct and characteristic lifelike execution; also, in the later Gothic manner, the Tomb of the Black Prince in Canterbury Cathedral, executed after 1376, and others. Among examples in Germany, the most excellent is the Monument of Archbishop Conrad of Hochstaden in the Cathedral of Cologne. There exist, besides, a great number of bronze tomb-slabs in Northern Germany, Flanders, and France, as well as in Northern Scandinavia, on which the figure of the deceased is simply engraved in strong, deep-cut outlines, and surrounded by pleasing architectural forms, animated by designs of angels playing upon musical instruments, and by figures of the saints and apostles. Several flat tomb-slabs in Northern Germany exhibit successive stages of development. The oldest, in the Cathedral at Schwerin, is a double plate, representing two bishops (about 1347); following which is a double plate in the Lübeck Cathedral (about 1350). Further, there is a plate in the Church of S. Nicholas at Stralsund (1357); and, finally, the larger double plate in the Schwerin Cathedral, the most beautiful and magnificent of all. In this work, the style of ornamentation of the smaller figures, and of the graceful angels, seated among grapevines, and playing upon musical instruments (Fig. 408), is full of tenderness and charm; while the figures of the archbishops stand out in grand dignity and lifelike individuality (Fig. 409).

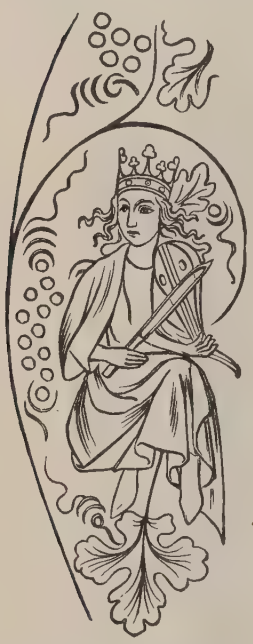


Fig. 408. Angel. From a Tomb Slab at Schwerin.

Carving in ivory was also much in vogue, during this epoch, for decorating small, portable altars, as well as for little caskets and other articles of worldly use, on which graceful pictures of the life of chivalry were designed in delicate reliefs (Fig. 410).

Still more extended is the employment of precious metals in the construction of costly receptacles for relics, representing small Gothic churches, the designs richly and thoroughly carried out, with buttresses and arches, finials, gables filled with open work and slender spires. More especially beautiful, however, were the various vessels

used in divine service—the chalices, ciboriums, censers, and monstrances, richly designed with architectural forms, and adorned with all the decorations of this luxuriant style.

Finally we come to the consideration of the numerous carvings in wood, which were employed more and more generally after the fourteenth century, especially in Germany, and more particularly in the decoration of altars. Better than anything else they teach us the use of color, the polychromy of mediæval plastic art. The Middle Ages delighted in the most extensive use of color, not only on these carvings in wood, but also on the stone figures used as architectural decorations either in the interior of churches or on tombs. It was, in part, the inner emotional life, seeking expression in these works, that called for the delicate softness of color to subdue the severity of form to a more soulful tenderness. Partly, also, the polychrome employed in architecture, and especially the many-colored, broken light which streamed in through the painted glass windows, required a carrying out of the same principle through the whole system of decoration. Thus we find the large altar shrines—which, when triptychs, often had their two wings extended still farther by an added pair — entirely covered with statues and reliefs; the latter shaded in perspective, looking like pictures carved in wood, standing out against a gold background, enclosed by richly-designed frames, and with canopies and vines overhead. Even the figures themselves, generally of small size, are attired in splendid gilded and damasked draperies, with borders and linings of brilliant colors, especially sky blue and red. The nude portions, especially the heads, are painted with a most delicate fidelity to nature; and it is only in the gilding of the hair that the style asserted its rights. The architectural frames of gold, red, and blue, are in perfect harmony; and the intermingling and combination of colors indicate a thoroughly practised taste.

Fig. 409. Head of a Bishop. From a Tomb Slab at Schwerin.

These carved altar-pieces, in which is achieved one of the most

brilliant triumphs of the Northern sculpture of the middle ages, first appear in the fourteenth century; and they gain steadily in favor until the close of mediæval art. We will only instance the Altar at Tribsees, in Pomerania, among works of this description, on which is an original although somewhat crude representation of the Last Supper.

Fig. 410. Carved Ivory Tablet.

The great mass of similar works in carved wood will be spoken of when we come to treat of a later epoch.

While the Gothic style furthered in this way the development of sculpture, the progress of painting not only was not promoted by the new movement, but was even decidedly retarded, since architecture, as we have seen, took away from her the great wall-spaces; so that mural painting fell almost entirely into disuse throughout the North, and was employed only exceptionally and in rare cases. The grand future which, during the dominion of the Romanesque style, appeared

to be opening before this branch of art, was thus irretrievably lost; and the Northern nations purchased the satisfaction of expressing themselves with full force in the Gothic style, by entirely sacrificing, for centuries, the power of representing their highest ideas in great productions through that very art which seemed best calculated for their embodiment. As a consequence, painting in the North was, for the most part, limited to minor art productions; and even as regards altar-pieces, her domain was curtailed by the prevailing preference for carved work. Hence a certain idyllic limitation grew up in

Fig. 411. Fresco in the Church at Brauweiler.

Northern painting: an excessive attention was paid to the expression of tender feeling, and the taste of the artist confined within narrow bounds.

Among the best known Gothic frescos are the pictures in the apse of the Church at Brauweiler, which belongs to an early period (Fig. 411), but especially the pictures on the vaultings and walls of the former Chapel at Ramersdorf near Bonn, all of simple and dignified beauty; the latter, especially, one of the most unusual instances of a completely developed series, ending with the Last Judgment. Other specimens exist in the choir of the Cathedral at Cologne and in the Church of S. Thomas at Soest. There is also a complete series of Biblical scenes in the Cloister Church at Wienhausen near Celle; also

considerable remains on the vaultings of the Church of S. Mary at Colberg, in the Cathedral at Marienwerder, and again in the Church of S. Vitus at Mühlhausen-on-the-Neckar. The Emperor Charles IV. appears to have desired to assign a more important position to mural work in color; but his fancy for costly materials led him to give special prominence to mosaic work, which was by no means favorable to a freer development of realistic art. Specimens of this style are the great representation of the Last Judgment on the south side of the Cathedral at Prague; also a portion of the pictures in the Wenzel Chapel of the same cathedral, as well as pictures in the church and in both the chapels in the Castle of Karlstein in Bohemia. The large fresco of the Last Judgment in the Church of S. Philibert at Tournus may be mentioned as an important work of this kind in France; and the recently uncovered paintings in the Church at Gorkum in Holland are examples of an early period.

Whatever was lacking, however, in artistic effort and material in other ways, was atoned for by the attention given to glass-painting. If in the preceding epoch an attempt had been made to decorate the simple Romanesque windows with color design in glass, how much more must the tendency to this mode of ornamentation now increase, when space and opportunity for the most extended representations were offered by the wide, high windows of the Gothic style! The simplest design was to surround the rich-patterned, tapestry-like window with representations of figures, as with a beautiful border. Sometimes, however, complete scenes of Biblical and legendary subjects were spread over the entire surface, but in such a way as admirably to repeat and enforce the Gothic architectural forms. This branch of art was, however, hemmed in by so many limitations—not only by the general architectural divisions, the intersections made by the mullions and the tracery, but also by the clumsy, awkward, mosaic character of the mechanical execution—that its works were made effective only by the wonderful glow and harmonious splendor of the coloring, as well as by the dignity of conception and treatment of single figures. How imperatively necessary are severe architectural limitations in these works is shown by the experience of the succeeding epoch, which sought to cut loose from all hindrances, and to cultivate a freedom of composition which is denied to these productions. Glass-painting was carried to especial perfection during the thirteenth century in those regions of France where the Gothic style originated and was developed. The greater number of the cathedrals here, especially those at Chartres, at Rheims, at Rouen, at Bourges, at Tours, and at Le Mans, contain superb examples; so also the Ste. Chapelle at Paris. In Germany, paintings on glass are unusual in the thirteenth century;

and the art attained a vigorous growth only in the fourteenth century, of which we have numerous instances, extending far down into the fifteenth. The noblest specimens are the windows in the choir of the Cathedral at Cologne, of the Strasburg and Freiburg Minsters, of the Cathedral at Regensburg, the Church of S. Katharine at Oppenheim, the Church of S. Martha at Nuremberg, and the Church of S. Dionysius at Esslingen, and others. The glass windows of the Convent Church of Königsfelden in Switzerland rank high among

Fig. 412. Glass-Painting at Königsfelden.

the productions of the fourteenth century (Fig. 412). The paintings on glass of the Cathedral of York in England, and of the Cathedrals of Toledo and Leon in Spain, are also celebrated.

France also, during the earlier period of Gothic art, far exceeded all other countries in the art of the illumination of manuscripts. In the art of "illuminating," as it was called in Paris, the masters of that city were widely celebrated. This occupation went hand-in-hand with the development of learning, which gave to the University of Paris the first rank in the world; and it attained, through the constant pro-

duction of such works, to an evenness of style, to a successful technique, and an elegant elaboration. Gothic art imparted to it fixed architectural laws; and painting on glass, now greatly cultivated, obviously influenced the methods of representation; so that the veriest externals, such as the broad black outlines, were repeated from

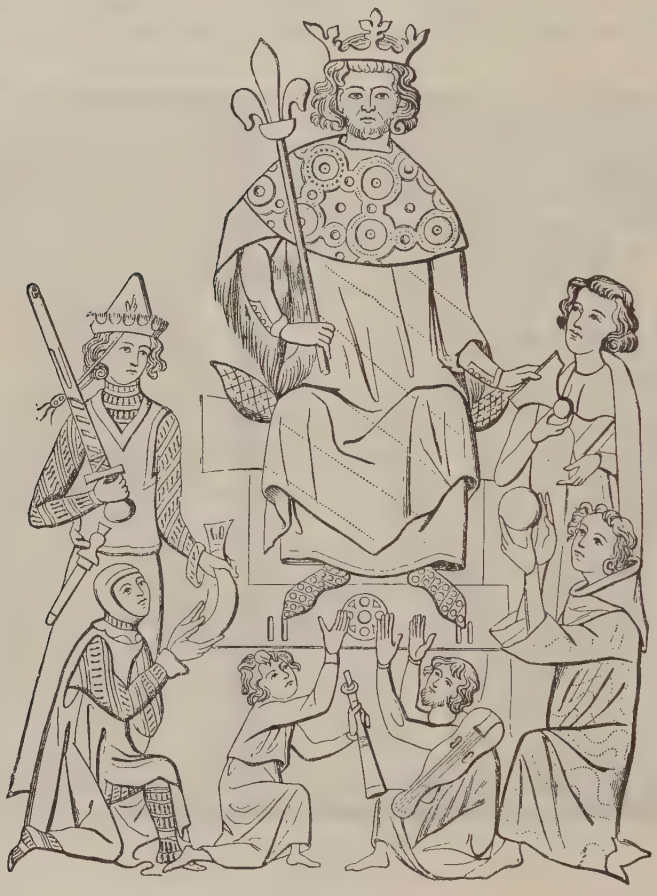


Fig. 413. Painting from the Mannessian MS., Paris.

it. An especially beautiful psalter, said to have been designed for S. Louis, in the Library at Paris, which is richly adorned with miniatures, is especially worthy of mention. It contains numerous scenes from the Old Testament, simply and distinctly portrayed with strong and harmonious coloring on a gold ground, inclosed by a frame of severe Gothic architecture. But in this case, as in that of almost all

French productions, skillful technique and rich decorative effect are sought even at the expense of originality and delicacy of sentiment.

It is otherwise with German illuminations, which were especially employed during this period in the illustration of secular poetry, chiefly that of the minnesingers. They are generally executed in an unassuming style, in lightly shaded pen-drawings, displaying a freshness of sentiment and a *naïve* artlessness which are in perfect keeping with the feeling of the poet. One of the most charming illustrations of this kind is in the Munich Library—the Manuscript of Tristan by Gottfried of Strasburg, which seems to have been executed before the middle of the thirteenth century. There is a total lack of understanding of anatomy; but in the attitudes a just feeling is expressed, and there is a child-like earnestness in the expression of the heads. The figures are drawn in white upon a colored background; but the shading of the draperies is in colors. The pictures in the manuscripts of the minnesingers show still more distinctly the char-

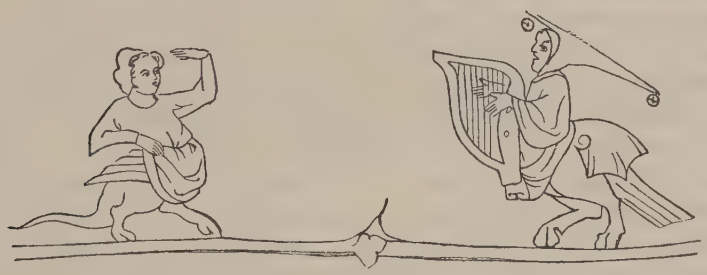


Fig. 414. Border. (From a Bible at Stuttgart.)

acteristic tendency of the Gothic style: for example, the Weingartner Manuscript in the Royal Library at Stuttgart, from the second half of the thirteenth century; also the numerous pictures in the Mannessian Manuscript in the Library at Paris (Fig. 413); finally, in the manuscript of William of Oranzee of the year 1334, in the Library at Cassel, which shows in an especially attractive manner delicately designed figures on backgrounds either of gold or of a tapestry pattern. When in the illuminating of Bibles, Psalters, or the Gospels, representations of sacred scenes were to be given, free artistic humor could not refrain from peopling the gayly colored branch-work runing round the pages of the books with wonderful and delightful creations of fancy, in which a frank and merry fancy often finds expression in the most charming play of humor. There are extremely clever drawings of this kind in a manuscript in the Berlin Museum, and others no less original in a Bible of the fourteenth century in the Public Library at Stuttgart (Fig. 414). A style of illuminating re-

sembling this appeared in Bohemia during the course of the thirteenth century, numerous instances of which, full of life and originality, occur in an illuminated Bible in the library of Prince Lobkowitz at Prague.

Germany also far exceeded all other Northern countries in the amount and variety of the painting on panels; especially after the middle of the fourteenth century, when this style of art was extensively practiced. These painted panels were used sometimes as doors to altar shrines, the principal feature of which often consisted of a carving in wood; but very frequently the most conspicuous feature of the altar back itself was a painting, which could be inclosed by means of two wings, or leaves, painted on the inside as well as on the outside. When the altar-piece is closed, the exterior usually shows some single figures; as, for example, the Annunciation, or saints especially revered. When the leaves are open, the large middle tablet, with the two inner sides of the wings, either represent a whole connected series of separate scenes—perhaps the life of the Blessed Virgin, or the Passion—or else the middle piece contains a single larger representation, to which are added smaller scenes on the wings. Such a threefold series of paintings is generally called a triptych; and the word is used to cover even those great compositions in which there are more parts than three. Thus the Adoration of the Spotless Lamb, at Bruges, is the central painting of a group of twelve separate designs, all meant to be visible at once, the decoration of the outsides of the wings not included. Generally the paintings are executed on the wooden tablets (which were prepared for this purpose with a fine, strong priming of chalk) in *tempera;* that is, the colors, finely ground, were mixed with some glutinous adhesive, such as white of egg. This material was favorable to a delicate, careful finish of execution. The coloring is generally tender and light, and set off by the frequent use of gilding. The disposition constantly increased to copy in the costumes the dress of the period, with its splendid adornments of gold, pearls, and precious stones. But the representations still stand out sharply from a figured gold ground, which does away with any idea of nature, and gives an ideal character to the whole conception.

Much as these works are influenced by the universal tendency of the time, with its soft sentiment and spirituality, yet after 1350 special characteristics and original, independent schools are developed within these fundamental laws; the earliest among them being that which came into prominence in Bohemia in the reign of the art-loving Emperor, Charles IV. We have already glanced at the numerous frescos in Prague and Karlstein. But there are also panel-paintings here, as well as in Vienna and Prague. Nicholas Wurmser of Stras-

burg, and two artists of Prague, Kundze and Theodorich, are known as the artists of these works. The predominant characteristic of their art is an excessive delicacy, which in their drawing of form almost degenerates into weakness, but which in expression often conveys great depth and tenderness. The colors are applied with much delicacy, and with very soft gradations, but the forms are generally broad, and even clumsy; for instance, the noses are almost always round and thick, the lips very full, the eyes large, and their expression is more open than profound. Moreover, the carriage of the figures is generally awkward, and harshly distorted by the high shoulders and the short neck. The Church at Mühlhausen-on-the-Neckar has several frescos and panel-paintings in the latter style of this school, presented by a citizen of Prague in 1385.

That the same delicate style was also cultivated and developed in Austria by able artists is proved by the graceful paintings, full of feeling, which adorn the reverse of the altar at Klosterneuburg. Donated about 1325 by the art-loving provost Stephen von Sierndorf, they depict in admirably composed representations, abounding in figures, the Death and the Coronation of Mary; Christ's Death on the Cross, with an expressive group of the Holy Women; then Christ appearing after his resurrection to the Holy Women, and meeting Magdalen in the garden. These pictures, executed upon a richly figured gold ground, rank with the most precious creations of the time, for within the general character of the style they reveal an independent artistic power, capable of imbuing the forms with an individual life, and succeeding uncommonly well in perfecting the figures by a richly graduated modeling.

The school of Nuremberg is of greater importance, its culminating period extending from the middle of the fourteenth century. Painting was, in this school, emphatically subordinated to the influence of the immense activity in sculpture which we have reviewed above; and it endeavored, by means of painstaking drawing and careful modeling, and attention to form, to compete with its sister art; while at the same time a vigorous coloring preserved the distinctly picturesque effect. The figures are graceful and lithe, and, in spite of a certain conventionality, have a marked freedom of action. The heads express a tender depth of sentiment. The Imhoff altar-piece, originally in the Church of St. Lorenz, now in the Castle, is one of the most important works. Its principal picture is a coronation of the Virgin (Fig. 415). The noble disposition of the draperies, the profound expression, the grace of the figures, associated with a vigorous modeling, suggest repeatedly the sculptures to which we have referred above; so that we may decide that this work dates from a time later

produced by the Middle Ages. This is the celebrated cathedral picture, painted after 1426, once in the Chapel of the Rathhaus, now in

Fig. 416. S. Ursula. One of the wings of the Dombild, by Master Stephen. From the Engraving by P. Massau.

a choir chapel of the Cologne Cathedral. The principal field represents the adoration of the three kings; and on the wings S. Jerome is seen with his followers, and S. Ursula with her companions (Fig.

416), these being the two patron saints of the city; on the outside is the Annunciation. Stephen follows in the steps of his predecessor. He is filled with the same deep devotion and innocence, and clothes these qualities in the same noble forms. He imparts to them, however, an air of greater reality, by means of more vigorous modeling,

Fig. 417. The Virgin of the Rosebush, by Master Stephen, Cologne.

greater depth of coloring, and by the use of the gorgeous costumes of the day, yet without sacrificing the exquisite tone of ideality which envelops all the figures conceived by the art of the Middle Ages as with a hallowing atmosphere. Thus the art of that period attains its highest culmination in his wonderful pictures.

tique manner, this trait appears still more strongly and decidedly in Giovanni's own creations. This change may have had its origin in the universal tendency of the age; but the presence of numerous fragments of antique sculpture seems also to have had its influence. But Giovanni did not take up the new style with the same gentle depth and tenderness with which it was practiced in the North. On the contrary, he knew how to apply his greater freedom and vividness to the expression of dramatic passion and deep emotion, and united to these qualities an unusual amount of intellectual motive in his composition.

The high altar of the Cathedral of Arezzo, dating from 1286, is in this master's earlier manner; an especially elaborate work, repre-

Fig. 419. Cain and Abel. From the Cathedral at Orvieto.

senting in a multitude of reliefs and small statues the legends of the Virgin and of other saints, as well as the figures of apostles, prophets, and angels, in a noble, flowing, and free style, full of life and movement. Another of his earlier works, in which he received the assistance of pupils and workmen from 1290 on, is the extensive series of sculptures on the façade of the Cathedral at Orvieto, the execution of which belongs to the close of the thirteenth century.* These representations are not grouped within an architectural framework, as in the Northern cathedrals, but in freer, more picturesque arrangement: relief sculptures covering vast, unbroken surfaces of the piers,

* Engravings of these sculptures have been published by Gruner; but the reproductions are accurate only in the general disposition of the groups, all the expression of the figures being lost.

sometimes framed in delicate vine traceries, and extended in vigorous succession over the four great wall-surfaces, between and beside the doors. The Bible story, from the fall of man down to the redemption and the last judgment, is given in sequence. There are numerous evidences of Niccola's manner; but other portions show in their more intense and dramatic conceptions the uprising of a younger school (Fig. 419).

The pulpit in the Church of S. Andrea, in Pistoja, is in a still more intense and passionate style, although not more free from overloading. This pulpit was finished in 1301, and, like all earlier similar works, is supported upon beautiful marble pillars borne by lions. The spandrels of the arches and the panels are decorated with a profusion of finely executed reliefs and small statues. Here are the Birth of Christ, the Adoration of the Magi, the Slaughter of the Innocents, the Crucifixion, and the Last Judgment, somewhat confused, overladen, realistic even to harshness and ugliness, but powerfully impressive and full of vigorous life; the treatment of the single figures free and noble, and not without a hint of the antique.

After the year 1304, Giovanni executed in the Church of S. Dominic, at Perugia, the Tomb of Pope Benedict XI.; and in 1311, the pulpit of the Cathedral at Pisa, which was, however, destroyed at a later period, and now exists in fragments only.*

A great number of scholars and disciples attached themselves to Giovanni. Numerous altars, pulpits, and funeral monuments, scattered throughout Italy, testify to the overwhelming influence of this master, who may justly be called the father of his epoch. The center of artistic activity, even at this time, was Florence, whose great master Giotto (1276-1336), with his universal genius, gave an immense impetus to sculpture by the active part he took in it. For the Campanile of Florence, built by him, he not only designed the bas-reliefs with which it is decorated, but also assisted in putting his designs into execution. On this beautiful tower the history of man's development is set forth in a series of small reliefs spiritedly executed, and in symbolical order. As Miss Horner has stated, "the basement story is decorated with bas-reliefs. Two on the northern face, representing sculpture and architecture, were executed by Giotto himself; the remaining five on this side are by Luca della Robbia, after Giotto's designs; and all the rest are by Andrea Pisano." These reliefs, in small hexagonal panels, deal with symbolical subjects, mythological subjects and Christian legendary subjects curiously inter-

* By the enterprise of the South Kensington Museum, casts of all the fragments of this pulpit have been made, and the whole set up in the court of the museum, where it can now be seen, and photographs of it procured. The pulpit, erected by Niccola Pisano in Siena, is still in place, and in perfect preservation.

mingled. The panels of the second row are lozenge-shaped and present the seven cardinal virtues, the seven sacraments, the seven works of mercy, and the seven necessary labors of man. Above the basement is a row of statues in niches; some of Giotto's own time; the most perfect instance of wholly independent and realized figure sculpture used in connection with Gothic forms.

Under the influence of Giotto, Andrea Pisano (about 1270 to 1345) arose to an independent and important position as a master. He assisted in executing the reliefs on the Campanile under Giotto's

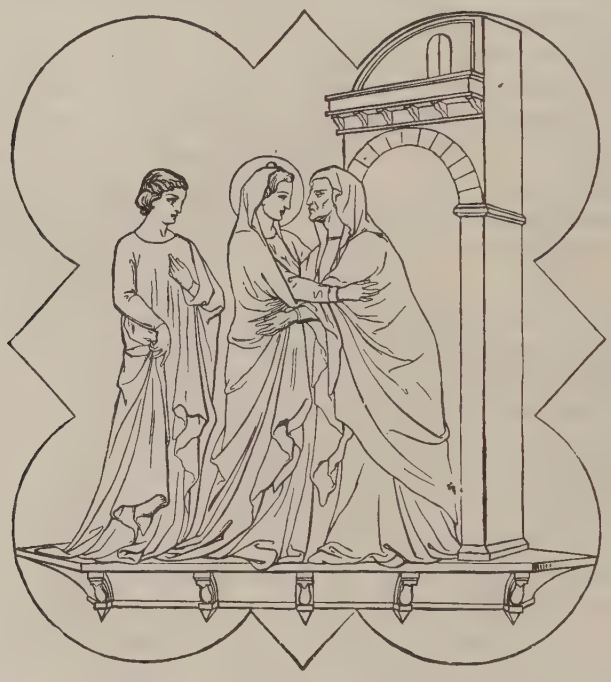


Fig. 420. Relief from the South Door of the Baptistery at Florence. By Andrea Pisano.

guidance. But his own masterpiece is preserved to us in the southern bronze door of the Baptistery at Florence, dating from the year 1330; without doubt one of the noblest works of this kind. The events in the life of John the Babtist, and also representations of the Virtues, are here given in twenty-eight panels, gracefully bordered, and in severe architectural arrangement. They are treated in an incomparably simple and severe style of relief. With the fewest possible means, and with the employment of two or three figures, every incident is described in a clear and lifelike manner; and the figures are

in the highest degree free and unconstrained (Fig. 420). About the same time (1330), the two Siennese artists, Agostino and Angelo—who worked in concert, and had already assisted Giovanni Pisano on the Cathedral at Orvieto—executed the Monument of Bishop Guido Tarlati in the Cathedral of Arezzo, which contains sixteen scenes in relief from the life of the dead man, besides a number of allegorical figures; and is one of the most comprehensive creations of that time. A very remarkable artist, Andrea di Cione (better known as Or-

Fig. 421. The Betrothal of the Virgin. From Orcagna's Shrine in Or San Michele. After C. C. Perkins.

cagna), who also attained great results in all three arts, marks the close of Florentine sculpture of this period (till 1376). His masterpiece of sculpture is the magnificent Tabernacle in the Church of Or San Michele in Florence (1359) one of the most splendid pieces of decorative art in the world. It is decorated with bright-colored mosaic patterns, besides a profusion of reliefs, illustrating the life of the Virgin, with single figures of the prophets, saints, and angels; the

whole expressing the Gothic devotional feeling with extreme grace and noble simplicity (Fig. 421). During this period there was also great activity displayed in sculpture in the other provinces of Italy, from Venice to Naples. The names of many artists have been preserved to us, and many splendid and incomparable works were executed. The churches of Naples, especially Santa Chiara and San Giovanni a Carbonara, contain a number of magnificent monuments of the princes of the house of Anjou; such are the tomb of King Robert, erected in 1343, more effective architecturally than in the separate pieces of sculpture, and several other tombs of strongly Gothic character ascribed to the little known Masuccio. These, on the whole, fall short of the spirit and delicacy of the Pisan school. Sculpture displayed a much richer, and, to a certain extent, a more independent activity, in Lombardy and Venetia than in the south; although, to be sure, we find a great many Tuscan artists employed there.

Thus, Giovanni di Balducco of Pisa erected in 1339 the splendid Monument of Peter Martyr for the chapel of that saint in the Church of St. Eustorgio in Milan—a marble sarcophagus, decorated with reliefs and statuettes, supported upon pillars, and with a beveled top. In the same church, the reliefs on the high altar, of scenes from the Passion, in a very animated style, are more indicative of an activity in sculpture than are the rather contracted Monuments of the Visconti in the side chapels. The Tomb of Barnabo Visconti (1354), in the Archæological Museum of the Brera, is original in design, with its clumsy equestrian statue. The Monuments of the Scaligers, at Santa Maria Antica in Verona, are more important; but they are of more value for their general effect as architectural designs than for their separate sculptures, whether of human subject or of pure decoration. The delicacy and firmness of the architectural details are only to be matched by the grace and spirit of the general design. The finest of all is probably that of Mastino II. (d. 1351); but the tomb of the most famous member of the house, Can Grande (d. 1329), which is erected over the entrance door of the church, is inferior only in that it is smaller and less sumptuous, while it cannot surpass in refinement or in power the larger work. Can Signorio erected his great tomb during his life, and it was probably finished about 1380. It is far inferior to the others in beauty, although much larger and more costly. Equestrian statues of the dead appear as the crowning figures on these monuments also; the most conspicuous example being the Tomb of Can Signorio. The rich sculptures of the Doges' Palace in Venice, coming down to about the middle of the fifteenth century, including the splendid decorations of the Porta

della Carta, are Gothic, although they contain slight hints of a transition to the Renaissance. The sculptured capitals of the south front on the harbor are of singular interest because philosophical and ecclesiastical ideas as held in the fourteenth century are mingled with the loveliest sculpturesque thought. The front on the piazzetta contains later repetitions of the same ideas. The magnificent groups at the angles—the Judgment of Solomon, the Drunkenness of Noah, and the Fall of Man—are each reinforced and emphasized by capitals of very great size, and of great richness immediately beneath them. The beautiful statues of the Madonna, of St. Mark, and of the apostles, on the lectern of the principal choir in the Church of St. Mark, belong to this period. To conclude, one of the finest of these works in the Arca (Tomb) of S. Augustine in the Cathedral at Pavia, of the year 1382, richly adorned with reliefs and statuettes. The composition is supported upon pillars, surmounted by a stately canopy, and entirely covered with decorations in sculpture, even to the interior of the canopy.

Painting is a more favorite art than even sculpture with the Italians at this period; and to it the creative spirits of the day turned with especial interest. The results attained by a previous age in this domain of art are merely beginnings out of which the marvelous flower of Italian painting, now for the first time, bloomed with ever-increasing magnificence. Painting was not now confined, as it had been in the north, to narrow altar-pieces, flat and undeveloped figures on rough stone walls, and the limited and labored technique of painting on glass; but it could now express exhaustively the whole scope and depth of Christian thought on the broad surfaces of walls and vaultings necessarily conceded to it by architecture. It could now, even in the most extended and permanent undertakings, have an eye to great general effects; it could learn to work boldly and freely on a broader plane; and could prove, with its full strength, that it was, in a special sense, the art of Christianity. In taking a rapid survey of the importance attained by this art in Italy, we willingly forget the want of consistency in her Gothic architecture, which indeed was largely instrumental, by means of the very peculiarities which separated it from the Gothic of the North, in paving the way for the development of painting.

To the thirteenth century belong the mosaics in the apses of S. Giovanni and S. Maria Maggiore, both executed, according to the inscription, by Jacobus Torriti. The latter, the Coronation of the Virgin, is a grand composition, a soft and noble metamorphosis of the old type. While these latter works belong to the close of the thirteenth century, the Baptistery at Florence possesses valuable ex-

amples of the early and middle part of the century in the extensive mosaics, which were designed for the choir by a monk named Jacobus, in 1225, and for the great main dome by Andrea Tafi, and his assistants. Here, again, we note plainly the struggle of a new and more natural spirit with the stiff Byzantine model. The same is true of the mosaics in the apse of the Cathedral at Parenzo, in Istria, on the eastern shore of the Adriatic, which represent the Virgin on a throne, surrounded by saints and angels.

The center of this art culture was Tuscany, where painting was fostered in different directions by two great local schools. The Florentine masters, especially, took in the life around them with a comprehensive glance, and united with this fresh observation a thoughtful representation of the sacred history, as in the lives of Christ, of the Virgin, and of the saints; but they also have produced compositions of a mysteriously symbolic character, which are full of numerous lifelike traits, and for which Dante's wonderful poem gave many suggestions.

Fig. 422. Angel. From Cimabue's Madonna in Santa Maria Novella.

Cimabue, named in the chapter on Romanesque art, is the first recognized master of the Florentine school, and it has been noted that he represents at once the old Byzantine feeling and the protest against it. The former influence is especially noticeable in a large picture of the Madonna, originally in Santa Trinità, and now in the Florentine Academy. In an earlier one, on the contrary, in the right wing of the transept of Santa Maria Novella, the master's art rises to grand beauty, which is united with a touch of more agreeable grace in the angels around the main figure and in the medallions of the border (Fig. 422). He painted an extensive series of mural pictures on the vaulting and upper wall-spaces of the upper Church of St. Francis at Assisi, which are still most lifelike, despite their bad state of preservation.

The great Giotto, whom we know already as an architect and sculptor, is the strongest master of this time; and his industry is shown by magnificent compositions scattered throughout Italy, from Venetia to the territory of Naples. Giotto's immense power is not to be judged by those who compare the anatomical correctness of his figures with similar work by later men. The artists who followed

Giotto rapidly gained in knowledge of the external facts of nature; but it was Giotto who inspired the later men with his spirit, and it is curious to see how commonly the accepted types of the important Biblical stories, as told in painting, were fixed, once for all, by the fourteenth-century masters. Giotto's mighty influence long left its impress upon the Italian art of his age. It is only in covering large spaces that his genius finds full expression. He always aims at what is essential and characteristic—at convincing clearness in depicting incidents, energetic delineation, and strong dramatic life. These traits are preëminently characteristic of his works, and are united with complete skill in the proportioning and arrangement of large compositions and extended series of pictures. With these traits, which he sets forth with his whole strength, the representation of single figures becomes almost a matter of indifference; and even beauty is not essential. The type of his heads is not entirely realistic; the traditional forms still exert their influence upon the designer; yet these heads are of an impressive, if not of a wholly attractive style. There is an undeniable trace of the slender, long, Byzantine faces and figures; but the inspiration of genius imparts to these a novel, youthful, and spirited strength. The artist seldom succeeds in portraying the passionate emotions—anger, hate, or rage—in his faces. Such attempts on his part are very apt to result in grimace. But in their attitude and grouping his figures admirably express every emotion; not only depth of feeling, but the stormy emotions as well, are depicted with striking power.

His greatness and importance are shown by three principal works. He executed, under the patronage of Enrico Scrovigno, soon after 1303, the almost endless series of pictures in the Church of Santa Maria dell' Arena (commonly called the Arena Chapel), at Padua. This is a long, single-naved building with a vaulted ceiling, the entire wall-surface and the vaulting of which he covered with pictures, representing the histories of Christ and of the Virgin, the Last Judgment being painted over the entrance door. Giotto proved himself in this production to be one of the greatest masters of any age. He freed from its bonds whatever had before him been conventional; went straight to the root of things, and seized upon the soul of an incident. Moving, stirring, profound, giving full expression to every sentiment of the soul, he throws a lofty dignity around the simplest, most unstudied effects. With his deficiency in accurate anatomical knowledge, he produces his effects by mere general indications; and it is something the same with color, which he uses in pale tones and with slight modeling. But, notwithstanding this, his power is striking, and the effect produced is irresistible. He has, besides, a sur-

prising insight into actual life, out of which he draws picturesque motives, which he treats with such dignity that they do not clash with the sacred, elevated, historical character of his subjects, and, in fact, bring this out into still greater prominence. In this spirit are the scenes where Joachim approaches the shepherds in the field, in great tribulation; where, returning, he embraces his wife in happy emotion; as well as others. Many express passionate feeling; as where St. John with arms extended above the corpse of his beloved Lord, appears about to throw himself upon it (Fig. 423).

Fig. 423. The Entombment. From Giotto's Fresco in the Arena Chapel at Padua.

The pictures on the vault over the altar of the Lower Church of San Francesco at Assisi form another important series. The four pendentives of the vaulting contain grand, deeply symbolical creations, crowded with figures, in which are symbolized the three vows of the Franciscan order—Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience; and the Glorification of S. Francis is also given. The artist has here imparted to the dry allegory a breath of life and freshness, and has also clearly demonstrated his skill by the noble and harmonious filling up of the space.

The great monastic Church of Santa Croce in Florence has a number of frescos by this great master, recently brought out from under

a coating of whitewash. In the first chapel south of the choir (the Bardi Chapel) is the history of S. Francis; in the second (the Peruzzi Chapel) are the lives of S. John the Baptist and S. John the Evangelist, in masterly style; as well as an altar-piece, the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin, in the Baroncelli Chapel, at the end of the southern transept. The beautiful Last Supper, in the former refectory adjoining Santa Croce, is also by him or by a pupil.

In Rome, the porch of S. Peter's Church has a large picture in mosaic, executed after a design by Giotto, in which, according to accepted symbolism, the Church of Christ is represented by the ship of S. Peter tossed upon a tempestuous sea. While demons increase the fury of the storm, Christ, walking upon the waves, brings help and consolation, and extends his hand to the sinking Peter. This was of course executed for the earlier church, the basilica; and was preserved and removed to the narthex of the existing church. The interesting paintings discovered about 1840, and then thought to be by Giotto, including the portrait of Dante as a young man, are now generally admitted to be of a time subsequent to his death.

Among the few panel-paintings by Giotto, we must notice a series of twenty-six pictures which he executed for the sacristy presses of Santa Croce in Florence. These are almost all preserved in the Academy at Florence (where there is also a large magnificent altar-piece formerly in the convent of the Ognisanti), although there are several in the Berlin Museum. These small, miniature-like pictures, the themes of which are the lives of Christ and of St. Francis, display Giotto's usual distinctness and animated suggestiveness of narration.

An extraordinary profusion of paintings, especially of frescos, in the churches of Florence and other Tuscan cities, shows how absolutely Giotto dominated the painting of his day. The chapels, chapter houses, and sacristies of the great monastic churches—as of Santa Croce, Santa Maria Novella, Santa Maria del Carmine in Florence, and San Francesco and the Campo Santo in Pisa—are rich in works in this style, often displaying Giotto's methods in broad treatment and masterly composition. Taddeo Gaddi is one of his most important pupils whose names have come down to us; he is the artist of the Life of the Blessed Virgin in Santa Croce. So also Spinello Aretino, who decorated the Sacristy of San Miniato with interesting scenes from the life of St. Benedict (Fig. 424). Still another is Niccola di Pietro. The last two belong to about 1390. Among the grandest cyclic representatives of this school, the paintings in the chapter hall of S. Maria Novella, the so-called Capella de' Spagnuoli, executed about 1355, are particularly noteworthy. Their sub-

ject is the glorification of S. Dominic and his order, but they begin with the Redeemer's Progress to Golgotha, the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, and Ascension; on the wall to the right the spiritual and temporal power are represented by the Pope and the Emperor, together with the high clergy and the secular princes; and under their protection S. Dominic and his followers are seen teaching the faithful, and guarding them from heresy. On the left S. Thomas Aquinas appears enthroned, at his feet the conquered heretics Arius, Averroës, and Sabellius, and on both sides the solemn figures of saints and prophets. Finally, below this row there are fourteen

Fig. 424. S. Benedict exorcising Demons. Fresco in San Miniato, by Spinello Aretino.

female figures personifying the virtues, the arts, and the sciences, with historical or mythological personages representative of these mental tendencies placed at their feet. Scholastic as is the theme, a profusion of significant characteristics is brought into prominence in its presentment. These works have been generally ascribed to Taddeo Gaddi, and the important Crucifixion over the altar is assigned to Simone Martini; but later criticism assigns the last-named work to Antonio Veneziano (died about 1390), and the others generally to Andrea da Firenze, in the early years of the fifteenth century.

Orcagna, who has already come under our notice as an architect and sculptor, is one of the most noted successors of Giotto, and allied to him in genius. The Strozzi Chapel in Santa Maria Novella at Florence contains a number of his creations. There is a representation of the Last Judgment on the wall above and on either side the window. The Judge of the world, enthroned in solemn majesty, is surrounded by floating angels with trumpets and instruments of martyrdom. The Madonna and S. John the Baptist are kneeling in attitudes of humble supplication; adjoining, on either side, are the sturdy, vigorous figures of the apostles; below, men rising from the dead, a multitude of saints and of the congregation of the faithful, all bright figures upon a dark-blue ground, and all of great beauty. The predominant expression, however, is that of character and impressiveness. The representation of Paradise on the left wall is still more remarkable. Christ is enthroned beside the Madonna, beneath a Gothic canopy, surrounded by angels. The whole remaining space is occupied by twelve rows of figures of saints, containing seven on either side, traditionally stiff in arrangement, and lacking in picturesque grouping; but the glorious beauty of the heads, the free and characteristic treatment of the single figures, the inexhaustible variety in the arrangement of the draperies are truly delightful. No other picture in the whole Gothic period unites such incomparable richness and beauty. The coloring is clear, light, and warm; the faces are of a lovely oval shape, with noble, youthful features, a delicate profile, and careful modeling, with warm tones in the shading. There is a marked improvement upon the manner of Giotto in the drawing and pose of the figures. The same may be said of the altar-piece of this chapel, painted on panel and rising above a predella, which is inscribed with Orcagna's name and the date 1357. On this Christ is represented throned in glory, and surrounded by angels, giving the key to the kneeling S. Peter with his left hand; while with his right he gives the book to S. Thomas Aquinas, who is also represented as kneeling, and presented by the Madonna. Another altar-piece by the same master, divided into numerous compartments, now in the National Gallery in London, was formerly in the Church of San Pietro Maggiore in Florence. The middle compartment contains a Coronation of the Blessed Virgin, consisting of numerous figures, constrained in attitude, but with fine heads and magnificent draperies.

The great pictures, in the Campo Santo at Pisa, of the Last Judgment, and more especially the Triumph of Death, illustrate this master's profound knowledge of composition and his powerful grasp of the meaning of life. These works were universally ascribed to him

upon Vasari's authority, until Crowe and Cavalcaselle raised the point of their genuineness. They are now commonly ascribed to Pietro and Broggio Lorenzetti of Siena (died about 1350). It is not to be denied that these pictures differ essentially from the manner of Orcagna's acknowledged works; but certainly the yet undiscovered artist belongs to the most noted masters of that day. This is especially true of the Triumph of Death. If in other great works of the kind the painter was obliged to follow the traditions of the Church, in this a great master sets forth the transitoriness of all that is earthly in a free, bold style, and exhibits Death as the implacable

Fig. 425. Group of Beggars. From the Triumph of Death; ascribed to Orcagna.

destroyer of all that is blooming, fair, and glorious. On the right there is a company of knights and ladies, in the costumes of the period, on a flowery sward, bordered by luxurious orange-trees, amid whose branches Cupids are hovering—the knights with falcons on their hands, the ladies with lap-dogs. They are listening in pleasant ease to the strains of the lute and to song; so that one fancies himself transported into the gay company of "The Decameron" of Boccaccio. But meanwhile the frightful form of Death, in the guise of a hideous woman, comes unexpected, rushing through the air, with black hair streaming, the sickle sweeping for the fatal stroke.

Strewed about her in ghastly heaps lies a rich harvest of death—princes and lords of the world, whose souls are borne away by devils and angels descending. These fortunate mortals have fallen a prey to death without a note of warning; while a group of the sick, the halt, and the wretched are represented with arms outstretched toward the Angel of Death, supplicating in vain her whom they regard as

Fig. 426. Madonna. By Guido da Siena. Church of S. Dominic, Siena.

their only friend (Fig. 425). High rocks tower up, from whose clefts issues a gay cavalcade of lords and ladies hunting. But suddenly the animals start back, the hounds become restless, and the gallant train comes to a halt; for directly in front of this smiling life three graves open, showing the moldering corpses of princes. A gray-bearded hermit stands by, and points out to the great ones of the earth the terrible reminder of the nothingness of all earthly things.

Farther up the mountain height are other pious men, who lead a life of renunciation in a solitude consecrated to the service of God, far from the whirl of life. In the regions of the air, good and bad spirits are contending for the souls of the departed. The saved are borne away to the right, by soaring angels, into blessedness; the damned are plunged, by fantastic demon-shapes, into the fiery abyss of a flaming mountain. Perhaps the triumph of death over the whole of creation has never been so poetically and powerfully depicted. The

Fig. 427. From Duccio's Picture in the Cathedral of Siena.

execution is slight, and does not attain the tranquil beauty and purity of the pictures in Santa Maria Novella; but the impress of a great master is unmistakable. Here, as in Santa Maria Novella, adjoining a fresco of the Last Judgment, is a representation of Hell by Bernardo Orcagna, the brother of Andrea; but whereas the Campo Santo picture is distinguished by a certain horribleness and weirdness, that in Santa Maria Novella is merely an unfortunate attempt to translate into painting the wonderful grouping and herding together of the wretched souls in Dante's "Inferno."

The great Sienese master, Duccio di Buoninsegna, although his work extends into the fourteenth century, based it upon Byzantine

tradition; but it coupled it with a grace, beauty, and vigor which testify to a free artistic conception. His great altar-piece in the Siena Cathedral, finished in 1311, and now, unfortunately, hanging in a wing of the transept of the same church in a very unfavorable light, portrays on the principal side the Madonna between saints arranged in rows, full of beauty and charm, although in the Byzantine manner. On the other side are scenes from Christ's passion, in smaller figures, from which we copy the expressive group of the Washing of the Disciples' Feet (Fig. 427). Severe elevation of style unites with deep thought, noble beauty, and emotional strength to produce a strangely effective picture.

The school of Siena is essentially different from that of Florence. In fact, the Sienese school aims less at representing actual life than at portraying the inner life of feeling. It reaches out even toward mysticism. Its artists commonly devote themselves to a loving delineation of single figures, beautiful with the loveliness of the soul, which they represent oftener within the confined limits of altar-pieces than in extended frescos. In this respect they are related to Northern art. Simone di Martino generally but erroneously styled Simone Memmi (1276-1344), is the chief artist of this school. His few pictures—for instance, a Madonna with saints in the Academy of Siena, and two Madonnas in the Berlin Museum—breathe a profound sensibility and spiritual beauty. His masterpiece, however, is the wall-picture of the Madonna as the Queen of Heaven, in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena. Under a canopy held by the patron saints of the city the sublime form of the heavenly Queen is enthroned with the Christ-child standing in her lap. Two kneeling angels are offering baskets with roses, while many saints surround the Mother of God like a heavenly bodyguard. This important work is characterized by noble rhythm, majesty, and graceful expression. Simone left Italy and worked at the papal court in Avignon from 1339 until his death. In the great palace of the popes considerable remains of his mural paintings are to be seen in both chapels; in the lower, the story of John the Baptist; in the upper, several legends of saints, productions of great exuberance and vital power, mighty and yet graceful forms. The same style is exhibited in the pictures of prophets, dignified and simple in their finished modeling, which were displayed on the vaults of the imposing Hall of the Consistory. The paintings in the vestibule of the cathedral near by are much destroyed, however, although they allow features of the same artistic manner to be recognized. Lippo Memmi should be singled out from other Sienese masters; his altar-pieces are in the manner of Simone. For the Palazzo Pubblico at San Gimignano he painted in 1317 a

large wall-picture of the Madonna enthroned with saints, which in its main features resembles that of his brother-in-law. Furthermore the brothers Pietro and Ambrogio Lorenzetti, who have been named already, must be ranked high among their contemporaries. Of these, the younger, Ambrogio, executed from 1337 onward, the large mural paintings in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena, depicting the government of Good and Evil in a profusion of highly fantastic and poetic traits. Especially the gigantic form of the good ruler enthroned amid graceful female figures representative of the regent's virtues, is of striking grandeur. Below, the senators of Siena are seen approaching from the right, while on the left of the mighty ruler the malefactors are led in fetters by the myrmidons to the steps of the throne.

The power of the Sienese school was limited. Far from attaining to a larger, more intense life, this school soon lapses into an idyllic, tranquil existence. It allows the great transformations which swept over Italian art in the fifteenth century to pass unheeded, and finally abandons itself to a mere mechanical repetition of traditional formulas.

A new and thoroughly independent development of painting took place in Italy in the beginning of the fifteenth century. The distinctive features of the new method were a vigorous comprehension of nature, a thorough study of form, and a complete insight into coloring and perspective. Almost all the painters of this epoch united in establishing a new manner, known as the realistic, and in thus laying the foundations of modern art. One artist, however, in the seclusion of his cloister, remained true to the traditions and mode of expression of the Middle Ages, into which, nevertheless, the incomparable beauty and feeling of his nature breathed fresh life. Fra Giovanni Angelico—called da Fiesole, from the place of his birth (1387-1455)—occupies an entirely exceptional position. He is the late-blooming flower of an almost bygone time amid the pulsations of a new life. Never, in the whole range of pictorial art, have the inspired fervor of Christian feeling, the angelic beauty and purity of which the soul is capable, been so gloriously interpreted as in his works. The exquisite atmosphere of an almost supernaturally ideal life surrounds his pictures, irradiates the rosy features of his youthful faces, or greets us, like the peace of God, in the dignified figures of his devout old men. His prevailing themes are the humility of soul of those who have joyfully accepted the will of God, and the tranquil Sabbath calm of those who are lovingly consecrated to the service of the Highest. The movement and the changing course of life, the energy of passion and action, concern him not. His range is limited,

FRA ANGELICO

MADONNA OF THE STAR, IN THE CONVENT OF SAN MARCO, FLORENCE

although a continuation of that which the Sienese strove after. But within its confines he attained the highest excellence; and he gave to the ideal a more complete development, by means of glowing coloring, imperishable freshness and beauty of tints, and delicate modeling, as well as by an unsurpassable arrangement of drapery and by distinct grouping and an impressive harmony. All of this goes hand-in-hand with a charming, miniature-like delicacy of execution. Numerous panel-pictures, generally of small dimensions, exhibit the harmonious beauty of his art. There is a lack of lifelike energy, however, in his larger figures. There are a number of his smaller pictures in the Academy at Florence, among them a beautiful Life of the Lord, from which we give a Coronation of the Blessed Virgin (Fig. 428).

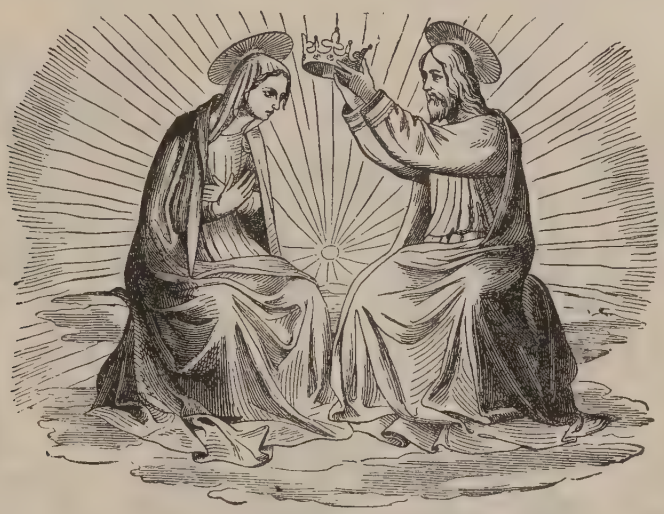


Fig. 428. The Coronation of the Virgin. By Fra Angelico.

Christ is represented sitting upon clouds by his mother's side. He is placing the crown upon her gently bowed head with both hands, while her hands are crossed upon her breast in modest acceptance. Her whole attitude expresses profound humility and wonder at the honor conferred upon her. The drapery of both figures falls in folds of extreme beauty, and completes the incomparable harmony of the whole picture. There is a picture with the same subject, of similar treatment, in the Louvre at Paris.

One of his most glorious works is a small altar-piece, formerly in the Sacristy of Santa Maria Novella at Florence, now in the old Convent of San Marco in the same city, which has been converted

into a museum for the works of the great master. This altar-piece is a triptych, in three compartments—containing the Annunciation, the Adoration of the three Kings, and the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin. All in a style of the greatest beauty, fervor, and delicacy; the forms finely rounded and excellently draped; the Madonna in the deepest humility, Christ in glorious majesty. This Convent of San Marco in Florence, of which Fra Giovanni was a brother, possesses a series of his finest wall-pictures. In the chapter hall is Christ on the Cross, mourned by his disciples and by the representatives of the church. This is of great earnestness, beauty, and dignity. There are numerous pictures, besides, in the separate cells, characterized by profound fervor; as, for example, the Resurrection, and Christ meeting Mary in the Garden after the Resurrection. The most sublime

Fig. 429. S. Stephen giving Alms. From the Fresco, by Fra Angelico, in the Chapel of Nicholas V., in the Vatican. See also Fig. 420.

of all his works are the paintings on the vaultings of the Chapel of the Madonna di San Brizio in the Cathedral at Orvieto; Christ as the Judge of the world, powerful, impressive, and—what is singular enough—with that energetic movement of the hand, in rejecting the wicked, which Michelangelo afterward employed with such effect in his picture of the Last Judgment. Beside him are beautiful choirs of angels, and angels with trumpets; then the prophets, a wonderfully

composed group of noble figures. Finally in old age (1447) he designed representations from the lives of Saints Stephen and Laurence in the Chapel of Pope Nicholas V. in the Vatican. In these he has taken hold of the problems of life with the energy of a genuine artist, who does not hold himself obstinately aloof from the movements of a new period (Fig. 429).

From 1350 to 1450 there were numerous capable artists in Italy, who to a certain extent were under the dominion of Giotto's influence, but who also modified in an independent manner the general style of

Fig. 430. Extreme Unction. One of the Series of Frescos in the Church of the Incoronata in Naples.

the time. Aldighiero da Zevio is among the most celebrated of these, who decorated the walls of the Chapel of San Felice, in the Church of San Antonio in Padua, in 1370; also Jacopo d' Avanzo, who carried these same paintings to completion, and also decorated the Chapel of St. George adjoining San Antonio, and whose works are conspicuous for liveliness of conception, and richness of coloring. The school of Venice, in the strict sense, begins with the pictures of Antonio Vivarini and Giovanni Alemano (called also Giovanni da Murano), who painted in Venice about this time. In the March of Ancona, that pleasing artist, Gentile da Fabriano, painted pictures,

about the year 1450, which remind us of Giovanni da Fiesole in their tenderness and fervor of sentiment. He is inferior to that artist in religious zeal and devotion; but he excels him in a *naïve,* spontaneous way of treating real life. A joyous, noble spirit is expressed in his paintings, of which, unfortunately, a number of the most excellent have perished. One of the most celebrated of those that have come down to us is an Adoration of the Magi, of the year 1423, now in the Florentine Academy. This is rich in figures and poetical in spirit. There is also an admirable Coronation of the Blessed Virgin, in the Brera Gallery at Milan, by him; and the Berlin Museum owns an Adoration of the Magi which, not less pleasing, exhibits the graceful impress of his art.

In Naples, on the vault of the little Church of Santa Maria l'Incoronata, is a series of pictures, rich in motive, formerly ascribed to Giotto, but now known not to be his, yet showing the hand of an artist influenced by that great master. They embrace the Seven Sacraments (Fig. 430), and also an allegorical Glorification of the Church. The great unknown artist has embodied his subject with a few significant touches in some distinct incident which is narrated with much force of characterization and an abundance of lifelike and striking details. The Sacrament of Penance is especially full of tremendous power. The Sacrament of the Holy Communion is represented with inspiring devotion. Very few figures are introduced in any of the subjects, and the composition and disposition in the space allotted are admirable.

In comparing the general results of the Gothic epoch in Italy with artistic efforts in the North, the fact cannot be disputed that the artistic ideal in the countries north of the Alps was unmistakably an architectural one; in favor of which, Sculpture, and still more Painting, was forced to renounce an independent development. Whereas, in Italy, that lofty architectural ideal gave way before the general development of all three arts, which henceforth march forward hand-in-hand, endowed with equal importance, and contributing to each other's progress. If, in the end, Painting arrived at the highest results of the three arts, it was because of an inner necessity, which was a part of her nature, and which, as we have already stated, made her peculiarly the Christian art, the interpretress of the entire range of Christian thought.

HISTORY OF ART

OUTLINES

OF THE

HISTORY OF ART

BY

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THE ART OF MODERN TIMES.

OUTLINES OF THE HISTORY OF ART

Chapter I.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF MODERN ART.*

EVEN in the Middle Ages there were not wanting heralds who announced the dawn of the new day. Feudalism could not restrain all the strong tendencies toward individual liberty which were natural to the populations of Europe. We have seen how in its very beginning, the strong Gothic architecture, the purest off-spring of the mediæval mind, showed signs of decay, and began very soon to lose its strength and squander its energies in a capricious play with decorative forms; but we have discovered, at the same time, in the works of sculptors and painters, a deep longing to prove by their own works the miraculous power of their new faith. The breath of a more deeply stirred mental life began to vivify the severe typical forms. So long as the individual was fettered by his municipality, his craft and guild, he could not rise to independence and freedom of thought; but where he depended

*Symonds, J. A., "Renaissance in Italy," (7 vols., different subtitles.) Müntz, E., "Les Précurseurs de la Renaissance; Histoire de l'Art pendant la Renaissance" (3 vols., pub., Italy). De Laborde, "La Renaissance des Arts à la Cour de France." Pattison, Mrs. Mark, "The Renaissance of Art in France." Burckhardt, J., "Der Cicerone; Geschichte Der Renaissance" (English translation, "The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy").

boldly upon his own strength, the fast-decaying restraints fell away, and the end of the Middle Ages was at hand.

A series of great events came to the help of this struggle with its mighty pulsations. Their influence, united with that of the new spirit, forced its way everywhere, changing the whole aspect of Europe from the very foundation, and offering to Western humanity a range of ideas and incitements hitherto undreamed of. About the middle of the fifteenth century the discovery of the art of printing endowed thought with wings, on which it was borne in its flight from land to land, from people to people, passing the narrow limits of nations, and uniting the spirits of men by a common bond. About the same time the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks diverted a stream of Grecian culture toward the West, bringing abundant nourishment to the vividly awakened taste for the antique. Lastly, before the century had run its course, the discovery of the passage around the Cape of Good Hope, and that of a new hemisphere, marvelously enlarged men's knowledge of the home of the human race, overturning at one blow time-honored theories, and unlocking new kingdoms, not to the spirit of inquiry alone, but to imagination in its widest range. The ancient Earth herself seemed to burst her fetters, and to lay open new and boundless realms beyond the limits hitherto supposed to be impassable. The mediæval conception of the universe had gone; how could the mediæval law of existence longer maintain its right? All the contracted circles within which the world had so long been moving began to give way, and the inward disintegration was unceasingly accompanied by a universal revolution of outward existence. The municipal republics of the Middle Ages powerlessly succumbed to the pressure which everywhere was bringing about the formation of great states and extensive political organizations. The idea of the modern state began to form and to realize itself, and the power of the sovereign arose upon the ruins of mediæval liberties and communities.

But that which victoriously asserted itself within all this mighty fermentation, amid all the struggles of power, craft, and daring, during this wonderful period, was the independent self-consciousness of the individual, the greatness of personal genius. This was to be strengthened through a renewed and earnest study of antiquity, which was to bring on a period of higher culture, destined to make an end of the narrow scholasticism of the Middle Ages, and to unite all who aspired. The choicest spirits pressed forward to the study of classic literature with all the enthusiasm of youth, ransacked the monastic libraries for the forgotten writings of the Greeks and Romans, and shared with one another—at first by means of manuscript copies,

afterward through the newly discovered art of printing—the treasures which they found. Quickened by these studies, new conceptions of life and the world began to be diffused abroad; and the ossified forms of the scholasticism and dogmatism of the Middle Ages sank back to nothingness before the torch of the humanities. The Church herself could not close her doors upon the strong spirit that fain would penetrate everywhere; and even the Vatican unbarred her gates to it, and the Vicar of Christ rivaled the temporal lords and princes in his fostering care of the reawakened spirit of Pagan antiquity.

This complete revolution of life and thought necessarily exerted a great, and in many respects a favorable, influence upon the development of art. Henceforth, in every field of art, we find a predominance of individual imagination over tradition. During the Middle Ages, the creations of art had been very largely controlled by traditional—chiefly ecclesiastic—habits of thought. Custom determined the material, the conception, and the treatment; and as the work of art was made subordinate to the church use for which it was designed, so the name of the individual artist was forgotten in his production. We have already seen how first, in Italy, the individual pride of the artist was aroused; how the more unshackled and independent significance of art led the way to new fields, to a broader perspective; but only now the results of this struggle were gained, and the last steps were taken. Art did not dream of divorcing herself from religion. She still continued, perhaps with more earnestness than ever, to build, to carve, and to paint in the service of the Church; but the artist held a freer attitude toward tradition. He learned to translate the sacred legends and the doctrines of Christianity into his own language, drew a new inspiration for these subjects out of his own consciousness, and evolved a new method of treatment out of his loving study of nature and the works of antique art. Thus originated and developed purely artistical ideas which, as if shut up in buds, were already warming into life in the attempts of an earlier epoch, and now burst forth in full bloom. Nature no longer confronted the artist with an unfriendly or enigmatical mien. He dared to gaze full upon her in all her beauty, to exhaust it by deep and searching study, and to clothe her forms with a power of realism of which mediæval art did not dare to think. The study of anatomy and perspective, the more delicate observations of the effects of light and atmosphere, and the consequent perfection of coloring even to the softest shading, were the results of these efforts. The moment the artist had taken his position as a creator in the midst of life, every other individual necessarily became for him an object of earnest and loving representation. The

symbolizing idealism of the Middle Ages died out; realism unfolded its banner, and started on its conquering march through the world.

Thence it came about that the soul, desiring to take its living, personal part in the objects to be represented, began to contemplate religious subjects no longer for their piety alone, but as much on account of the purely artistic motives which they offered to the eye as for the sake of the deeply human truth and beauty which the heart recognized in them. Works of art were now produced to satisfy a strong instinct of the soul, a personal love for the beauitful and the sublime, and no longer simply to meet the needs of a church. No wonder, then, if these creations laid claim to acceptance for their own sake, proclaiming as they did what is eternal in every human breast, not in compliance with a command of the Church, but urged by that inner voice, and so standing as equal revelations of the divine. On the other hand, however, Art held fast to the traditional subject-matter and so retained an important advantage. She continued to be understood by the people at large, and was not limited, as in later times, to that narrow circle of culture on the heights of society, in whose refined and icy atmosphere her freedom is in danger of being stifled. And, besides, she was relieved of the strain of continually seeking after some new subject, and could devote her unbroken freshness to the theme already presented, and spend her whole force upon its artistic formation. In a word, she remained true to a circle of ideal conceptions—an inestimable advantage at a time when such powerful attractions toward the material, and toward cosmic realities, existed. Hence the realism of this epoch went to extremes only in exceptional cases; rather, as in the golden age of Grecian art, it brought about a compromise, in which an harmonious union of the ideal subject with a form true to nature was effected.

But the sister arts did not travel toward their new goal in the same manner, nor follow a common course. As an unmistakable sign of the individualistic character of the epoch, the destinies of the different arts are henceforth distinct; and, in connection with this fact, the diverging efforts of the North and the South become now, for the first time, apparent, with all the consequences of this divergence. This discrepancy of aim endures for a century. The observer must henceforth separate architecture from sculpture and painting, and for all the time which elapses before the beginning of the classical Renaissance in the North, and Italian art from art outside of Italy. To be sure, there first arises a golden time, when, under the sway of mighty masters, works are produced in Italy in which all the arts are harmoniously combined. During the period, perhaps, from 1420 to

1520—that is to say, from the first dawn of the Renaissance to the death of Raphael—the sister arts ruled a common territory, still preserving the close union which had bound them all through the Middle Ages; though, in the atmosphere of the new time, the intimate relations of painting and sculpture were dissolving. Thus arises that long series of master works in which the lifelike freshness of the study of nature lends a higher freedom and completeness to the graphic and plastic arts; while their connection with architecture, which had likewise cast off some of its restraints, saved them from a one-sided pursuit of individual goals, and from the final consequences of that tendency. Everything during that golden age, in Italy at least, held as by a fortunate balance in perfect harmony, floats before the gaze of the spectator clothed with the magic of an almost unearthly loveliness; nor does creative genius in any period of art, the most blooming period of Greece alone excepted, succeed in so glorifying the earthly in its inspired work. But only too soon the dissolution of the ancient union begins; and, divided one from another, the isolated arts pursue their several ways; painting and sculpture, especially, forsaking the trammels of architecture, and seeking to build up for themselves a new and independent existence. This fact has been often lamented; and it is not to be denied that it has its dark side, and that a too exclusively separate development of the graphic and the plastic arts could not take place but by the loss of a great monumental style. But even this is only the fulfilment of an historical tendency, which we must strive to understand; and if we only consider how long sculpture, at least, had worn the chains of architecture, how long it was compelled to subordinate activity in favor of the supremacy of the sovereign art, we shall not be much surprised at the new and long-deferred freedom which gave to the arts of representation an opportunity to follow their own laws, urging them on to all possible attainment within the circle of their special operation.

From 1420 in Italy, and from 1500 in the North, the separation is almost complete. Architecture goes on her own way, seeking a new law for her formations in antique art. There is, indeed, a transition period, during which, both in church architecture and in secular buildings, a combination is attempted of the time-honored forms of the Middle Ages. But this course is ere long entirely abandoned. Mediæval traditions are altogether broken with, and an effort is made to take up a much older tradition, which, however, was but little understood by those who sought to follow it—that of the antique world. Though the classic forms do not appear as a necessary outgrowth of organic life, seeming more like the noble shell which infolds the body of the structure, the very fact of this slight-

ness of relation gives the new architecture liberty harmoniously to fulfill all the necessary requirements of its existence. The arts of representation are undoubtedly more independent; and in Italy, where it had been possible to preserve the ancient supremacy of architecture unimpaired, during the whole Gothic epoch, the new liberty of the art of painting tells for good. Monumental painting, on a great scale, the thoughtful intensity of the great cycle of painting—in the course of which the universally received Christian ideas continued to form the subject-matter for general treatment—was now united to that wonderful power of portrayal with all the truth of nature, that complete grasp of the life of the individual, which exercised a magic charm over the souls of all men, and which was never within the scope of the less perfect productions of mediæval art. The subject of representation was no longer limited by the dictates of the Church, but was suggested by the instinct for what is true and divine deep in the soul of the individual artist; so that works of art had become things to treasure and admire, not because they told the well-known sacred histories, but because they contained within themselves a world of independent and sensitive beauty.

The reason why painting takes the lead more prominently than ever among the arts, and draws to itself, more than ever before, the force of creative genius, is made evident by the whole tendency of the time. It had proved itself to be preëminently *the* Christian art even during the Middle Ages, and sculpture had retreated to a subordinate position. The object of the sculptor is the representation of the perfect form of the human body. This task had been so completely accomplished by Grecian art that no possible improvement was conceivable. The striving after ideal beauty, however, necessitates, at the same time, a tendency toward generalization, the study of the human form considered as such. For the individual, the particular can assert itself only in a deviation from the general law; and through the predominance of the characteristic, the universal beauty is sacrificed. While in antique sculpture the idea of beauty is analyzed, and separated into distinct concrete forms, just as the full light resolves itself into the prismatic colors, we find that the result is a representation of general conceptions, of common distinctions of age and sex, never of separate individuals. Hence it happens that perfect physical beauty can be expressed only by the representation of the nude form; and that, at the utmost, a drapery like the antique, revealing rather than concealing the body, can alone be adapted to the proper aim of sculpture. But in proportion as the perfection of the whole body is especially emphasized, the deeper significance, the more thoughtful expression of the face, becomes of less importance;

for the characterization of the head must be reduced to that degree which accords best with the complete development of the body as a whole. The more completely the antique ideal harmonized with these conditions, the more decidedly opposed to them was the Christian conception. At an epoch when physical beauty was accounted of little importance, at first even dangerous, and always doubtful in its tendency; when all its value was estimated by its devotion to the highest aims, and that which is spiritual, the inner life of the soul, held the first place—sculpture was necessarily stunted; and even when, during the Middle Ages, as in the case of Niccola Pisano, the antique beauty sought to domesticate itself under the guise of Christian themes, the subject soon reacted so powerfully against the unwonted form that this was speedily thrown aside like an empty husk.

When at last, with the epoch of the Renaissance, the antique was again laid hold upon more intensely, earnestly, and comprehensively, as a type worthy of imitation, one might have imagined for the moment that a new and golden age of sculpture had at last arrived. And, in fact, it started upon a glorious course at first, bringing forth works of thoroughly original beauty, for which the antique may have served as a suggestion or an inspiration, but whose essence, for all that, was an entirely independent one. Thus delusion did not last long; for even during the best time of this revival of sculpture, it never, on the whole, attains the importance of contemporaneous painting; indeed, the preëminent characteristics which appeal to us in its productions are unmistakably rather of the picturesque than of the plastic kind. And this is no marvel, if we consider that what filled the mind of the artist, and irresistibly impelled all his creative powers to do their work of representation, was preëminently the life of the individual, the special characteristics of the single figures, the spirited expression of the emotions, as revealed in momentary movements of the body. Yielding to this passionate impulse, all mediæval tradition had to give way; the sacred figures were forced to abandon the abstract ideal background of early art, and step forth upon the streets and squares of the fifteenth century into the freedom and open air of the natural world, not unfrequently disguised in the gay costume of the day. That vigorous race of men was so *naïvely* absorbed in the joy of its own existence that the saints of the Old and New Covenants, as well as the legendary worthies, were usually compelled to purchase by an enforced masquerading in the costume of the time the right of being, in art, at all; and, even where the ancient spirit prevailed so far as to urge the employment of an ideal drapery, no incongruity was felt in bringing it into direct contact with recent styles of dress. This tendency compelled sculpture to take to by-paths remote

from its proper, open road; namely, into too strongly emphasizing what was characteristic, and in a treatment of relievo which resembles paintings transferred to stone or wood in the dense grouping of figures and the perspective-like background of landscape and architecture.

Thus we clearly perceive that the leading feature of the time is its continual tendency toward the pictorial. Painting is, and henceforth continues to be, the art *par excellence* of modern times. It does not aim at perfect physical beauty; it offers, in general, only a hint, a deceptive appearance, of reality. But in rejecting so much that is important, on the one hand, on the other it gains something not less desirable by way of compensation. It is enabled by means of the newly discovered expedient of perspective, and by the use of color, continually brought to a higher degree of perfection, to spread out a greater number of figures, more richly grouped upon a wide plain, emancipating them from the ideal gold background of mediæval art, setting them in the midst of the laughing loveliness of Nature, beneath the blue heaven, in a green, smiling landscape, or else among splendid halls stretching out into the perspective of a gorgeous architecture, reviving with a new meaning the old sacred narratives in the bright and cheerful drapery of the time. All force and depth of characterization, all passionate, momentary action, all free play of individual life, is seized upon with youthful energy, until we are so carried away, so charmed, by this true-hearted earnestness and loving childlikeness, that we no longer remember the anachronism, but are devoutly thankful that we are permitted to bathe in the inexhaustible fount of life and happiness which wells from those productions.

As is always the case, the spiritual needs of the time create suitable technical expedients. Fresco, with its clear, light tones, its free, bold treatment, its durable, solid techinque, seems already, in Giotto's time, to have taken the place of the old, limited tempera painting for wall-pictures; that is to say, for the largest and most artistically important paintings of the time. Henceforth it alone is employed in the carrying out of great monumental paintings. An invention of still greater importance was introduced into Flanders by the brothers Van Eyck, and spread with great rapidity through all the art schools of Europe. This was oil-painting, the future employment of which was to lead to wholly new tendencies in art, to new effects, and to new aims; and which offered to the realistic tendency of the time an unrivaled technical method by means of its solidity, transparent clearness, and melting softness. The discovery was, however, not that of the possibility of using oil as a vehicle; it was rather the discovery

of a good drier—a trustworthy means of causing the mixture of pigment with oil to solidify and harden. Still further discoveries should be noted here; namely, the art of taking prints, as on paper, from engravings on copper, and what is called, inaccurately, engraving on the wood block, by which means artistic conceptions were widely diffused through mechanical multiplication, thereby bringing about reacting influences of the various masters and schools upon each other. These branches of artistic representation were of intrinsic importance for the art of Northern countries, especially of Germany, where they were cultivated with the greatest zeal. Art never came to the same widespread bloom in the North as it did in Italy, owing to the stunting and breaking up of the great artistic life in the course of the fifteenth century, first as a result of the Reformation, and later of the religious and political distractions which followed in its train. Even the most famous masters worked single-handed, and Northern art lost more and more the power of adapting its activity to monumental objects. Hence the temperament of the best masters inclined them to withdraw within the confines of their workshops, not unlike the monastic artists of the Middle Ages. There they sought to express the richness of their ideas and sentiments by the delicate lines of the burin, or the coarser strokes of wood-engraving. Thousands of copies of such engravings went forth into the world, and became popular and unpretending ornaments of the home, influencing a wide circle of the people; while in Italy, the public, out-of-door character of Southern life was as distinctively expressed on a grand scale in the products of monumental art, so common in churches and palaces.

Not the means alone, however, but the field of operations of painting, was indefinitely extended. Since there was no longer a desire to treat what was religiously, but what was humanly, beautiful and important, not only was the human side taken in religious subjects, but even the realms of mythology and antique legend were reconquered in the interest of art. Individual fancy was allowed free and independent action in the conception and execution of such subjects. Profane historical painting speedily followed this movement; genre and landscape painting were presently added; and the ever-widening circle soon included all natural life, and every manifestation of human activity and circumstance; so that artistic fancy finally took everything within its scope, in so far as it could be viewed in the light of the eternal, the true, and the beautiful, and was thus susceptible of being transfigured by art.

The historical examination which follows must present in detail the circumstances under which, in the course of time, the new prin-

ciples gradually worked themselves out more sharply, were constantly more distinctly recognized, and were carried out to their last results in conception and treatment; and since Italy prepared the way for the modern spirit, and with great strides preceded the rest of the world, so, in telling its story, the foremost place must everywhere be conceded to her art.

Chapter II.

MODERN ARCHITECTURE.

*A.—In Italy.**

WE have seen how the working of Italian art throughout the Middle Ages was still influenced by the antique, and how even the Gothic style was forced to accept a certain compromise with classical feeling. In the heart of the land, the old center of Roman dominion, it was less influenced than elsewhere by the Northern spirit or by Christianity; and its forms still lingered in Rome, though sunk in barbaric degeneracy. The monuments of ancient art, cruelly mutilated as they were, still uttered the lesson of unmatchable power and classic simplicity and grace; and the spirit of ancient art still lingered in the genius of the nation. Relentlessly as plunder and neglect had despoiled the treasures of antique art, enough splendid works remained to serve as models, and as subjects for admiration, for all thoughtful artists. Still, the pioneering efforts of Petrarch and his scholars and literary associates, beginning at the middle of the fourteenth century, were needed to open the eyes of artists to a full appreciation of the antique. The Renaissance began its march of progress about 1420, at first clinging closely to mediæval primitive forms and elements of construction, but later on following antique construction, and forms of detail, with an ardor which, setting aside mediæval tradition, gave rise to an entirely new architectural creation.

FIRST PERIOD.—EARLY RENAISSANCE.

(1420-1500.)

The fifteenth century is the time of that transition which sought to mediate between previous architectural tradition and antique

*Quatremère de Quincy, "Histoire de la Vie et des Ouvrages des plus célèbres Architectes." Grandjean de Montigny et Famin, "Architecture Toscane." P. Letarouilly, "Édifices de Rome moderne." Percier et Fontaine, "Choix des plus célèbres Maisons de Plaisance à Rome." Cicognara, "Le Fabbriche piu Cospicue di Venezia." Gauthier, "Les plus beaux Édifices de la Ville de Gênes." F. Cassina, "Le Fabbriche di Milano." Lanciani, "The Destruction of Ancient Rome."

forms. In church architecture there was a partial return to the flat-roofed, and sometimes even to the cruciform, basilica; still, there was an evident attempt to modify this constructive system by antique proportions. In domical buildings on a large scale, the architect did not hesitate to employ the various results of the technical skill of his mediæval predecessors, so far as it could aid in the effort after broad and beautiful spaces which pervades Italian architecture in every epoch. In secular buildings, the outlines of the mediæval façade were adopted; the principle of dividing the windows by slender columns, which is both graceful and well adapted to the principles of construction, being at first most frequently used. The chief charm of the new style still lay in secular architecture, especially in the building of great houses, palazzi, which were developed from the fortified city residences of the Middle Ages; just as the showy life of this period—highly cultured, aristocratic, and adorned by art—was developed from the warlike, defiant, feudal, knightly existence of an earlier age. Thus palace courts were now finished with richness and beauty, surrounded by open arcades, which were often repeated on the upper stories; and whether the supporting columns were strong or slender, the preference was still given to antique rather than to mediæval forms.

The rule with regard to the employment of these ancient forms was, however, still somewhat arbitrary. Such ancient monuments as could be seen were indeed faithfully copied; but there was no clear conception of their underlying principles, to say nothing of the closer relations of the parts. There was, accordingly, a tendency to dispose the forms at random; and in proportion to the non-recognition of their stern conformity to law was the free surrender to a graceful, fanciful style, which at this time inspired many minds, and often enticed artists into superabundant decoration. Although these works err in excess of grace and elaboration, and although weak points appear to the strict architectural critic, they are still as far beyond the contemporaneous decoration of the Italian Gothic in freshness, *naïveté,* wealth of fancy, and graceful finish, as free artistic feeling is beyond merely mechanical handwork. Accordingly, these very works of the early Renaissance generally exert that resistless attraction which is the happy privilege of inspired youth.

Florence is the birthplace of the Renaissance; and its father Filippo Brunellesco (1377-1446). It is related that Brunellesco spent many years in Rome, eagerly studying, measuring, and sketching Roman monuments. The fact, that after long delays and troubles, after disputes and contrarieties, he was intrusted with the work to whose solution he had devoted his life—namely, the completion of the dome of

the Florentine Cathedral—proves not only his attention to the great constructive efforts of the ancient world, but also that he knew how to value the merits of the mediæval buildings of his native land.* The grand design of Arnolfo di Cambio had lain incomplete for almost a century and a half, when, in 1420, the Florentine Signoria invited a meeting of architects of all nations, at which Brunellesco's clear and well-considered plan bore off the palm. In imitation of the Baptistery in the same city, and close at hand, Brunellesco carried the dome up with a double vault, with the vast diameter of 138 feet, rising above the eight massive piers, soaring upward in bold, elliptical outline to an airy vertex of 280 feet above the street, and finally crowned by a lantern rising 70 feet higher. Such was the origin of one of the most daring masterpieces of any age, in whose execution it is not the master's least praise that he worked in harmony with the existing forms, especially the pointed arch; and considering the merit of this building, which, extending far into after times, forms an epoch of its own, we gladly excuse the faulty design of the drum, with its inadequate lighting of the interior. The oppressive effect of the interior is, however, in a great degree, due to the dark frescos with which a later age unluckily covered the interior of the dome.

Brunellesco's conception of church architecture, when left to work with entire independence, is shown in the beautiful Church of San Lorenzo at Florence (1425), in which he again employed the flat-roofed or basilica form, and produced an important effect by noble proportions, clear arrangement, and grand use of his spaces. The side aisles are arched and widened by niches; the crossing is marked by a small cupola; and the details of columns and pilasters are studied from the old Corinthian order. To make the arcades appear more slender, the pillars are burdened with the swollen entablature of Roman architecture; an example frequently imitated in aftertimes. The Church of S. Spirito at Florence, built after his death from his plan, is treated in a similar spirit. He also proves his possession of grace and elegance in the Pazzi Chapel, in the court of Santa Croce,

*The reader is again referred to Vasari's account of the building of this dome, given in his "Life of Brunellesco." This is one of the most interesting of the famous "Lives," as Brunellesco was one of the most interesting of the artists of his time. In two niches in the row of buildings that line the piazza on the south of the cathedral are placed two modern statues—one of Arnolfo di Cambio, who contemplates his own part of the work, the body of the building; while, from his niche, Brunellesco gazes in a noble content at his soaring dome. The statues are reproached with their heaviness; but it is impossible to look at them, especially after reading Vasari's heroic story, without some stirrings of the heart. In the Spagnuoli Chapel in the Church of Santa Maria Novella, in the wall-painting attributed to Simone Memmi, the subject of which is the Church protected by the Dominican Order, the Church is typified by the Cathedral of Florence, which is crowned by the then existing wooden dome which belonged to Arnolfo's original design. It is only by this painting that the dome of Arnolfo is preserved to us; and it is also in this picture that we have the only existing portrait of Cimabue.

where he makes a most beautiful use of the Greek cross, with tunnel-vaulted transepts, and a light dome over the central space. This building is the first instance of a serious attempt to use Roman architectural details in the classical way. Its porch, too, with its vault adorned with colored terra-cottas by Luca della Robbia, is especially charming (Fig. 431). No less fine are the slender colonnades of

Fig. 431. The Capella Pazzi at Florence.

the Ospedale degli Innocenti (Foundling Asylum), whose arches rise directly from the columns.

Brunellesco was no less great, and perhaps even more fortunate, in secular architecture; for in the Palazzo Pitti he created for Florentine palaces a model, which may have been exceeded in elegance, but has never been equalled in majesty of effect. In this massive stone edifice, apparently reared by a race of giants, he first made artistic use of what is called rock faced, or quarry faced, work, and of Rustication.

His successor, Michelozzo Michelozzi, followed closely after this model in the almost equally vast Palazzo Riccardi, built by Cosimo

dei Medici; but he treated the style more delicately, gave the windows the graceful, mediæval dividing columns, and crowned the whole effectively with a cornicione, or great wall-cornice, somewhat too heavy, indeed, but excellently well studied from Roman models. The courtyard is surrounded by a fine arcade, in which the Corinthian

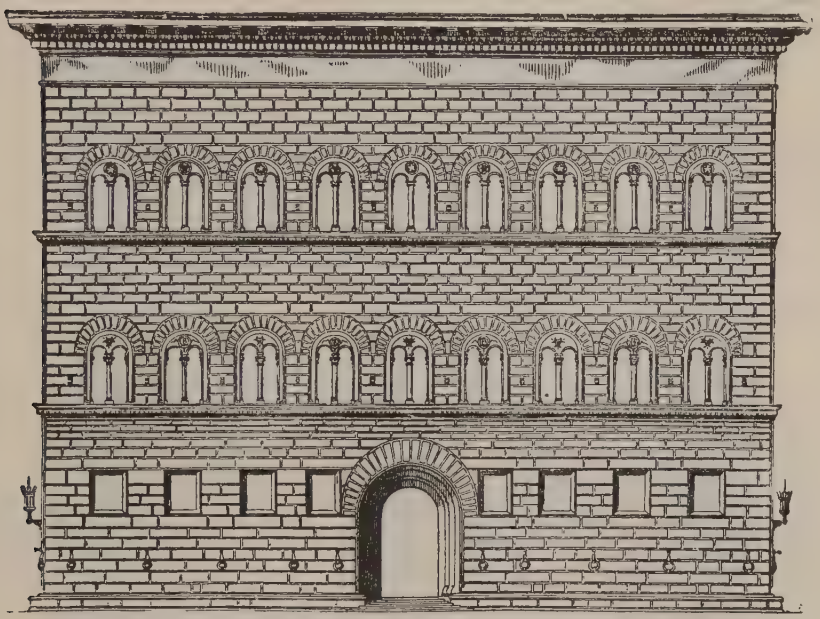

Fig. 432. The Strozzi Palace. Florence.

pillars are closely united to the arches in mediæval style—a fashion afterward followed in Florence. This palace architecture reached its noblest perfection in the Palazzo Strozzi (begun in 1489 by Benedetto da Majano), which harmoniously unites the delicate proportions of the Riccardi building with much greater dignity of effect; a noble division of stories, and an elegant disposition of columns in the windows, and receives an incomparable crown in Simone Cronaca's world-famed cornice (Fig. 432). The Palazzo Gondi, built in 1490 by Giuliano da San Gallo, is a smaller building, blending the sober majesty of the palace with the well-proportioned grace of a simple citizen's home; and is also attractive for its charming colonnade with staircases and fountains (Fig. 433). Examples of this Florentine style in the neighboring city of Siena are the stately Piccolomini Palace (built in 1460), the Lesser Spannochi Palace with its grand frieze adorned with medallion heads, the Palazzo Nerucci, and the Palazzo del Magnifico. The neighboring Pienza,

the birthplace of Pius II. (Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini), by whom it was raised to temporary importance, still possesses the Cathedral, Episcopal Palace, and grand Piccolomini Palace, adorned with colonnades and loggias as mementoes of its transitory splendor.

Ancient art finds a more correct and more strictly consistent follower in the versatile Leo Battista Alberti (1404-72). In the

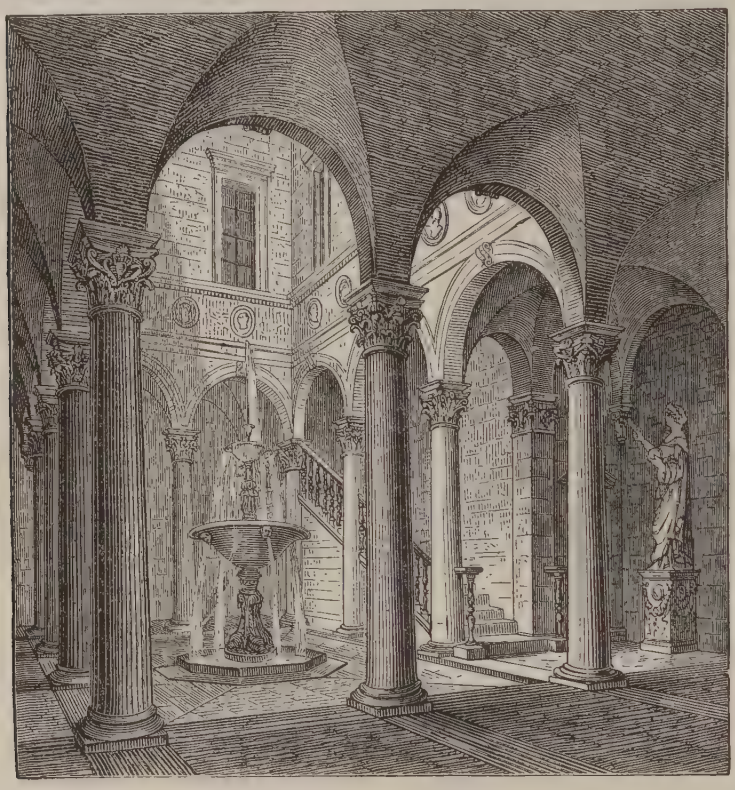

Fig. 433. Court of the Gondi Palace. Florence.

Ruccellai Palace at Florence he indeed employs the existing form of palace architecture, but strives to combine with it a moderate use of pilasters. In the façade of Santa Maria Novella he makes the unfortunate invention of the volute-like member, terminating the half-gable of the aisle roof in the west front: intended to connect the broader lower story with the narrower superstructure, and thenceforth destined to play a large part in church façades of the Renaissance. In San Francesco at Rimini, he copied the decoration of the façade from an ancient triumphal gateway, and used simple half-

gables in the side aisles; intending to front the higher part of the nave with a second story of classical columnar architecture; but this important front was never completed. In Florence, finally, he made an attempt, in the Choir of Santa Annunziata, to add to the basilica-like nave a rotunda, crowned by a cupola and surrounded by radiating apsidal chapels, after the model of the Pantheon, but in this case

Fig. 434. Palazzo Vendramin Calergi. Venice.

the parts were too small to allow the rotunda to form an adequate climax to the nave; and moreover the delicacy of Alberti's detail is now concealed by a rich later sheathing.

Farther south the new style made but sporadic progress, and was introduced only by Florentine architects. Rome has a fine work of this period in the Palazzo di Venezia, and in the larger but unfinished Court, the first modern example of the Roman Order, copied from the Colosseum. In Naples, as in Rome, we find at first only foreign

architects. A native of Milan, Pietro di Martino, built King Alfonso's elegantly decorative triumphal arch in 1443; and Giuliano da Majano, the Florentine, in 1484 designed the nobly simple marble structure, Porta Capuana.

The buildings of Venice produce an entirely opposite effect. The Renaissance seems to have been carried thither by Lombard architects; but the rich city of the lagoons impressed upon it that gay and fanciful element which already reigned in her palace architecture, and

Fig. 435. Santa Maria delle Grazie. Milan.

added to it a glorious coating of marble, in which varying colors glitteringly vied with elegant sculptured decorations. The arrangement of the façade preserved the same picturesque loggias, grouped at will, which were the result of the locality and its connection with the water; and only the forms of the whole assumed a more classic and antique style, although these were more arbitrarily dealt with

than in Middle Italy. This tendency long prevailed; so that the early Renaissance is here continued into the sixteenth century.

The masterpiece of this period is the Palazzo Vendramin Calergi, built in 1481 by Pietro Lombardo, the surface of the lower story divided by pilasters, and that of the two upper stories by columns, finished off with a rich frieze and cornice; the windows being divided by columns, and adorned with tracery (Fig. 434). Among other buildings of this date, the palatial fraternity houses—the so-called scuole—take foremost rank; as, for example, the Scuola di San Marco, dating from 1485, now forming the entrance to the great

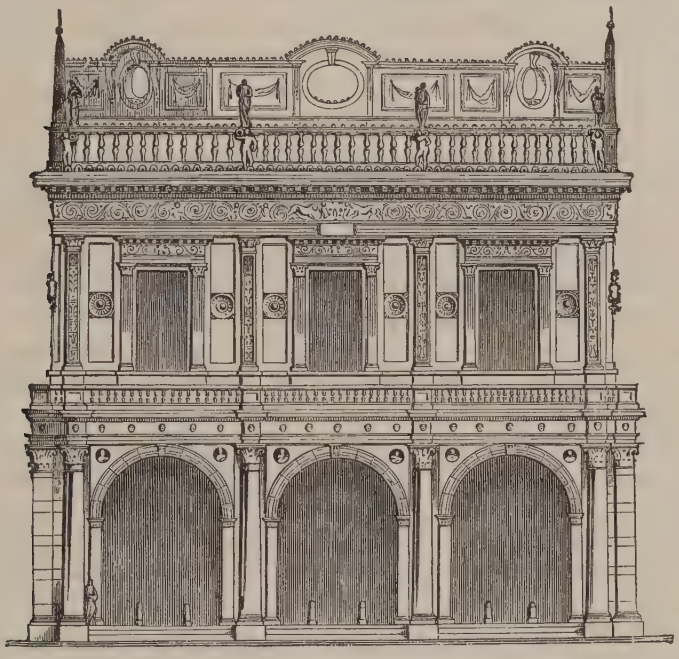

Fig. 436. The Palazzo Communale. Brescia.

municipal hospital, and the Scuola di San Rocco, with a beautiful front of 1536 in a style much earlier and almost pure Renaissance in its treatment. The interior is richly decorated with paintings of Jacopo Fietoreto. Finally, in the last ten years of the fifteenth century, the only very large Venetian courtyard, that of the Doges' Palace, was built, splendid in detail and material, but somewhat lacking in unity for the best effect; and the glorious Giants' Staircase, so-called from the two colossal statues which crown it, was finished by Antonio Rizzo in 1498.

In Lombardy, the façade of the Certosa at Pavia, begun in 1473,

is one of the most beautiful creations of this period. Covered with marble, and decked, from the base up, with an extravagant profusion of bas-reliefs, medallions, statues in niches, etc., the architectural forms are completely lost in the wanton play of plastic decoration; and, strangely enough, this most garrulous of church façades belongs to the most reserved of religious orders—the Carthusians. Milan and its environs contain attractive examples of the early works of Bramante, whom we shall meet again as one of the leaders of the next period. He built the choir and transept of Santa Maria delle Grazie, covered the main space of the choir with a broad dome, carried up outside in a remarkable cylindrical tower of great beauty, and finished it on three sides with semi-circular niches. The exterior (Fig. 435) is charmingly and richly decorated in terra-cotta. He displayed perfect grace and a perfect sense of decorative art in the cupola of the sacristy of the Madonna di San Satiro. Antonio Filarete opened the way for the fine brick ornamentation afterward used in those regions by the Ospedale Grande, built in 1456, whose remarkable court façade with its pointed arch windows shows the spirit of the dawning Renaissance in its non-Gothic detail. But the most brilliant development of brick architecture is found in the numerous palaces of Bologna, most of which have an open arcade in the lower story, an elegant column dividing the windows, and a noble cornice crowning the façade; while even the inner courts exhibit grace of design and elegance of execution. Palazzo Bevilacqua has the finest courtyard, while the Fava and Gualandi Palaces possess most elegant façades. This style was also carried into the neighboring Ferrara, where the unfinished and ruined Palazzo Scrofa forms one of the most beautiful and imposing specimens of secular work of the early period. The Palazzo de' Diamanti, built in the year 1493, on the contrary, is executed entirely in faceted blocks of freestone, which greatly detract from the effect of the delicate pilasters. The Palazzo del Consiglio in Padua, built by Biagio Rossetti of Ferrara, is conspicuous for its open hall and nobly planned, marble-covered upper story. The Palazzo del Consiglio in Verona is a fine specimen of the work of the celebrated architect Fra Giocondo, who was destined to carry the Renaissance style into France. The grandly designed and beautifully executed Palazzo Communale at Brescia (Fig. 436), with its open loggia on the ground-floor, with great arches on three fronts and the nobly proportioned upper story, is one of the most admirable buildings of this period; as is also the little Church of Santa Maria de' Miracoli, with its lavishly decorated façade. The Ducal Palace of Urbino,* begun

* Compare F. Arnold, "Der Palast von Urbino"; Leipzig.

in 1468 by Luciano Laurana, a Dalmatian, and finished by Baccio Pintelli, gives us a complete example of the extensive designs for the princely residences of the day, with graceful porch and countless richly ornamented rooms. The interior is a model of artistically ennobled secular architecture.

SECOND PERIOD.—THE CINQUECENTO.

(1500-1580.)*

So long as the chief seat of the new school of architecture was in Florence, it retained that free, transitional character produced by the fusion of mediæval and antique forms. About 1500 the scene of action changed, and with it the destiny of the Renaissance. The art-loving Pope, Julius II. (1503-1513) drew the greatest masters of modern times to his court; and Rome became thenceforth the center of art. A space of twenty years became a second Periclean period, wherein all the arts once more worked in rare harmony, and produced works of the utmost importance, and of imperishable beauty. It was in the very nature of things that architecture should henceforth be classic on that classic soil. A deeper, more thorough study of the antique remains began; there was a more serious effort to seek out their laws and relations; and the works of Vitruvius, again brought to light, facilitated the determination of fixed canons of form. From that time forth the members of classical architecture were modeled with greater purity, and handled with greater certainty; and a more intimate relation of these forms to the main design replaced the early love of rich sculptured decoration. Nevertheless, the antique form was and remained but an outer garment, deliberately chosen; laid upon the structure from free choice, not from inward necessity. The true architectural idea, the beautiful distribution of the spaces, the grandeur of the design, belonged quite as exclusively to the new architects as the requirements which gave birth to the architectural design did to the new age. The Italian taste for broad, open, well-arranged spaces was more triumphant than ever. In palace and church, free sway was given to the artist; and the fact that the masters knew the limits of beauty and propriety is but a higher proof of their noble moderation.

Now, too, the Renaissance did its best work in the realm of secular architecture. It met every need with its appropriate and individual form, and gave fit expression in its palaces to the aristocratic, free, and highly cultured life. The various stories of the building were clearly marked on the façades by entablatures; they were well

balanced in their mutual proportions, and were, besides, agreeably subdivided by light pilasters designed to correspond with various antique orders. Windows and doors also gave up the mediæval forms, and were framed in the antique style; sometimes they were crowned with small pediments. In the porticos, rows of massive columns were frequently employed, in imitation of those in the Pan-

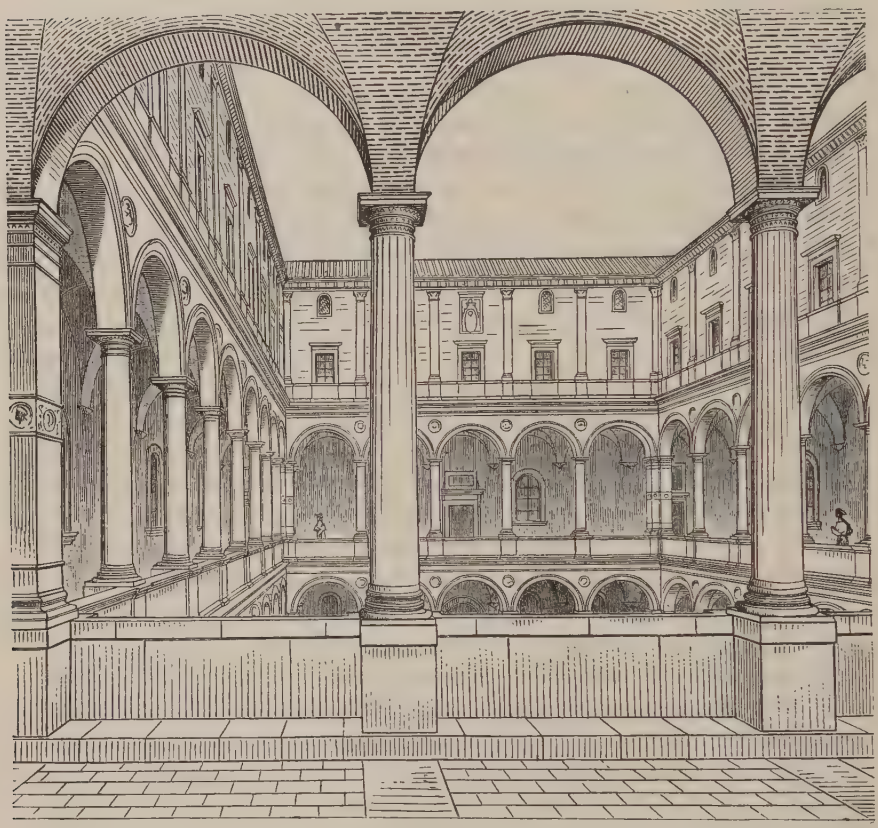

Fig. 437. Court of the Palace of the Cancellaria, Rome.

theon and similar Roman buildings; yet we also meet with light, airy columned arcades in the courtyards. In either case, as in the pilasters named above, so the various classic orders were employed in the façade after the antique fashion, passing from ponderous and simple forms to something lighter and richer, as in the succession of Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian styles, supplemented by that modification of the Corinthian under the name Composite. A combination of sculpture

and painting was used to adorn the interior spaces, which thus attained an incomparable beauty.

Less favorable was the development of church architecture. True, there was no lack of works of the first rank, of great artistic skill. But the unconditional return to the heavy, massive Roman system of piers and tunnel-vaulted domes, merely decoratively clad in antique garb, was a retrogression, compared with the productions of the Middle Ages, in point of construction; and the idea expressed by the Græco-Roman forms was so far opposed to Christian feeling that it was directly connected with pagan antiquity. In the ground-plan, the artist was left to his own discretion to choose between a basilica-like form with three parallel naves, or a central design producing a circular or polygonal church; but there was always an attempt to combine with the building a great cupola, which Brunellesco's example made a prominent point in church architecture. Hitherto, façades had been usually made with two stories of pilasters, corresponding indeed to the internal construction. The desire to employ but few large forms soon gave rise to what is called the colossal orders, a system of columns occupying with their bases and their entablature the whole height of the building. Hence arose those colossal pieces of decoration, clumsy copies of antique pediments, an unpleasant contrast to which is formed by the paltry doors and windows.

Historically considered, this great period, commonly called that of the Renaissance, may be divided into two epochs, whose mutual limit is about the year 1540. At that time, with the disappearance of the Renaissance Proper or Early Renaissance, a somewhat cooler and more sober element began to prevail in architectural designs, which were still pure and correct in detail. The principal members, however, were more sharply marked than before; engaged columns being often used instead of the moderate rows of pilasters, and a more energetic attempt at effect being evident in other details. This was the transition to the Classicismo; out of which was to come the Barocco or Baroque style, which was destined to burst the bonds of tradition and of strict classical rule.

The great founder of the Roman school had been the beforementioned Bramante, whose real name was Donato Lazzari of Urbino (1444-1514). The youthful love of decoration of the early period is preëminent in his Milanese works; but in Rome, where he settled about 1500, he founded the severe, simple, and noble style of the Renaissance. His greatest work in secular architecture is the Palace of the Cancellaria, which, like his Church of San Lorenzo-in-Damaso, has an unbroken, refined façade. The palace, built of fine travertine, is of singularly delicate design. The lower story is simple

and plain; the surfaces of the two upper stories are broken by rows of pilasters in pairs, which rest on stylobates, and each of which supports a complete antique entablature. The whole is crowned with a console cornice. The windows in the lower story are small and square; on the first floor they are round-arched, but with antique frames and crowning. Especially admirable are the noble proportions and harmonious design of the whole. The court, with its two-storied arcaded portico (Fig. 437), is one of the noblest and most beautiful of the whole Renaissance. Bramante repeated the same system of façade, with a few well-judged variations, in the Palazzo Giraud. He also built the Cortile di San Damaso in the Vatican Palace, with the well-known loggie or open arcaded porticos, one story of which is called *Le Loggie di Raffaelo,* because adorned with paintings of Raphael's design. He had planned this greatest church structure in the world as a Greek cross with its four arms of equal length, a dominating cupola over the center. While this sublime architectural idea was altered in its essentials in after-times, a very similar solution of the problem has been preserved to us in the magnificent church of the Madonna della Consolazione at Todi, though executed on a smaller scale. Upon a semicircular terrace, this beautiful pilgrims' church, situated upon a hill and visible from every direction, rises in the most stately manner of the High Renaissance. Four polygonal arms, constructed with pilasters, are joined to a high central mass crowned by a dome of noble outline, with a richly designed drum adorned by coupled pilasters. In no other building in the world has the favorite idea of the church architecture of that period, the central structure with a soaring dome, found an equally perfect expression.

The decided influence excited by Bramante over his contemporaries is traceable in a series of important works by various clever masters; one of the most successful being Baldassare Peruzzi (1481-1537), who built many modest but thoroughly artistic smaller buildings in Siena. His best work in Rome is the Villa Farnesina, noted for its frescos by Raphael, and one of the most graceful buildings of this period. While the interior is agreeably arranged and finely proportioned, the exterior, in spite of its want of decoration and the poor material of which it is built, produces an elegant effect by its Doric pilasters; which effect is further increased by a frieze of genii with garlands. The Palazzo Massimi, with its picturesque entrance hall and charming court, is also his work (Fig. 438).

Next in order comes Raphael (1483-1520), the architectural background of whose frescos was not his least claim to the title of architect; for his design for the Palazzo Pandolfini at Florence, carried

out after his death, entitles him to rank among the greatest masters of the age. The rustication of the angles, and the framing of the windows by pilasters or columns, supporting either a triangular or a round pediment, make their first appearance in this and other buildings of the same date. One of the most magnificent palaces in Rome —the Palazzo Farnese, designed by Antonio da Sangallo the younger —exhibits a similar treatment in its colossal façade, which, how-

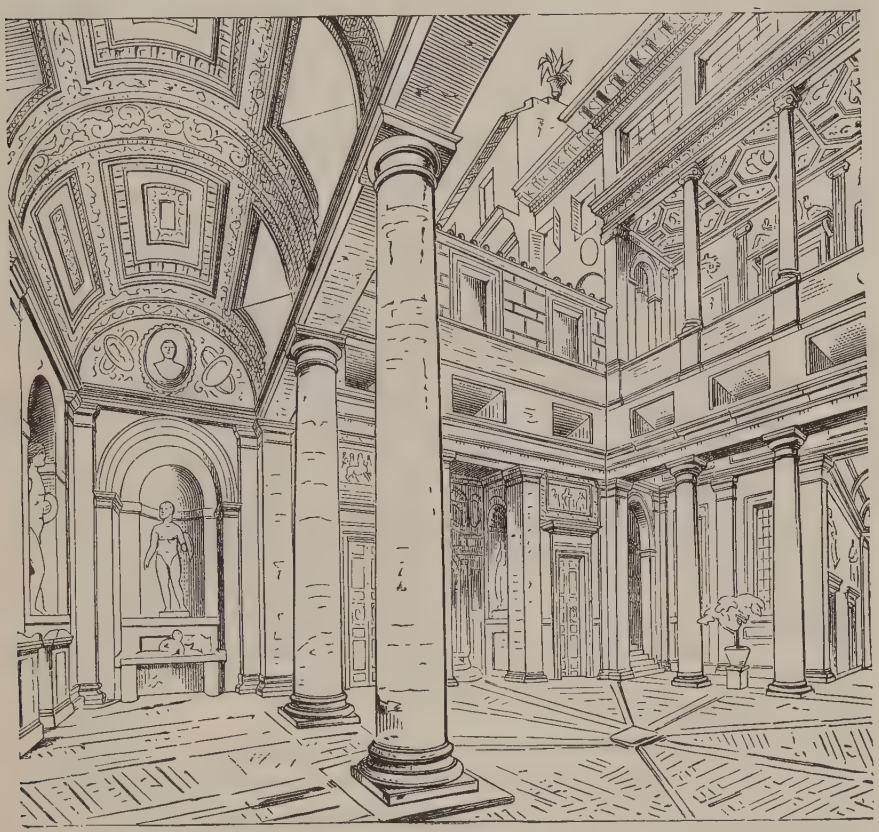

Fig. 438. Court of the Palazzo Massimi. Rome.

ever, is somewhat heavy, and, owing to the crowded placing of the windows, is less grand in effect. The main entrance leads to a spacious vestibule with Doric columns, tunnel vaulting, and wall niches, and this again to a large square court with strongly designed arcades, which, together with the grandly effective cornice of the façade, was added by Michelangelo. A smaller vestibule opens into an imposing loggia in the rear, which, being repeated in the upper stories, gives

great effect to this façade. Lastly, we may mention among Bramante's pupils Giulio Romano, whose principal work in Rome, the Villa Madama, which he carried out from Raphael's designs, though fallen into shameful decay, still retains traces of its former beauty. After 1526 Giulio directed the buildings of Duke Gonzaga at Mantua, among which the Palazzo del Tè is preëminent rather for its extensive frescos than for its somewhat tasteless architecture.

At this date the Venetian school was almost the only one, besides the Roman school, which pursued an independent and important aim, and this almost exclusively by the great activity and brilliant works of the Florentine, Jacopo Tatti, better known as Sansovino (1479-1570). He, too, adopted the more severe treatment of ancient forms, but united with it a more powerful construction, a more lavish wealth of decoration, a freer, more picturesque design, in which we cannot fail to perceive a reminiscence of the decorative splendors of the early Renaissance. His masterpiece is the Library of San Marco, with which he successfully entered the lists with the splendid monuments of an earlier epoch. The façade is small; but a good effect is produced by the use of Doric engaged pillars in the lower story, and Ionic pillars above, between which, in both stories, open airy arcades rest on piers below, and on graceful columns above. This effect is greatly enhanced by the rich sculpture of the spandrels, keystones, and friezes; and a charming finish is given by the parapet above the cornice, with its statues and small obelisks. This unequaled building was long considered a model for Venetian architecture, and as late as 1582 was extended along the Piazza of S. Mark by Vincenzio Scamozzi in the Procuratie Nuove. Another of Sansovino's splendid buildings was the Palazza Cornaro, built in 1532; while in the Zecca, or mint, and the Fabbriche Nuove on the Rialto Square, he chose a ruder and homelier treatment, suited to the different purpose of the buildings.

The other cities of Italy also vied with each other at this period in architectural works, all bearing the impress of a noble dignity and great artistic freedom. Verona had her Michele Sanmicheli (1484-1559), proofs of whose talent are given in the simple but elegant circular building of Madonna di Campagna, south of the city, the beautiful Cappella Pellegrini attached to the church of San Bernardino, the Palaces Bevilacqua, Canossa, and Pompei (Fig. 439), and the rude, fortress-like city gates of Porta Nuova, Porta Stuppa, and Porta San Zenone. At Venice, the mighty Palazzo Grimani a San Luca, now used as the Appellate Court, is also by him. Another Veronese master, Giovanni Maria Falconetto (1458-1534), built the Giustiniani Palace in Padua, with its delightful courtyard and

charming summer-houses, and also many of the city gates. At the same time, Andrea Riccio, surnamed Briosco, famous as a decorative sculptor, executed in 1520, in the same city, the grand building of Santa Giustina, in which the many-domed system of San Antonio in Padua (and of S. Mark's at Venice) is translated into the severe forms of classic architecture, and an effect of great space is produced.

A turning-point in the history of architecture begins with the appearance of the powerful genius of Michelangelo Buonarotti (1475-1564), who produced incomparable works in sculpture and in painting, and whose influence was so controlling that for a long period he almost monopolized all creative power. Urged on by a strong subjective impulse, he scorned to follow the recognized laws of archi-

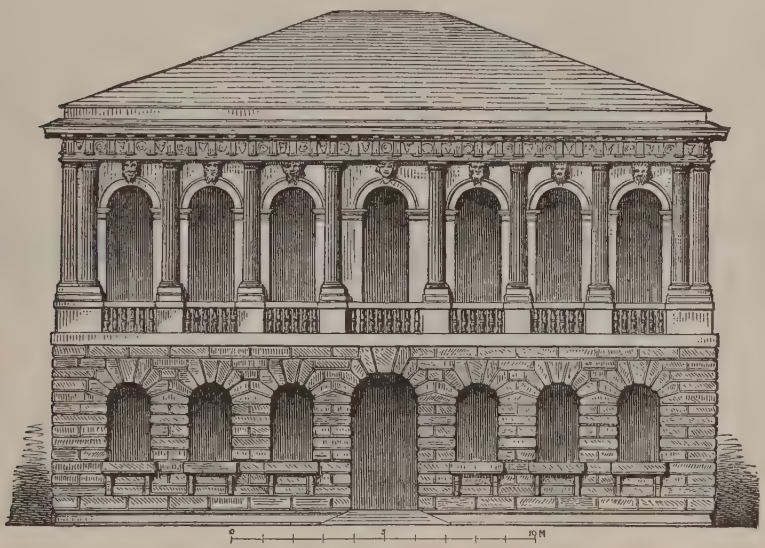

Fig. 439. Palazzo Pompei. Verona.

tectural creation, composed only on a grand scale, aimed at a strong general effect, and cared little for the form of the details. Among his earlier works are the unfinished façade for San Lorenzo at Florence, and the simple and severe Mortuary Chapel of the Medici, built in connection with the same church in 1529, and called commonly the Smaller Sacristy. This fine room derives its chief importance from his famous statues adorning the tombs of the Medicean Dukes, Giuliano and Lorenzo. In Rome, besides the work on the Farnese Palace already mentioned, he drew the plan for the square of the Campidoglio, with its buildings, which is of matchless artistic grace; and, greatest of all, the dome of S. Peter's. The rebuilding of this church was begun on a grand scale by Bramante in 1506. It was to

be in the form of a Greek cross, with a magnificent dome, and semi-circular terminations to transepts and choir, after the Lombard style. After Bramante, Raphael undertook the work, for which he designed a lengthy nave. Soon after, it fell into Peruzzi's hand, who added lesser domes at the four corners of the central square. Finally, in 1546, Michelangelo, then seventy-two years old, undertook the work solely "for the glory of God"; sketched a new plan, returning to Bramante's first idea of a Greek cross; and completed in vigorous style the divisions of the choir, the four strong main piers with their

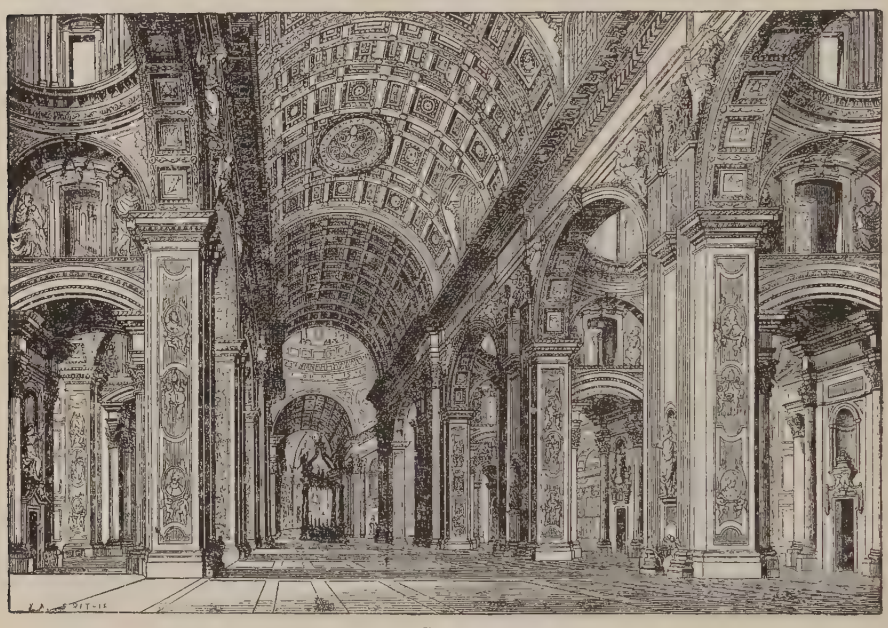

Fig. 440. Interior of St. Peter's Church. Rome.

arches, and the tambour of the dome. He drew elaborate plans for the dome itself, and made a large working model, from which the gigantic structure was completed after his death. He followed very closely Brunellesco's great Florentine pattern in the proportions of the cupola, which has a diameter of about 138 feet; but the much larger and higher nave upon which it is raised gives it a greater height above the pavement. It is, moreover, of greater elaboration, as the Florence cupola, like that of the Pantheon, springs from a substructure which is everywhere of its own horizontal shape, but Michelangelo used pendentives to make the transition from the square to the circle whose perfect round he made effective by a perfectly well proportioned vertical cylinder, effective within and without. He gave

a noble construction to this drum by sixteen pairs of pilasters, and introduced abundant light by as many broad windows, whose airy spaces make the great building seem wonderfully bright. Outside, a projecting row of columns adorns the drum, over which the incomparable outline of the dome rises fair and free, and finds its crown in the graceful lantern. Carlo Maderno continued the work, as is shown below.

S. Peter's Church became the standard for church architecture for the following period, which we may fix as that from 1540 to 1580. The system followed in it—of a tunnel-vaulted nave with ponderous piers, and a dome over the transept—was almost universally adopted for large churches. But in still another respect Michelangelo's creation was yet more fatal to the development of architecture, since it gave the first precedent of that arbitrary caprice which eventually produced the baroque style. Nevertheless, some of the best of his younger contemporaries were earnest and independent enough, if not to free themelves entirely from his influence, yet to avoid his errors. A deep reverence for antique art is common to them; and all their works are characterized by dignity and significance, although they have a certain air of cold contemplation which marks the tone of the latter half of this period. They were accordingly of great benefit in founding a theory of their art, and their text-books long laid down the law for architects.

The eldest of these masters is Vignola, or Giacomo Barozzio (1507-73), whose principal works are the Castle Caprarola at Viterbo and the Church del Gesù at Rome. Next came Giorgio Vasari of Arezzo (1512-74), equally famous as artist and architect, whose greatest work was the building of the Uffizi at Florence. Together with Vignola, he also built the beautiful Villa of Pope Julius II. outside the Porta del Popolo at Rome. The third on the list is Andrea Palladio of Vicenza (1518-80), whose best works are to be found in Vicenza and Venice. In Vicenza he built the majestic hall of the so-called Basilica, or Town House, and the Teatro Olimpico, in which he made an interesting attempt to restore the theatre of Roman antiquity; also a number of private palaces, the most important of which are the rude but powerful Palazzo Marcantonio Tiene, the noble Chieregati Palace (now a museum), the lavishly decorated Barbarano Palace, and the Villa Caprarola, near the city, which building he treated as a central design with a medium-sized rotunda. In Venice he built the unfinished court of the Convento della Carità, the present Accademia delle Belle Arti, and the Churches of the Redentore, on the Island of the Giudecca, and Santo Giorgio Maggiore on its own little island opposite the Ducal Palace across the harbor.

One of the greatest and most original masters of this period was Galeazzo Alessi of Perugia (1500-72), whose works chiefly belong to Genoa. Here, during the sixteenth century, fostered by a rich and pomp-loving aristocracy, a style of palace architecture was formed, which again reached great and novel effects by the independent culture of an element hitherto but little heeded. Its æsthetic conditions were the result of the local nature of the situation. The narrowness of the Genoese streets made attention to façades seem of secondary importance; and the Genoese masters accordingly renounced the nobler forms and proportions elsewhere possible in that situation.

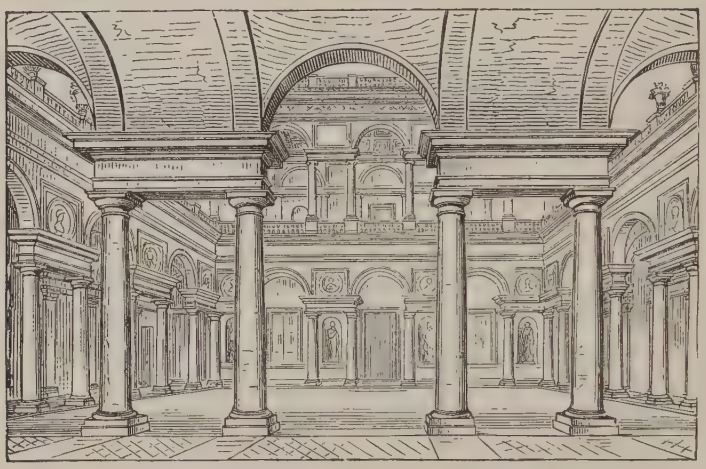

Fig. 441. Palazzo Sauli. Genoa.

The contracted space and steep ascending ground sometimes prevented grand courtyard designs; and they were therefore forced to seek for imposing effects in brilliant execution of vestibules and stairways. Hitherto both had been treated with dignity, but with great simplicity; the latter generally being in a corner of the court, to the right or left of the entrance. In Genoa the vestibule became a broad, lofty hall, whose vault was often upheld by isolated columns. The ascent of the staircase was connected with the vestibule; it was placed in the center of the longer axis, and led up in two branches right and left, resting on simple or coupled columns; and the grand perspective effect was often closed with a decorated niche for a fountain. In 1550 Rocco Pennone built the Ducal Palace, whose staircase forms one of the earliest examples of this class. This style received its noblest development from Galeazzo, who produced perfect models of great effects of space in the Spinola Palace and the now ruined Palazzo Sauli (Fig. 441). In church architecture, his glorious

Santa Maria da Carignano in Genoa deserves special praise; if for no other reason, because it is a fine and consistently executed copy of S. Peter as Michelangelo designed it.

*B.—Other Countries.**

While the Classical Revival spread throughout Italy with triumphant power, and gained almost exclusive mastery there, other lands long clung to Gothic traditions; and this last architectural form of the Middle Ages endured far into the sixteenth century—a tardy aftermath, whose sometimes barren, sometimes over-ornamented tendency, we have already declared. With the sixteenth century, however, the many reciprocal relations of Italy with other countries gradually spread the Renaissance abroad, and for a time produced an utter chaos of forms, as people would not give up the deep-rooted Gothic style, and produced a singular medley of its details with those of the new school. And even where antique forms were exclusively used, Gothic principles often permeated the whole building, not only in its general conception, but in its construction. Much that was attractive, but also much that was strange, arose from this process of fermentation. The Italian style was not brought into universal use in the North until early in the seventeenth century; and then it was not in the noble and severe manner of its golden age, but in the coldly correct, or baroque, overloaded style of the later epoch. Under the sway of these principles, all independent national feeling vanished from the architecture of the West; and even into the remote regions of the East, and into the extreme West—to the countries of the other hemisphere—the architectural rules of Vignola, Serlio, and Palladio went as an accompaniment of European civilization; so that the newly risen Roman architecture once more, and more triumphantly than in the ancient days of Roman dominion, made its conquering way over the whole civilized earth. The classical styles were introduced into France by Italian artists, summoned thither by Charles VIII. and his companions in the Italian campaign, ending in 1495, and still more in the reign of his successor, Louis XII. Still, mediæval architecture reacted against the new style, which was often forced to add its graceful details to a building thoroughly Gothic in plan, construction, and execution. One of the most original examples of this fusion of styles may

* Blomfield, Reginald, "A History of Renaissance Architecture in England, 1500-1800." Palustre, L., "La Renaissance en France; L'Architecture de la Renaissance." Fritsch, K. E. O., "Denkmäler Deutscher Renaissance." Geymuller, "Die Baukunst der Renaissance in Frankreich" (in "Handbuch der Architektur"). Gotch, J. A., "Early Renaissance Architecture in England."

be seen in the Church of S. Eustache at Paris, begun in 1532; and one of the richest and most tasteful, in the Choir of S. Pierre at Caen (Fig. 443). So, too, in the châteaux, the high roofs, the numerous balconies and towers, the forest of lofty gables and fanciful chimneys, prove the preference for the bright, picturesque style of the Middle-Age composition, which now assumed a mixed form; the more singu-

Fig. 442. Palazzo Pesaro. Venice.

lar, because the obtruded details of classic architecture are in trenchant contrast with this style. The chief example of this odd architecture is the Château of Chambord, begun in 1523 by Pierre Nepveu, surnamed Trinqueau. In minor buildings, such as the Château of Chenonceaux, near Tours (Fig. 444), and the Château of Azay-le-Rideau, this mixture of style often produces agreeable and picturesque effects. Somewhat more severe in composition, but elegantly treated as far as the details go, is that part of the Château of Blois which was built for François I. The so-called House of François I., lately removed from near Fontainebleau to Paris, is also original and effective. To this date, also, belongs the Château of Fontainebleau, irregular in design, and in which older portions were retained, and admirable rather for its vast extent and the rich decorations of the interior than for its architectural proportions.

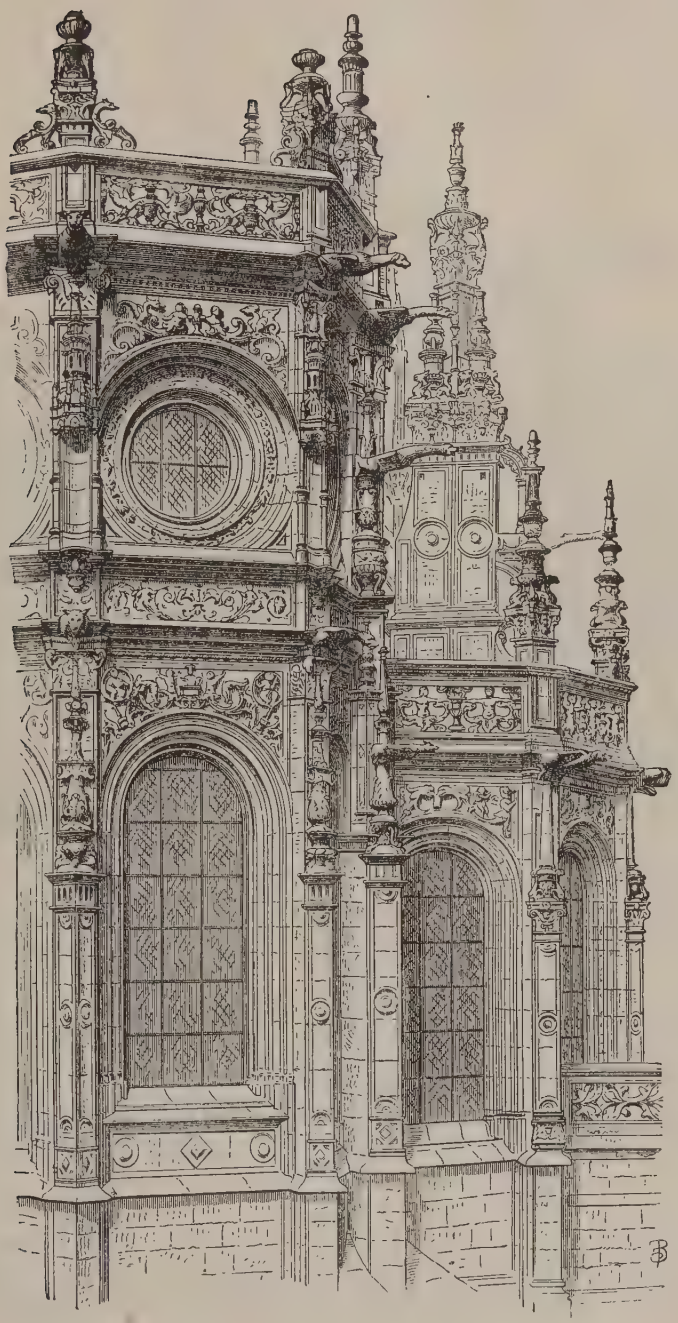

Fig. 443. Choir of S. Pierre. Caen, Normandy.

Nevertheless, there was a change in favor of a more moderate design and a severer style of composition during the course of the century, as is seen in the Château "Madrid" in the Bois de Boulogne, built by François I. in memory of his captivity, and destroyed during the revolution. At this date we meet with a French architect named

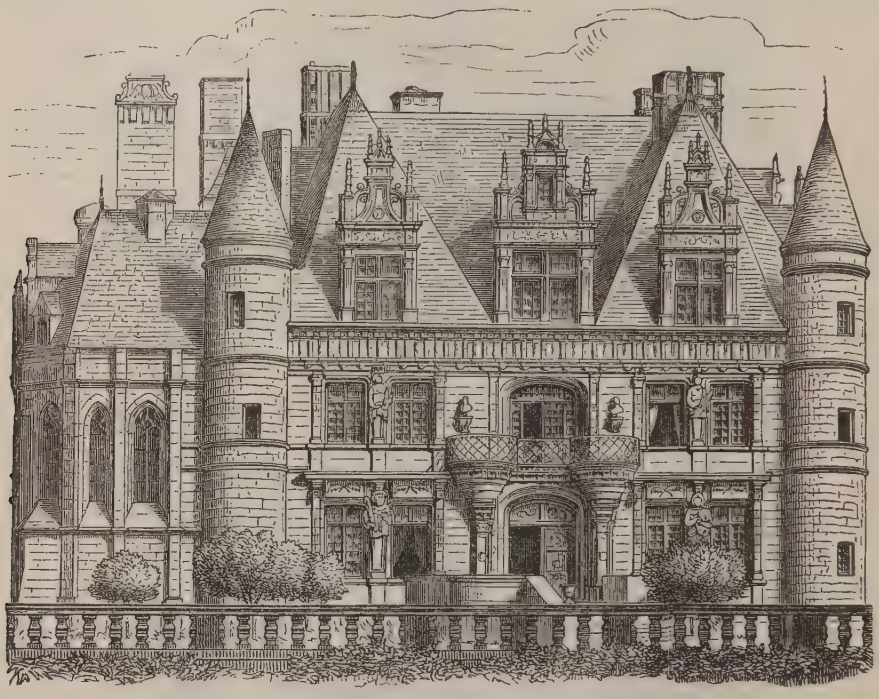

Fig. 444. Château of Chenonceaux, near Tours.

Pierre Gadier. The west façade of the courtyard of the Louvre (Fig. 445), built in 1541 by Pierre Lescot (1510-78), is one of the most brilliant examples of perfect, richly developed, and finely decorated works of the French Renaissance. The Hôtel de Ville in Paris, begun in 1533, and destroyed by fire in 1871, was another good work of this class. On the whole, however, the new style gained but a gradual approval from the middle classes; so that in the council-houses and city dwelling-houses Gothic forms were long blended with those of the Renaissance, as is the case in the beautiful Town Hall in Orléans, and no less in the smaller but yet more richly finished one at Beaugency. So, too, many castles belonging to nobles, particularly in the Loire region, employed the easy, picturesque, and sportive forms of this style. About the middle of the century, with the reign of Henry II., the more scholastic treatment of classic forms was introduced, cor-

rectly based on studies in Italy; and there were many influential masters who soon brought this style into predominance—as, for

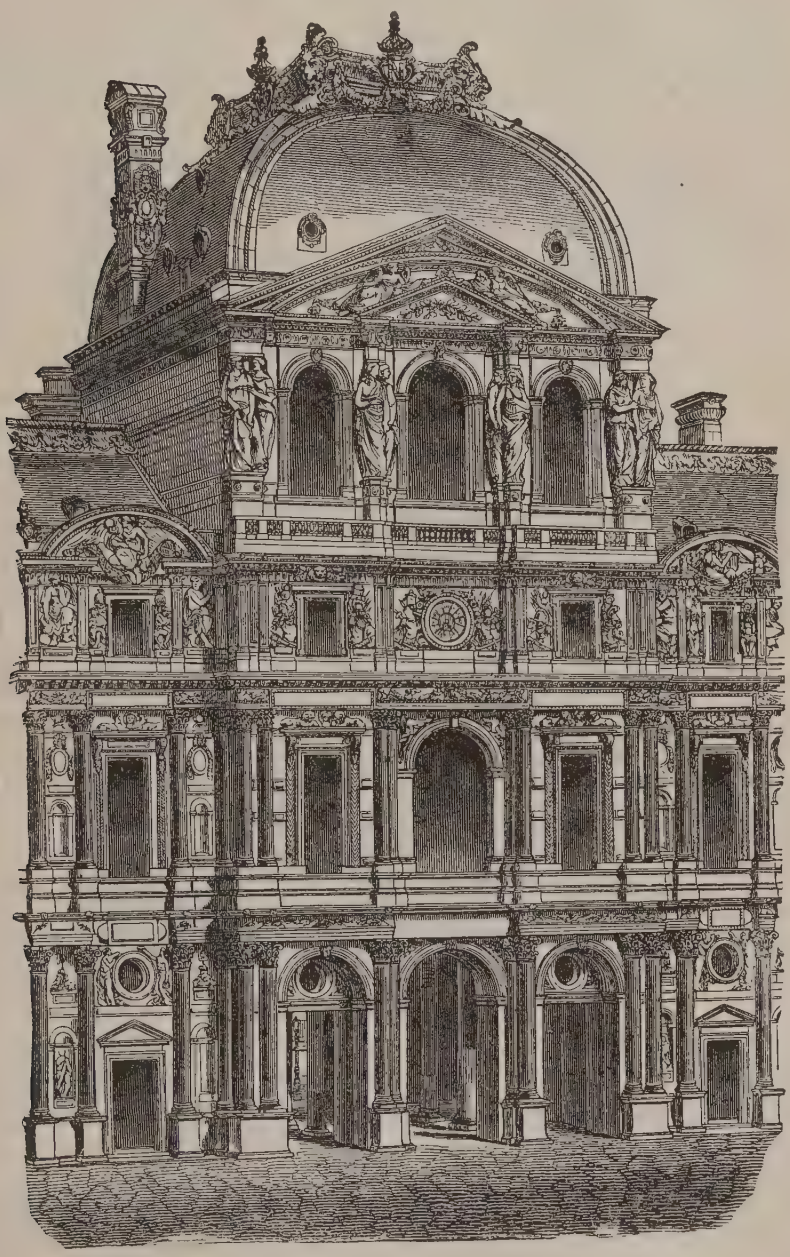

Fig. 445. Part of the Main Façade of the Louvre. Paris.

instance, Philibert de l'Orme (1515-70), who built the Château d' Anet for Diane de Poitiers, which was destroyed during the revolution, and a superb fragment of which is now exhibited in the École des Beaux-Arts at Paris. His plan for the Tuileries, begun in 1564, is still grander, despite certain baroque features. His successor in this work was Jean Bullant (1515-78), who had previously built for the Constable de Montmorency the Château of Écouen, which is still standing. Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, more famous for his engravings and his imitations than for his own creations, deserves mention here chiefly on account of his excellent work on the most famous châteaux of France.

The neoclassic architecture took on a far more luxuriant form in Spain, where it likewise first appeared in a thoroughly decorative fashion toward the close of the fifteenth century. But it was here united in most lively style with the rich and brilliant details of all the earlier peninsular styles, particularly the Moorish and Gothic. From these elements an early Renaissance burst into bloom, truly marvelous, despite all its caprice and waywardness, in magic charm, triumphant, fanciful force, and intensity of vital feeling. This style is appropriately called the Silversmith style (Plateresco). The courtyards of convents and palaces display a special wealth of beauty akin to the splendors of the courts of the Alhambra, though inferior to the Moorish work in delicacy of detail and in brilliancy of coloring. The court of the Palace of the Infantado at Guadalaxara is also a gorgeous medley of the utmost splendor. The broad, moorish arches, with their cusped intrados, rest on Doric columns below, which are much out of character with the superstructure, while the upper tier of arches rests on spiral columns, with gayly painted shafts, crowned with dwarf Gothic finials. Toward the middle of the sixteenth century this style was tempered and modified, still retaining its peculiar wealth of decoration, but, on the whole, adapting itself more fully to the principal forms of the Italian Renaissance. The Chapel of the new line of Kings (Nuevos Reyes), in the Cathedral at Toledo, finished in 1546 (Fig. 446), may be mentioned as a fine example of this nobler fantastic style. During the latter half of the century, under Philip II., the severer classic style first won general approval; although here, not without deeper reason, it assumed a gloomy massiveness, and heavy, grandiose character. The chief work of this school is the cloister of the Escurial, built between 1563 and 1584.

In the Netherlands a graceful style of decoration was at first used, in which Gothic motives were often agreeably mingled with classic ones; as, for instance, in S. Jacques Church at Liege, completed in

1538. Later on, the more severe form of the Renaissance penetrated here, as is proved by the Town Hall at Antwerp, built in 1560.

The already strongly grotesque style of the Netherlands, with its brick walls crowned with high, fantastic gables and similarly treated balconies on the roofs, soon spread through the northeastern coasts of Germany, and specially in Denmark.* During the reign

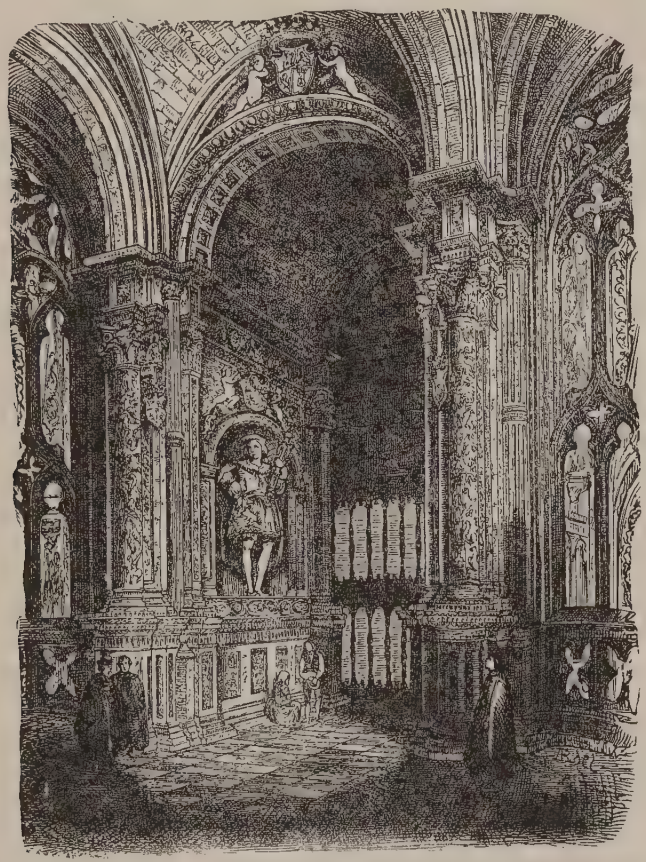

Fig. 446. Chapel of the New Kings. Cathedral of Toledo.

of the excellent Christian IV. (1573-1648), a number of stately buildings were produced in this steep-gabled, high-roofed, and picturesque style; the principal of them being Castle Fredericksborg, built between 1560 and 1570, lying some miles to the north of Copenhagen, and restored in modern times after a destructive fire. The lofty gables, numerous towers, and polygonal balconies, are elements which were brought over into this style from the Middle Ages.

*Lauritz de Thurah, "Den Danske Vitruvius"; Copenhagen, 2 vols., 1746.

England was not won to the new style until very late; the traditional Gothic methods continuing to prevail almost without interruption. While the graceful early Renaissance was accepted in other countries, the Gothic style here experienced that exuberantly rich revival which produced its unequaled masterpiece in King's College Chapel at Cambridge, and the almost equal designs of the Chapel of Henry VII. at Westminster, and S. George's Chapel in Windsor Castle. The Italian Renaissance was indeed introduced in 1518, by Pietro Torrigiano, in Henry VII.'s Monument at Westminster; but in the next period it was only copied in similar minor works. In 1544 another Italian architect, John of Padua, is mentioned; and soon after, Girolamo da Trevigi executed several works. In the latter half of the century, the clumsy but pleasantly fanciful Elizabethan style was developed; and a number of important palaces were built in this taste. John Thorpe is mentioned as a noteworthy architect of this period.

The Renaissance first reached Germany,* where the Gothic style prevailed far into the sixteenth century, through the relations of the Upper German commercial cities of Augsburg and Nuremberg with Upper Italy, and particularly with Venice. Artists like Dürer, Hans Burgkmaier, etc., journeyed across the Alps, and brought home a knowledge of the new models. At first, therefore, the fanciful forms of the early Renaissance were used in Germany in painting and sculpture, woodcuts, and copper-plate engraving. Peter Vischer's Tomb of S. Sebald,† in the church of that name in Nuremberg, is one of the most important examples of such application, although there is a great mixture of late Gothic elements in it. Architecture at first entered upon the new style timidly and experimentally, employing it for minor works only. Examples of this kind, dating within the first twenty years of the century, may be found scattered throughout Germany, but no larger composition in the new style. And these works are manifestly the work of Italian artists; as, for instance, in the Jagellon Chapel in the Cathedral of Cracow (1520), the doorway of the Salvator Chapel at Vienna (1515), and the Arsenal at Wiener-Neustadt (1515)—all within the dominions of the Austrian crown. The German princes were the first to embody the teachings of the new school, and to make use of the Renaissance in fine châteaux. But here, too, Italian artists were often employed, as in the elegant porches of the Belvedere at Prague, in Bohemia (1536) the Castle at Landshut, in Bavaria, of the same period, with its rich paintings and

* Compare Lübke's "History of the German Renaissance"; Stuttgart, 1872. Also Ortwein's "Deutsche Renaissance"; Leipzig, 1873.

†A. Reindel, "Die wichtigsten Bildwerken am Sebaldusgrabe in Nürnberg von Peter Vischer"; 18 plates, Nuremberg, no date.

sculptures; and even as late as 1547, in the Palace of the Piasti at Brieg, in Silesia, with its lavishly ornamented doorways. Architects from the Netherlands were also employed, as in the case of the Schloss at Liegnitz, near Brieg (1533), and the splendid choir in the Capitoline Church of Santa Maria at Cologne, on the Rhine (1524). Prince Porzia's Schloss at Spital, in Carinthia, is also unmistakably the work of foreign, indeed of Upper Italian artists. In 1530, however, German masters came forward with more important works in the new style; and in their hands it was soon stamped with national individuality. The influence of the mediæval traditional style, native to the country, is apparent in the picturesque design of the buildings, in the high roofs and gables, balconies, countless towers and turrets, which often serve to enclose winding stairs; while even in the construction of the ceilings, late Gothic forms of vaulting play a large part. This architectonic framework was at this date covered with the slight decorative forms of the Upper Italian early Renaissance, with which Gothic motives were often blended. This easy and simple style prevailed up to about 1560, but finally began to be modified by the first tokens of the dawning baroque style. Duke George's Hall and Tower in the Royal Palace at Dresden (1530), and the splendid building at Torgau, in Saxony, built in 1532, with its imposing staircase tower and richly decorated bay-window (Fig. 447), now used as a caserne, are among the most important works of this period. The Schloss at Dessau has a similar though less stately staircase tower, dating from 1533. In 1547 Hans Dehn-Rothfelser enlarged and beautified the Dresden Palace in the reign of the Elector Moritz, with its loggia, and four rich, winding stairways, all adorned with frescos like so many other German Renaissance buildings. The entrance to the Chapel, dating from 1555, and one of the masterpieces of the German Renaissance, has recently been removed. Farther north, Mecklenburg was specially active in introducing the Renaissance. The elaborately ornamented brick Palace at Wismar, in Mecklenburg-Schwerin, was built after 1553; followed in 1555 by the Palace at Schwerin, now rebuilt in a most elaborate transitional style. The little Castle at Gadebusch, in the same province (1569), is a later specimen of this style; while the imposing Palace built at Güstrow, near Wismar (1558), adopts the forms of French Renaissance—a consistently executed show-building, especially to be commended for its excellent stucco decorations in the interior. At about this same time, after 1559, the Castle at Oels was begun; the magnificent outer doorway not being added until 1603. The Heldburg, in Franconian Thuringia, Saxe Meiningen, with its richly treated bay-windows, is especially delicate in its forms (1568).

In South Germany, meantime, aside from the Italian buildings at Landshut, and at Prague, in Bohemia, the Renaissance was introduced by German masters, particularly at the courts of the Elec-

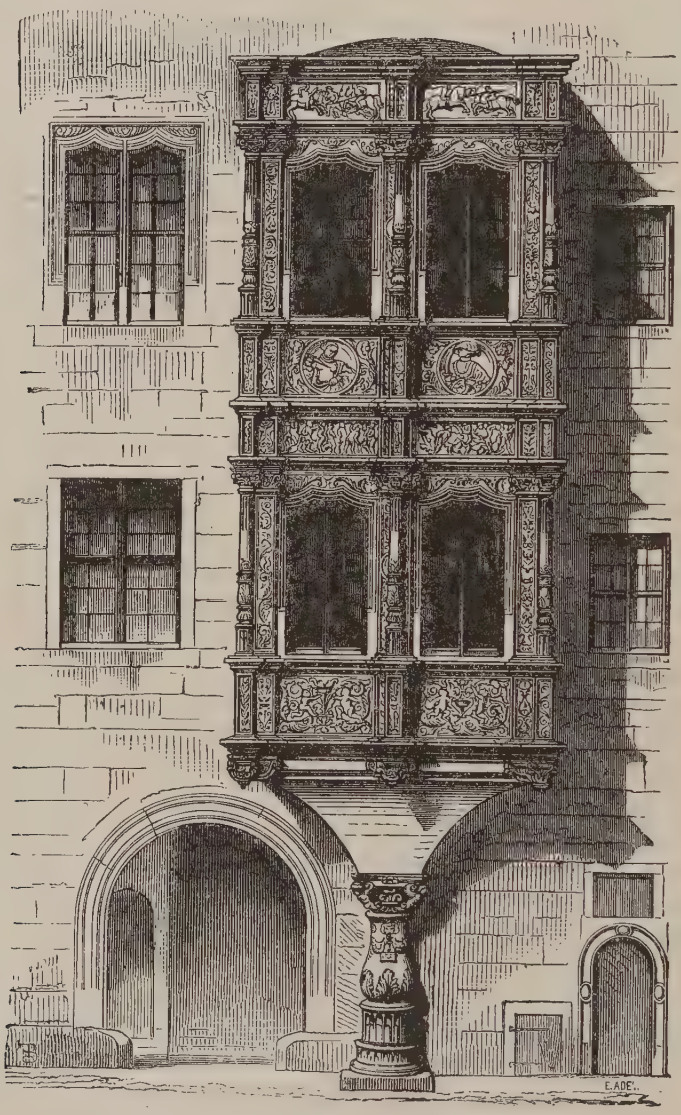

Fig. 447. Bay-Window. Castle at Torgau.

tors of the Palatinate and the Duke of Württemberg. The new style appears in Heidelberg Castle in 1545, in Frederick II.'s part of the work; and in 1556-59 it attained its height

in the addition of Otto Heinrich, which was afterward excelled in rude power only by that of Frederick IV. As early as 1545 the same Otto Heinrich employed the Renaissance, though in a not very pure style, in the Castle at Neuburg. Shortly after (1553), Master Aberlin Tretsch, under Duke Christopher, built the Old Palace (altes Schloss) at Stuttgart, whose court, with its vigorously effective colonnaded hall in three stories, affords the first instance of a complete plan of the kind in South Germany; similar arcades having

Fig. 448. Castle of Gottesau.

been introduced just before at Brieg by Italians. In 1553 was built the graceful Schloss of Gottesau, near Karlsruhe (Fig. 448); and at about the same time the Castle of the Teutonic Knights at Mergentheim, on the Tauber, probably received its two beautiful winding staircases. One equally elaborate (1562) may be seen in Göppingen, near Stuttgart, in Würtemberg. The Castle of Neuenstein, in Württemberg, dates back to 1564, and is noticeable for its stately front, rich portal, and winding stairs. In 1564 the Plassenburg was built at Culmbach, in Northern Bavaria, and it is one of the most imposing Renaissance castles in Germany, with the extravagantly

ornamented portico in its great courtyard. The little Castle of Isenburg at Offenbach (1572), also, has graceful porches. In Austria, among many similar buildings, Castle Schalaburg, west of Vienna,

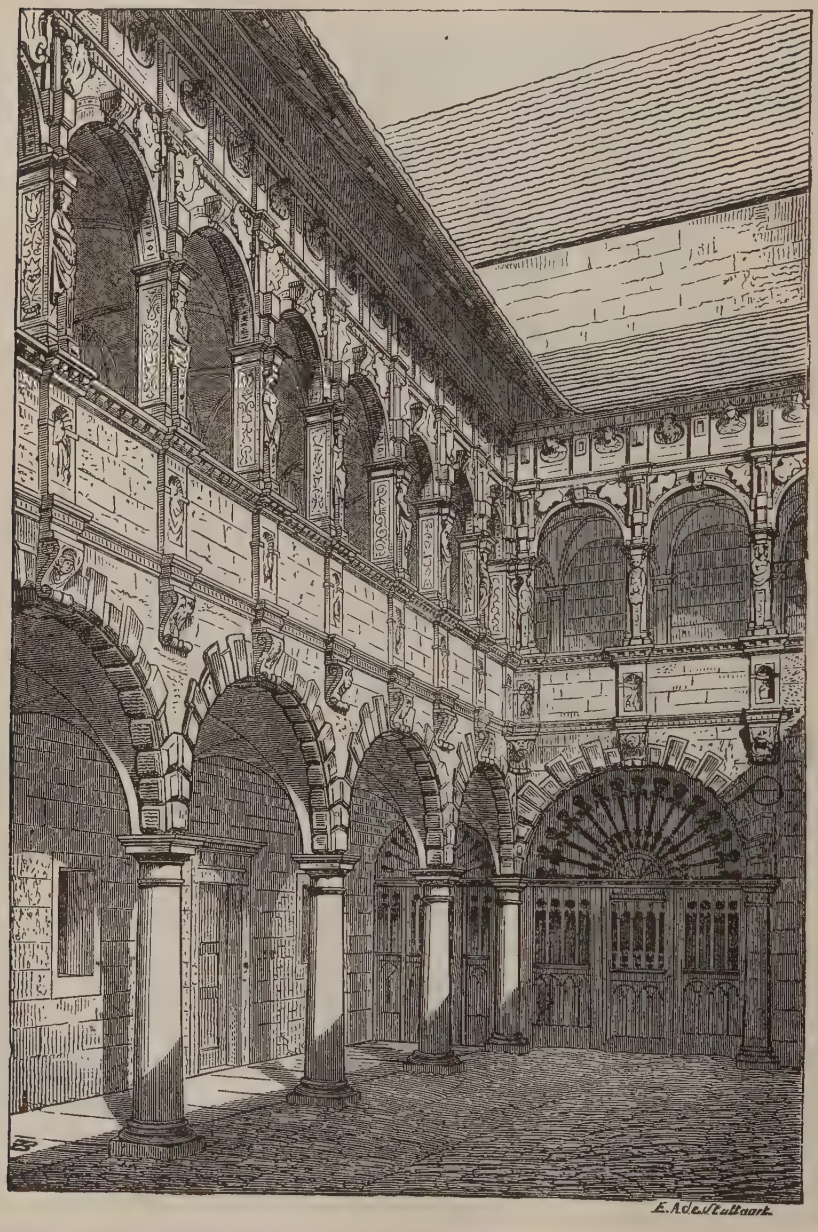

Fig. 449. Court of the Castle at Schalaburg.

ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, LONDON

with its arcades adorned with terra-cotta (Fig. 449), and the court of the Landhaus (Hall of the Estates of Styria) at Gratz, in Styria,

Fig. 450. Town Hall at Altenburg.

south of Vienna, in somewhat more severe style, deserve special mention.

The burgher classes were slow to accept this movement, and were prone to mingle a large proportion of motives of the late Gothic style with the new forms. This is early noticeable in Alsace, in the Corn Hall at Oberehnheim (1523), the Town Hall at Ensisheim (1535), and the Rathaus at Mühlhausen (1552); the last-named being richly ornamented with frescos. The same architectural treatment is evident in a private house in Colmar (1538). In Nuremberg we find the Clothweavers' House (Tucherhaus), most original in design, and dating back to 1533, and the splendidly decorated hall in the Hirschvogel House (1534). Breslau, in the province of Silesia, yielded to the Renaissance surprisingly soon: for classical influence appears in 1517 in the doors of the sacristy of the Cathedral; in 1521, fused with Gothic forms, in the Town Hall; in 1527, in the Canon House; and, a year later, in a gate of the Town Hall, and in the Crown Inn. Nor was Görlitz, at the western extremity of the same province, behindhand in accepting the Renaissance, a private house in this style being marked with the date 1526; but the Town Hall did not receive its elegant porch, with outside steps and balcony, until 1537. An Italian built the façade of the Town Hall in Posen, farther north, with its triple-pillared hall, in 1550; but the Town Hall at Altenburg, near Leipzig (Fig. 450), 1563, is the vigorous work of a German; and about 1566 Albert von Soest completed the florid carvings of the Council Chamber. Soon after, the entrance hall to the Town Hall (Rathaus) of Cologne was built—one of the most elegant and exquisite works of the German Renaissance.

After 1570 a continuous and ever-advancing change of form took place. While the previous national customs were retained in plan and execution, elements of the baroque style constantly gained favor; and the buildings took on a clumsy expression and a showy extravagance, evidenced in the decoration of the surface by an imitation of the motives of locksmiths' and of blacksmiths' work, and of all sorts of ribbon and leather work. At the same time, the movement gained a firmer hold and wider diffusion among the burgher class; so that a characteristic change was now effected for the first time in the rebuilding and rich ornamentation of council-houses and city dwellings. Among great mansions we may specially mention Trausnitz at Landshut, in Bavaria, preëminent for its beautiful paintings (1578); the old Lusthaus at Stuttgart* (1553-60), built by George Behr—a structure noteworthy for originality in plan, and brilliantly finished with paintings and sculpture.

* Finished by the exertions of the architect Beisbarth. The designs are in the Stuttgart Polytechnic School.

Chapter III.

THE ARTS OF REPRESENTATION IN ITALY IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

I. *Sculpture.**

SCULPTURE having gained a freer footing in Italy during the Gothic periods, means and opportunity for still more unrestrained development were now afforded it. It was chiefly devoted to the ornamentation of tomb monuments and altars which, with few exceptions, were built up against the wall in the shape of a triumphal arch, and required much plastic decoration in the way of reliefs and detached figures. Pulpits, fonts, holy-water basins, singing galleries, and choir screens were also adorned with rich carvings. This abundant supply of work necessarily called forth a corresponding skill, and the nature of the subject helped the artistic and realistic taste of the time to express itself. There was a decided effort to attain a correct likeness in portrait statues of the dead, and in the numerous reliefs there was a tendency to portray the varied scenes of life. If, on the whole, this very period of strong realism preserved the Italian school from a petty, over-exact execution, and from erring on the side of unnecessary and labored detail, it was due not only to the study of the antique, but much more to the innate tendency of Italian art toward all that is essential and important—a love aroused and fostered in earlier epochs.

A.—TUSCAN SCHOOLS.

Tuscany, long the center and head of Italian art, again leads the van in our consideration of this subject. The first important master who represented the transition from the earlier style to the new form of art was Jacopo della Quercia, surnamed della Fonte,

* Bode, "Die italienische Plastik"; "Italienische Bildhauer der Renaissance"; "Denkmäler der Sculptur der Renaissance in Toskana." Cavallucci and Molinier, "Les Della Robbia." Perkins, "Tuscan Sculptors"; "Italian Sculptors"; "Historical Handbook of Italian Sculpture"; "Ghiberti et son École." Reymond, "La Sculpture Florentine"; "Les Della Robbia"; "Semper, Donatello, seine Zeit und Schule." See also bibliographies above for Renaissance in general, and architecture.

who lived from 1374 to 1438. His principal works are the tomb of Ilaria del Carretto in the cathedral at Lucca; sculptures on the altar and two tombs in S. Frediano in the same town; the sculptures on the main entrance to S. Petronio at Bologna (1430); and the much earlier sculpture of the fountain in the Piazza del Campo, Siena (1412-19), from the excellence of which he received his surname. In these various works we perceive the artist, with a fine feeling for

Fig. 451. St. Matthew, by Ghiberti.

lifelike action and sharp characterization, gradually working his way through mediæval tradition to a new and original style.

The great Florentine master Lorenzo Ghiberti (1381-1455) was more important and influential; being one of those pioneers in the history of art who really mark an epoch, and one of the greatest sculptors of any age. He, too, begins with the laws prescribed by the older school, but reveals a delicacy in the execution of form—espe-

GHIBERTI

BRONZE DOORS OF THE BAPTISTERY, FLORENCE

cially of nude form, which belongs to a new habit of thought—in the very first of his works which is known to us: a bronze relief of the Sacrifice of Isaac, made in his twentieth year (1401), and now in the National Museum at Florence. It was designed, in competition with other artists, for the bronze doors of the Baptistery. From 1403 to 1404 he completed the bronze door for the north entrance of the Florentine Baptistery, which has twenty representations in relief from the New Testament, with the figures of the four fathers of

Fig. 452. From Ghiberti's Gate. The Baptistery, Florence.

the church, and those of the evangelists (Fig. 451). The arrangement is similar to that of Andrea Pisano on the south door, and is still chiefly architectural, the relief being simply treated, although the grouping is more elaborate than in the other; but the master has poured forth a wealth of pregnant life in a few touches, and, in some of the scenes has produced incomparable masterpieces. At the same period Ghiberti executed three statues for the niches on the outside of Or San Michele; the first (1414) being John the Baptist, which, in spite of its severity of form, reveals a considerable amount of characteristic expression. The next (1422) is the Apostle Matthew; and the last, S. Stephen—a youthful figure of harmonious sweetness. Two bronze reliefs on the font at San Giovanni in Siena—Christ's

Baptism and John Before Herod—belong to a somewhat later period (1427); the latter being lifelike, expressive, and finely grouped.

Next follows his famous masterpiece (1424-47), the eastern doors of the Florentine Baptistery, which, it is well known, moved Michelangelo to declare that they were worthy to be the gates of paradise. Scenes from the Old Testament are represented in ten large panels. The first portrays the creation of man; next is shown Adam and Eve driven out of Eden, and toiling at their bitter labor; then Noah's thank-offering after the Deluge; Abraham's promise, and the sacrifice on Mount Moriah; Esau's renunciation of his birthright; Joseph and his brethren; Moses in the presence of the Lord on Sinai; the fall of the walls of Jericho; the battle with the Amorites; and the Queen of Sheba at Solomon's court. In the treatment of the relief, the master has here adopted a pictorial method. The crowded composition, the detailed delineation of landscape and of architecture in the background, with groups of figures diminishing in perspective, are undoubtedly an error, since it oversteps the bounds of sculpture. However, the whole is so pervaded by a high and noble character, there is such an elevated grace in the figures, with such truly classic perfection of form and such incomparable freedom and fresh life in expression and action, that it must always be considered one of the grandest works of modern art (Fig. 452).

Finally, Ghiberti executed after 1439 the bronze sarcophagus of S. Zenobius in the Cathedral of Florence, three of its sides being covered with scenes in relief from the lives of the saint. It is treated in the same picturesque style, and is rich in significant touches and in beautiful detached figures.

Side by side with Ghiberti, and doubtless influenced by his work, there arose a younger artist, who, scarcely less distinguished in his way, pursued a similar course—Luca della Robbia (1400-81). The principal works of this charming master and his able school consist of figures of baked clay, covered with an opaque and brilliant glaze, mostly in white on a pale blue ground, with slight additions of green, yellow, and violet. Various works in marble and bronze are attributed to his earlier years, and may be reckoned among the best of that age in purity and refinement. The earliest of them, finished in 1445, is the fine marble frieze from the cathedral, now set up in the National Museum. It represents boys and girls of different ages, dancing, singing, and playing on various musical instruments; it is full of charming simplicity and childlike grace, rich and varied in action and in mirthful expression of pure and innocent enjoyment. Parts of some of the figures are almost wholly detached from the background, particularly in the representation of the dance. The

LUCA DELLA ROBBIA
MADONNA AND CHILD
MUSEO NAZIONALE, FLORENCE

bronze doors of the sacristy of the Cathedral of Florence come next in order (1446-64). The panels contain the sitting figures of the Madonna, John the Baptist, the evangelists, and the four Fathers of the Church, surrounded by angels, in ten compartments. Most of these figures are extremely beautiful, and of noble action; and the drapery is treated purely and well.

But the chief fame of this excellent artist rests on the numerous glazed terra-cottas made by himself and his assistants. They were made to order in great quantities, and form the most attractive ornament of almost every church, sacristy, and chapel in Florence and the region round about. We may ascribe to the simple subjects, and to the delicacy of the master's feeling, the purity and moderation

Fig. 453. Madonna of Luca della Robbia. Terra-cotta.

of the relief style in these works, which greatly differs from the too picturesque treatment of that time. The wise and temperate use of color is well adapted to promote the agreeable effect of these unpretending efforts, and to increase their value as architectural ornaments. The Madonna and Child are represented, times without number (Fig. 453), surrounded by angels and saints; but the master is inexhaustible—a Raphael in his own way—in ever-new arrangements and modifications, which ring the changes on the same theme of sweet and blissful maternal love with never-failing grace. These works are abundant in Tuscan churches, and especially in those of Florence,

sometimes appearing in the lunettes over doors, as we find the Annunciation over the door of the Church of the Innocenti, and as in the lunette of the sacristy doors of the cathedral, which display the Ascension and Resurrection; these, however, are less successful examples. They also cover whole altars and tabernacles, as in the altar to the Trinity in the Cathedral of Arezzo, and the charming altar in the left nave of the Santi Apostoli at Florence, which is one of the loveliest, richest, and most agreeable specimens. Finally, the simple and exquisite medallions of infants in swaddling clothes in the spandrels of the arcaded portico of the Ospedale degli Innocenti, and on the frieze of the Pistoja Hospital—one of the later but still excellent works of this school—belong to this period.

The tendency of the time was carried to the extreme limit by a third Florentine artist, who won a preponderating influence over his fellow-workers and successors by his strong naturalism. Donatello,* whose real name was Donato di Betto Bardi (1386-1468), clung more closely than any other artist of his day to a true representation of nature, in sharp contrast both to the traditions of the earlier period and to the nobility of form of the antique school. He did indeed study the antique, as his early works more especially testify; but the results of this study gradually vanish, to give place to the most unbridled effort after sharp individualization. As compared with this, beauty was a matter of indifference to him; and it entered his works less decidedly, and, as if by accident. He was greatly aided by his productiveness and his energetic industry; so that he produced a large number of works which are still extant. The marble reliefs which he made for the front of a gallery in the Cathedral at Florence, and which are now in the National Museum, are among the most important of his earlier efforts. Like those by Luca della Robbia, they depict a throng of children, in which there is an evident freshness of conception, although they cannot rival the happy proportions and delicate grace of the former. His rugged, naturalistic style is most apparent in larger single figures, several of which are still extant in Florence. He succeeds best in manly, energetic, youthful figures. To be sure, the bronze David in the National Museum is not free from exaggeration; the marble John the Baptist is repulsively like a skeleton; and the bronze one in the Cathedral of Siena, though rather better, is also very coarse. But, on the other hand, the bronze statues of S. Peter and S. Mark in the niches on the outside of Or San Michele are treated in a dignified and able manner; and the marble S. George, formerly in another niche of the same church, but now removed to the National Museum, is distin-

* Compare H. Semper's "Monograph on Donatello"; 1875.

guished by its bold and youthfully elastic attitude. S. Mary Magdalen, in the Baptistery, is exceedingly awkward, and almost repulsive; and the bronze Judith, represented as victorious over Holofernes, in the Loggia de' Lanzi, is fairly grotesque.

Donatello's impulse to break new paths for his art, by main force if need be, is especially exemplified by the bronze equestrian statue of Francesco Gattamelata at Padua, the first equestrian statue of importance in modern art. It is characteristic to excess, but full of life and power.

In his relief compositions Donatello favored the crowded and picturesque arrangement customary on the antique sarcophagi, and according to the tendency of his age. The high altar of San Antonio at Padua and the altar in the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament in the same church are adorned with singing angels of childish simplicity and agreeable expression, and partly with stories of saintly miracles, which are treated in a picturesque but most expressive spirit (Fig. 454). One of his last works was to finish the bronze reliefs on the two pulpits in San Lorenzo at Florence, representing our Lord's Passion, conceived with rare life, and with an even, mild spirit. The delineation of the various emotions is always powerful and affecting, particularly on the left-hand pulpit, the execution of which was probably entirely his own. The bronzes with which he enriched the old sacristy of the same church at an earlier period are very fine—works of a moderation and dignity rare with him, and in thorough harmony with Brunellesco's architecture. The sandstone relief of the Annunciation in Santa Croce, a creation full of fervor and grace, also belongs to the years of his earlier activity (Fig. 455).

Fig. 454. Relief by Donatello in San Antonio. Padua.

Among the few older masters who counterbalanced Donatello's violent naturalism, Brunellesco himself deserves special mention, as having taken part with Ghiberti in the competition for the bronze

doors of the Baptistery, and made a design in relief for them, which is preserved in the National Museum with that of Ghiberti. It displays an animated and distinct arrangement, and a thorough study of nature. He also made a large wooden crucifix of much dignity and

Fig. 455. Relief of the Annunciation. By Donatello. Santa Croce.

nobility, which stands on the altar in a side chapel of Santa Maria Novella.

Donatello's younger contemporaries for the most part followed in his footsteps. Among them we may reckon Antonio Pollaiuolo (1429-98), hard and clear-cut even to mannerism in his works, though skillful at bronze statues, as is shown in his tomb monuments of Innocent VIII. and Sixtus IV. in S. Peter's at Rome; also Antonio Filarete, who executed the not very important bronze doors of the main entrance to S. Peter's; and the brothers Bernardo and Antonio Rosellini, by whom there are admirable marble tombs in San Mini-

ato, Florence, the tomb of Lionardo Bruni in Santa Croce, and, in the Church of Monte Oliveto at Naples, tombs and an excellent relief placed as an altar-piece. More particularly, however, we must mention Andrea Verocchio (1435-88), whose real name was Andrea di Michele di Francesco Cione, who further perfected Donatello's style by a conscientious study of nature, and exercised a powerful influence upon the progress of Italian art as the teacher of Leonardo

Fig. 456. Equestrian Statue of Bartolommeo Colleoni. By Verocchio. Venice.

da Vinci. An able and finely executed work by him is the bronze group, in a niche of Or San Michele, of Christ showing His wounds to the incredulous Thomas. His equestrian statue of Bartolommeo Colleoni, before the Church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo at Venice, is especially important, full of energetic character and bold life. It was completed, after the master's death, by Alessandro Leopardo, a Venetian (Fig. 456).

One of the most important and also most pleasing artists of this time was Benedetto da Majano (1442-98). The beautiful marble pulpit of Santa Croce at Florence was decorated by him with rich reliefs illustrating the life of S. Francis, which are among the freshest and most delightful works of the century (Fig. 457). The arrangement, general distribution, and ornament reveal a pure simplicity and rare wealth of fancy. The small allegorical female figures

Fig. 457. Relief from the Marble Pulpit in Santa Croce. By Benedetto da Majano Florence.

in graceful niches are full of grace and tenderness. Above, in the five compartments of the pulpit, are the cleverly executed scenes in relief, distinctly designed, and finished with a free, noble fluency, without crowding, and yet picturesquely and naïvely grouped against backgrounds of landscape and architecture. The noble monument to Filippo Strozzi in Santa Maria Novella, Florence, is another work by the same master. Matteo Civitali (1435-1501) is also a well-known master of this time, whose beautiful and finely finished works

are chiefly to be found in the Cathedral of his native city, Lucca. His last work was to complete (1492) six marble statues of Old Testament characters in the Chapel of S. John in the Cathedral of Genoa.

This artistically active period has indeed an inexhaustible store of marble tombs, to be found not only in Tuscan churches, but also in other parts of Italy. Rome is peculiarly rich in works of this kind. Almost every church there has examples of the rich, delicate, and often artistically fine works of the Florentine school. Santa Maria del Popolo especially forms a positive museum of such productions. Mino da Fiesole, with his scholars and comrades, seems to have had a large share in the execution of these Roman monuments. They are generally mural monuments, arranged in finely decorated, arched niches. The lifelike figure of the deceased rests as if in slumber on the bier, which represents a catafalque. Graceful angels weep and watch about him, while they hold back the marble curtains which apparently veil the niche. In the arch panel above the deceased are the Madonna and Christ-child, sometimes accompanied by the patron saints of the dead person. The consecration of the noblest art here unites with the consolations of religion to give an expression of quiet, peaceful devotion.

B.—THE SCHOOLS OF UPPER AND LOWER ITALY.

The Tuscan sculpture of this period was so rich in creative power and talent, and corresponded so perfectly to the taste of the time, that its artists were employed throughout Italy, and were intrusted with a great part of the monumental undertakings of the time. But we also find many native artists at work, especially in Upper Italy, who adopted the new style, partly owing to Florentine influence, but in a great measure from their own independent effort to follow the tendency of the period. The splendor-loving Venetian aristocracy gave numerous orders to sculptors, principally consisting of funeral monuments. The churches of Venice, especially SS. Giovanni e Paolo and Santa Maria Gloriosa de' Frari, are almost overcrowded with these rich and noble works in marble; and as such works require very many and various powers for their execution, they can but seldom be referred entirely to one artist. But a long list of names has been handed down to us, by which whole families of sculptors were known, united through the traditions of a common studio no less than by the ties of blood.

Bartolommeo Buono heads the new movement. He gradually

passes from the ideal style of the Middle Ages to the realistic school of the fifteenth century in his greatest and most important works. In the lunette above the door of the Abbazia della Misericordia Church in Venice there is a Madonna, adored by small figures of monks, in which the exquisite grace and fervor of an earlier age prevail. But, on the other hand, the lunette over the door of the Scuola di San Marco already betrays a change, which is completed in the sculptures of the Porta della Carta of the Doge's Palace (1443), a work full of life and beauty.

After 1450 the products of the above-named studios must be added; and their extent and splendor prove the wealth of the creative gifts that were brought to the employment of the new style, which, with its tendency to realism, was adopted here. It is impossible even to attempt to enumerate the immense number of these monuments; and, indeed, very little can be determined with any certainty as to the work of any individual artist.* They possess in common the high charm of exquisite fervor and tender grace which often comes into this new epoch like an echo of expiring mediævalism. On the other hand, the execution of physical form is not equal to Florentine work in accuracy and thoroughness; nor are such richness and variety of action to be discovered.

Antonio Rizzo, or Bregno, is among the first of those who carried still further the work begun by Bartolommeo, as is proved by the monuments of the two doges in the choir of the Frari church above named. Lorenzo Bregno, the younger master, who worked early in the sixteenth century, and to whom many monuments may be ascribed, was even more influential. The artistic family of the Lombardi were prominent in Venice both as architects and sculptors. Pietro Lombardo, whom we have already noticed as an architect, stands at their head, with his sons Tullio and Antonio. A very large number of memorial works are attributed to these artists, who worked in common; so that we cannot definitely fix the share of each. Their chief works are the tomb monument of Doge Mocenigo in the Church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, numerous reliefs on the façade of the Scuola di S. Marco, and a great altar-piece by the more talented Tullio in San Giovanni Crisostomo, which represents the coronation of the Virgin in a most unusual arrangement. The Virgin kneels before Christ, who, surrounded by his Apostles, places the crown on her head. The prevailing expression is one of grace and fervor; the treatment is decidedly antique in spirit, especially in

* "The History of Venetian Architecture and Sculpture," by O. Mothes (Leipzig, 1850), contains the results of careful and conscientious research, and is an indispensable assistant in the study of Venetian art.

the excellently managed drapery; while the heads and hair are stiff and hard in execution.

Among later works of the two sons, the date of which has been correctly ascertained, are the reliefs in the beautiful Chapel of San Antonio, in the church of the same name at Padua, which really belong late in the next century, but are mentioned here for the sake of unity. The ninth in the series, where the saint forces a little child to speak by a miracle, that it may testify to its mother's innocence, is by Antonio, who shows himself in it to be the simplest and clearest follower of this school in both arrangement and treatment of the relief, and also proves himself the closest follower of antiquity. The sixth, where the saint opens the corpse of a miser, and finds a stone in place of a heart, is signed with Tullio's name, and the date 1525. To

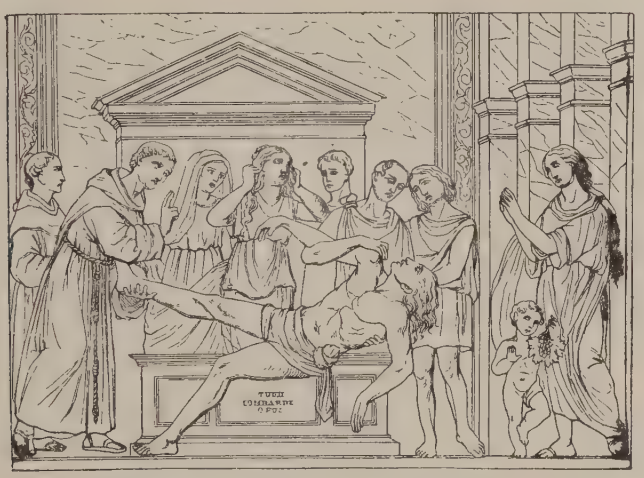

Fig. 458. Relief by Tullio Lombardi.

the same master belongs the seventh, also signed, in which the saint cures a young man's broken leg (Fig. 458). Both works display a certain rude, sharp, angular mannerism, particularly the former; but yet they are natural, and clear in design.

This Venetian style was developed into pure and noble grace by Alessandro Leopardo, who, also, at the head of a great workshop, produced many important works. The most beautiful of Venetian monuments—that to the Doge Andrea Vendramin (1479), in the choir of SS. Giovanni e Paolo—is ascribed to him. It is composed in a most imposing style, and with an eye to general effect, and adorned with numerous figures in a simple antique style; but the too regular folds of the draperies show the frigidity peculiar to the Venetians,

which is, however, counterbalanced by the innocent grace of many of the heads. Leopardo also worked with the Lombardi on the superb decoration of the Chapel of Cardinal Zeno in San Marco, the noble Madonna della Scarpa in which church is especially attributed to him. Finally, he designed the three bronze supporters for flagstaffs in the Piazza of San Marco, which give evidence of the same fine plastic taste, deriving its inspiration from the antique.

In Lombardy the façade of the Certosa in Pavia, which is fairly loaded with sculptures, was the scene of action for a throng of artists who worked late into the sixteenth century. It is even harder to distinguish individual artists here; but there is a general expression of mellowness, grace, and amiability, side by side with which we easily recognize a different conception, often falling into one-sided naturalism, and reminding us of the Paduan school of painting by its austere expression, sharply broken folds of drapery, and a mannerism which often becomes repulsive. Among the best masters of the close of the fifteenth century was Antonio Amadeo, the artist of the beautiful marble portal leading from the Church of the Certosa to the cloisters of the convent. The influence of Leonardo da Vinci and his school became apparent early in the sixteenth century; the lovely expression of the heads here, especially that of the Madonna, is strongly stamped with his style. The splendid monument to Gian Galeazzo Visconti, erected in the transept by the monks to the founder of this church, was also begun by Amadeo, aided by Giovanni Giacomo della Porta. Cristoforo Solari, called Il Gobbo, executed the fine statues of Lodovico il Moro, and his wife Beatrice d'Este, in the north transept. The frontal of the high altar, with a fine relief medallion of a Pietà upborne by angels, is attributed to the same artist. The main front to the church, unspeakably rich in relief sculpture, which is spread over pillars and architrave, is supposed to be the work of the talented Agostino Busti, called Bambaja, one of the greatest masters of the early part of the sixteenth century. The chief work of Busti—though it is ascribed by others to Benedetto Briosco and Amadeo—was the monument to Gaston de Foix, who died in the bloom of youth; remnants of it may now be found in the Brera Archæological Museum at Milan, the chapel on Isola Bella, Lago Maggiore, and in the Civic Museum at Turin. The statue of the deceased lies smiling, as in triumph; and its touching, youthful beauty forms one of the most affecting creations of sculpture. There is also another smaller monument by the same artist in the Brera collection. His, too, are the noble sculpture of the Virgin on the altar in the south transept of the Cathedral of Milan, and the superb monument to Cardinal Caracciolo in the choir of the same church; and there are

many among the marble statues on the exterior of the cathedral choir which testify to his skilful hand.

We recognize the vigorous realism of Upper Italy in the numerous works with which Tommaso Rodari and his brother (1490 and thereabouts) adorned the beautiful Cathedral at Como. Although there is no very lifelike feeling in the separate figures, yet the general highly decorative effect of this work is attractive. Of similar style are the southern portal, the even finer north entrance, also the very original monuments to the older and younger Pliny on the façade, which are valuable as proofs of enthusiastic devotion to the antique; and, finally, the first altar of the right nave in the interior. The splendid carved altar to S. Abbondio betrays another and yet an original hand, being one of the few examples of wood-carving of this kind in Italy.

Lastly, we may also esteem the splendid monument to Bartolommeo Colleoni in the Colleoni Chapel at Bergamo as one of the best works of Antonio Amadeo. Richly adorned with statues and reliefs, it has upon the sarcophagus an equestrian figure of the deceased, carved in wood, and gilded. Of varying merit in its details, as a whole it forms one of the most important examples of the Lombard school. The small memorial of Colleoni's daughter Medea, in the same place, is another charming production of the same master.

With these works, all which have a direct connection with architecture, or else require an architectural setting, another school arose, introduced and developed by Guido Mazzoni of Modena—a school which completely freed sculpture from these relations, and aimed to produce a decided dramatic effect in detached groups of figures of painted clay. Gifted with undeniable talent, this artist goes to such an extreme of passionate pathos and unreserved naturalism that his works become bizarre and repulsive, despite all their affecting qualities. His principal work is the Madonna, with the body of Christ lamented by His disciples, in the Church of S. Giovanni Decollato at Modena. He also treated the same subject in the Mortuary Chapel at Monte Oliveto at Naples; and there is a group of a similar nature, from the same master's hand, in the Church of Madonna della Rosa at Ferrara. We recognize kindred spirits in painters such as Crivelli, Montagna, and even Mantegna.

Finally, we must refer to the interest which Lower Italy, especially Naples, took in the new movement. Although here, as in Rome, the artists who made the Renaissance supreme in sculpture were chiefly Florentine, there was not an entire lack of home talent. Among the native artists, Andrea Ciccione, early in the fifteenth century, attractively represents the transition from the old style to the new. The

monument to King Ladislaus, behind the high altar in San Giovanni a Carbonara at Naples, is his work. The style of composition is Gothic; and as a whole it is extremely effective and finely done; but the figures show the early dawn of the realistic style. The statues of the Virtues are beautifully draped, and agreeable in expression; the seated figures of the royal family, and the equestrian statue of the deceased which crowns the monument, are dignified and strong, although the attempt to preserve the likeness gives them a somewhat vacant look. The sculptures which adorn the richly finished crypt of the Cathedral of Naples, signed by Tommaso Malvito of Como, 1504, a Lombard artist, naturally belong to the close of the fifteenth century. They represent the Madonna, saints, and angels in a rather hard, unpleasant, realistic style, and are arranged in a peculiar manner in medallions on the ceiling. The contemporaneous marble statue of Cardinal Olivier Caraffa kneeling at his prie-dieu is a wonderful work, clever and lifelike, though dryly realistic.

2. *Painting.**

We have already seen how strongly the taste of the new epoch inclined toward the pictorial from the predominance of this element in sculpture. It was even more marked in painting—an art which was incomparably better fitted to satisfy the effort to represent the truth and variety of life in its inward as well as its external emotions. But that which proved of very decided benefit to Italian painting, especially at this period, was the constant demand for large frescos, permitting a bold, largely conceived style to find a vigorous development, and by this composition on a large scale, guarding painters from the stumbling-block of Northern art at this time—losing themselves in mere details, non-essentials, and trifles. What also won painting the advantage of a far freer position was the fact that it was less disturbed than sculpture by the imitation of antique art, and that its goal was the fresh, direct conception of reality, which it was possible for every artist to reach in one way or another, according to his special gift. These causes explain the versatility of the painting of this period, which far exceeds that of sculpture.

* Crowe and Cavalcaselle, "A New History of Painting in Italy"; "A History of Painting in North Italy"; "Titian, His Life and Times"; "Raphael, His Life and Works." Mantz, "Les Chefs-d'œuvre de la Peinture Italienne." Morelli, "Italian Painters" (2 separate vols.). Vasari, "Lives," etc.; Milanesi edition (English translation by Mrs. Foster). Translation of "Seventy Lives," with notes, edited by Blashfield and Hopkins. There are also a great number of monographs of special artists; while every year brings new works which tend to improve in quality. Improved editions of old ones also appear.

A.—THE TUSCAN SCHOOL.

As in the former epoch, so in this, the Tuscan school ranks first in the wealth and enduring vigor of its artistic creative power. As Giotto and Orcagna, although with the more significant symbolic medium of their time, based the tendency of Florentine art on the delineation of natural action, so, too, the masters of this era accepted that task in the spirit of their age. But if they tell a sacred story, the incident is no longer the chief thing with them: it simply serves them as a pretext for the lifelike conception and portrayal of reality. Therefore they set the saintly figures in rich surroundings of landscape, delight in beautifully adorned architectural backgrounds, and make their own contemporaries, in the costume of the day, interested witnesses of the sacred incidents. While there is thus a decided falling-off of the purely religious import of their pictures, real life for the first time becomes the serious subject of art, and is so glorified and heightened by the great good taste native to the Florentine school as to give lasting value in the realm of the beautiful to these figures, in spite of their temporal and limited nature.

A number of artists now appear, who take an intermediate place, as marking a transition from the principles of mediæval portrayal to the attempt to lend a greater force of reality, a more strongly natural feeling, to their subjects. To these belong Paolo Doni, called Uccello (1396 till after 1469), whose frescos from the Old Testament in the court of the Convent of Santa Maria Novella at Florence, painted in *terra verde,* and representing the Deluge and Noah's Sacrifice, are remarkable for their early application of the art of perspective. A bold battle-scene in the National Gallery at London, another in the Uffizi at Florence, and the equestrian picture of the English free-lance, Sir John de Hawkwood, painted in *grisaille,* in the cathedral of the same city, prove him to have been at home in the field of secular art. Next comes Andrea del Castagno (1390-1457), a strong realist, who was one of the earliest and most decided in the introduction of every-day life in painting, as is testified by his historical figures. The equestrian picture of Niccolò da Tolentino, painted in *grisaille,* in the cathedral, is full of life; and the recently discovered Last Supper, in the refectory of the secularized Convent of Santa Apollonia, is deep and powerful in its painting and modeling. If the realistic tendency of the new epoch here breaks forth with needless violence, we again recognize the transition from the mediæval conception to the new tendency in Masolino (Tommaso di Cristoforo Fini), concerning whom only the investigations of the

nineteenth century have given us any clear information. Born at Panicale, in the valley of the Upper Arno, in 1384, he painted, in or about 1428, scenes from the life of the Virgin, on the dome of the choir of the Collegiate Church at Castiglione di Olona near Varese, in Lombardy—works in which the Gothic style still prevails, although a freer and more natural feeling begins to show itself in them. The mural paintings from the history of John the Baptist, in the Baptistery of the same place, are dated 1435, and reveal the same hand, though a marked advance in style is evident, together with greater fulness of life and a freer feeling for grace. The mural paintings in the choir of the Collegiate Church of Castiglione, scenes from the life of S. Laurence and S. Stephen, from their greater breadth and boldness, also seem to indicate the artist's later years. From these evidences it has been inferred that Masolino was also the author of the frescos from the legends of S. Catharine, completed in 1420, and to be seen in the chapel of this saint in San Clemente at Rome; paintings which have also been ascribed to Masaccio. They show the same transitional style, though in a lower stage of development; and may have been partially executed by Masaccio, who was then very young. This great artist (Tommaso di Ser Giovanni), the younger contemporary, countryman, and pupil of Masolino, now appears as a real pioneer. In his exceedingly short life (1401-28) he rapidly traversed the various stages of development of earlier art, and pressed on with a bold confidence to a greatness and power of vision which have rendered his works the characteristic ones of an epoch, and his example the decisive influence in all the art of the fifteenth century, down to Leonardo, Michelangelo, and Raphael. His chief work was the frescos which he painted in the Brancacci Chapel in Santa Maria del Carmine at Florence. Until recently, the beginning of these works was ascribed to Masolino; and he was supposed to have painted the Preaching of Peter, and, on the right-hand side, the Cure of the Cripple, and the Healing of Petronilla. These pictures do not, indeed, reveal the full power of characterization, or the high dramatic force, of riper works; but this is easily explained if we suppose that the master began with these portions of the work, and attained the height of his style with further progress. The picture of the Temptation may also be classed among his earlier works. Modern investigations have proved that Masaccio began the series, and, save for some few scenes which were finished later by Filippino Lippi, completed the work himself. On the left pilaster, at the entrance to the chapel, he painted the Expulsion from Paradise—not only the earliest entirely nude figures in Italian art, except for conventional representations of Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel; but also

a composition of such beauty, that Raphael adopted it in his series of Bible pictures in the Loggie of the Vatican. He also painted Peter baptizing and in prison—scenes full of life and significance—the former (Fig. 459) again introducing excellent nude figures, among which that of the shivering youth has always been especially admired;

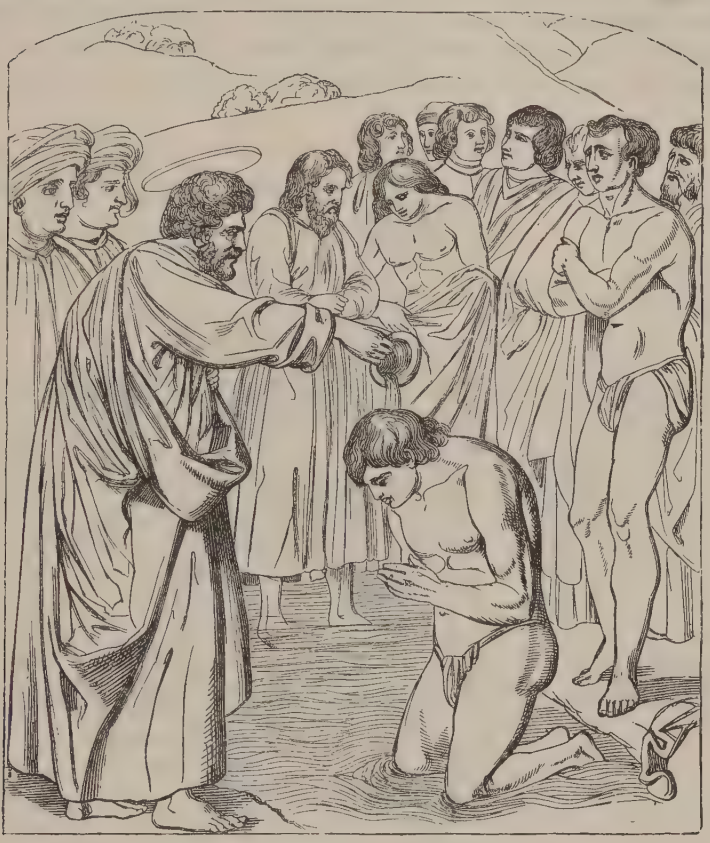

Fig. 459. Peter Baptizing. By Masaccio. From the fresco in S. Maria del Carmine, Florence.

and, further, Peter and John healing cripples and bestowing alms. His two principal large paintings are on the left wall—above, Christ, commanding Peter to take the piece of money from the fish's mouth (Fig. 460), a picture of commanding grandeur and power; the apostles particularly being draped figures of a force and quality never excelled by later artists, even Raphael and Michelangelo. Below, we see Peter in the pulpit, and the raising of the king's son from the dead —the latter finished in part by Filippino Lippi. The figures through-

out are most natural, clearly modeled, and grandly handled, the colors grave and powerful, the drapery bold and masterly in its treatment; and the whole spirit of the work is pervaded with strong historic interest. The remaining pictures are by Filippino Lippi.

The example of this powerful master excited his contemporaries to admiration and emulation. Almost every master of the fifteenth century, down to Leonardo, Michelangelo, and Raphael, studied these great works, and learned from them. One of the first among these masters was Fra Filippo Lippi (about 1412 to 1469). Like

Fig. 460. The Miracle of the Piece of Money in the Fish's Mouth. By Masaccio. Fresco in S. Maria del Carmine, Florence.

the personal experiences of this impassioned artist, who, carried away by unbridled impulse, burst the bonds of monastic discipline, his artistic works show a kindred daring in their closely natural conception of life. He placed sacred images and events on the footing of every-day life, but often penetrates so deeply into purely human emotions, that touches of tenderest fervor stand side by side with humanly fresh and boldly naïve reality in these works. The most important among his large works are the mural paintings in the choir of the Cathedral of Prato (Fig. 461). On the right wall are scenes from the life of John the Baptist; and on the left from the story of S.

Stephen, full of life and expression. The banquet with Herodias dancing is wonderfully beautiful; the heads are fine, and somewhat melancholy; the male figures are admirably drawn and draped; and the coloring throughout is pure and mellow. So, too, on the other wall, the stoning of S. Stephen is strikingly true to life: sorrow finds a noble expression in the dignified personages grouped about the dead saint; and there are fine portrait figures full of dignity and simple severity. The frescos in the apse of the choir of the Cathedral of

Fig. 461. S. John taking Leave of his Parents. By Fra Filippo Lippi. From the Fresco in the Cathedral of Prato.

Spoleto, depicting the Coronation of the Virgin—a lifelike and attractive composition—and three other scenes from her life, belong to a much later period; in fact, to the very close of his life and work. His panel pictures are often enchantingly beautiful and tender, his Madonnas showing the anxious care of motherhood; and the Christ-child, for the first time, is represented as a most gracious and lovable and yet thoroughly human child. The galleries of Florence, more particularly that of the Academy, contain numerous works of this char-

acter; the Berlin Museum also owns several charming tablets; but two pictures in the London National Gallery, originally painted for Cosmo de' Medici, excel them all in grace. One portrays John the Baptist, with six other saints; the other is an Annunciation, of tender sweetness.

The most distinguished of Fra Filippo's pupils is Sandro Botticelli (Alessandro Filipepi, 1449-1510). He enlarged the field of art by introducing ancient myths and allegories into his pictures. See, for example, a pleasing naïve painting of Venus floating upon the sea in a shell, which is in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence. No less poetic is its companion piece in the Academy, sometimes thought to be descriptive of spring as suggested by a beautiful ode of Horace's (*Solvitur acris hiems*), but more probably a piece of personal allusion and homage to a princess. A perfectly finished figure of Venus, evidently a study for the Birth of the Goddess in the Uffizi Gallery, may be seen in the Berlin Museum; another, reclining on a flowery meadow-ground and surrounded by sportive cupids, is in the Louvre.

The allegorical picture of Calumny, in the same collection, is even more remarkable, displaying Sandro's partiality for rapid action and fluttering garments. In his religious panel paintings, to be found in other galleries, a kindly and tender sentiment prevails, often gently tinged with melancholy and a delicate poetic mood: as in the delightful round picture of the Madonna Adored by Angels, in the Tribune of the Uffizi Gallery, a genuine jewel of Sandro's art. These circular pictures (*tondi,* from the singular *tondo*), introduced into painting by Fra Filippo, have become popular particularly through his eminent pupil. In another picture, likewise in the Uffizi, six beautiful angels with lilies cluster about the Madonna; in a similar one in the Berlin Museum the angels are adorned with rose-garlands and are holding lighted wax candles twined about with roses. Others in the Academy of Florence, the Pitti Gallery, the Borghese Gallery in Rome, the Turin Gallery, and other places, depict the Madonna after the precedent by Fra Filippo, in the ideal frame of a circle of adoring angels, surrounding the Mother of God like an escort. No other artist has so richly amplified this attractive theme. In his larger, as it were, official altar-pieces, the artist appears full of solemn dignity; as, for example, in the imposing Madonna enthroned with six saints, which is in the Academy of Florence, a picture which in vigorous characterization and architectonic construction vies with Ghirlandajo; thus also in the Coronation of the Virgin, with four saints full of movement, in the same collection; again, in the great Adoration of the Kings, in the Uffizi, with its rich expressive groups, one of the most sterling works of the master, painted for Cosimo de' Medici;

FRA FILIPPO LIPPI

"THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN," FROM THE PAINTING IN THE ACADEMY OF FINE ARTS, FLORENCE

and the Entombment of Christ, in the Pinakothek at Munich, whose passionate grandeur and vigor of description reminds one of Donatello. Finally, Sandro worked on the frescos with which Sixtus IV. adorned the chapel named for him in the Vatican, Capella Sixtina (the Sistine Chapel). He painted three large pictures, of which the Destruction of the Followers of Korah especially is a composition full

Fig. 462. Jethro's Daughters at the Well. By Botticelli. From the fresco in the Sistine Chapel.

of dramatic life. The second picture gives various scenes from the life of Moses, from which we select that of Jethro's Daughters at the Well as an example of the attractive freshness of his style (Fig. 462). As was the frequent custom of that age, a number of secular and local events are closely intermingled in these pictures with the real subjects. The third picture portrays the temptation of Christ with the same careful detail. These compositions are marked by

beautiful landscape backgrounds, expressive figures, and a great variety of action. Highly significant is also the series of drawings in which Sandro has illustrated Dante's "Divina Commedia," now in the cabinet of Copper-Engravings in Berlin.

The son of Fra Filippo, and pupil of Sandro, Filippino Lippi (about 1459-1504), was also an artist of much importance. One of his earlier works was the completion of the frescos in the Brancacci

Fig. 463. SS. Peter and Paul before Nero. By Filippino Lippi. From the fresco in Santa Maria del Carmine, Florence.

Chapel of Santa Maria del Carmine, Florence, in which he painted the Restoration to Life of the King's Son, Peter and Paul before the Judge (Fig. 463), and the Martyrdom and Deliverance of S. Peter—works of dignity and power, full of dramatic life. The frescos in the Strozzi Chapel in Santa Maria Novella, painted in 1486, with scenes from the lives of the apostles, belong to a later period of his life. To the left is the Resuscitation of S. Drusiana by John the Evangelist; to the right, the Expulsion of the Dragon

from the Temple of Mars by S. Philip. These pictures are very natural and expressive; but the drapery and action are somewhat confused, showing a certain leaning to the fantastic. As a whole, however, they are singularly full of meaning, and true—almost surprisingly so, in fact. There is surprise in the faces of the women and children who witness Drusiana's revival, and an expression of horror, fear, and disgust in the Expulsion of the Dragon, in which

Fig. 464. From the Fresco in Santa Maria Sopra Minerva, at Rome.

subject the architecture seems almost too lavish in its richness. On the vaulting appear the sublime figures of Christ, the four Evangelists, and S. Anthony.

To a still later period belong the pictures in Santa Maria sopra Minerva, at Rome, where Filippino executed the frescos in the Chapel of S. Thomas. The Triumph of S. Thomas over Averroes,

standing for the triumph of the true faith over heresy, is only interesting for the beautiful and characteristically Florentine vivacity of the groups of spectators, who are expressing sympathy. Full of dramatic expression is the Miracle of the Crucifix, which suddenly moves to proclaim the eulogy of his writings to the Saint, who is absorbed in adoration (Fig. 464).

In the Ascension of the Virgin, the exaggerated vivacity of the angels, and the affected movements of the Madonna and of the apostles who surround the empty coffin in amazement, are altogether too studied; but the beautiful warm coloring and the charming heads atone for much that is faulty. Among his panel paintings, which are frequently to be found, one of the best and most attractive works of his earlier years is a large altar-piece in the Church of the Badia at Florence. The Madonna, accompanied by angels, approaches S. Bernard, who seems lost in pious meditation amid a rich, rocky landscape. Mary, who, like the angels, recalls the manner of Sandro, has a matronly, and even a sad expression; the angels wear a look of deep devotion, and have lovely boyish faces.* The tone of the whole is warm, mild, and clear; but the robes of the angels have the brilliant colors and elaborate folds so often noticed in Florentine pictures of the period. This fine picture is closely approached by another altar-piece, originally painted for a chapel belonging to the Rucellai family, and now in the National Gallery at London. Executed in grave and beautiful tints, it represents the Madonna worshiped by S. Jerome and S. Dominic, and is one of the master's greatest works.

Other painters of this date passed from the school of Fiesole, carried away by the overwhelming current of the time, to the style of Masaccio, although they still retained traces of the sweet benignity and fervor of their first master. Among them is Cosimo Rosselli, an early fresco picture by whom in San Ambrogio at Florence, painted in 1456, attracts rather by its pleasing details, and especially by its great number of fine heads, than by anything noteworthy in its design. In later life he painted several pictures in the Sistine Chapel at Rome, among which the Sermon on the Mount and the Healing of the Lepers are preëminent for their graceful and dignified draped figures, set in extremely rich and lovely landscape. Panel paintings by him are also to be met with.

Benozzo Gozzoli (1424 to about 1496) followed a similar course of development, and reveals an inexhaustible fund of fresh, original, and profound conceptions, and a most agreeable grace in the portrayal of real life, in his principal work—the twenty-two large frescos

* This picture was chromo-lithographed by Kellerhoven about 1875, in a manner unusually satisfactory for this process.

in the Campo Santo at Pisa (1469-81). They are scenes from the Old Testament, beginning with Noah and ending with Joseph. A throng of lifelike figures move against a background which, in point of landscape and architectural richness, is unrivaled even at

Fig. 465. Subject from the History of Noah. By Benozzi Gozzoli. From the fresco in Campo Santo, Pisa.

this abundantly creative period, and which excels all contemporaneous work in spirited vivacity. The real meaning, the Biblical incident, is thrown into the background by the countless throng of young, graceful, dignified, and manly figures, in the rich dress of the day, that crowd his pictures, revealing their strong love of life in every conceivable form of action; and the story of the patriarch Noah, his cultivation of the vine (Fig. 465), and his drunkenness only afford this cheery artist opportunity to portray the merry life of the vintagers. The paintings in the Chapel of the Riccardi Palace at Florence, representing the Journey of the Magi (in search of the King of the Jews), also possess a great charm. Nothing more attractive can be found than these groups of people, full of gay, worldly pleasure, and varied in action, among whom are introduced the portraits of important men of the day. The clear golden tints harmonize well with this general festive spirit. There was no window in this little room, of which a plan is given (Fig. 466); but the chapel was

lighted by the candles on the altar and by silver lamps. Some years ago, light being wanted for a passage out of which the chapel opens, a hole was made in the wall near the door, taking away, indeed, a piece of Benozzo's fresco, but securing for the passage a little borrowed light from the window over the altar. At another time, there being a supposed need for a stair, a whole corner of the chapel was cut away, and room was made for the stairs by building it in the angle. When this chapel stood in its integrity, it was one of the few examples of a decoration that takes into account from the start the purpose of the place for which it is designed, and, keeping this purpose always in view, secures as a result a perfect and entire harmony. On the walls of the niche (for it is hardly more) in which the altar stood were painted, on either hand (*d, d*), a company of angels—some kneeling with clasped hands, some standing, all singing the Gloria in Excelsis, their halos inscribed with the opening words of the hymn. Other angels descend from heaven, or light in the branches of the trees, or stoop to pick the flowers with which the sward is thick. On the narrow walls at the sides of the apse (*e, e*) is painted the Annunciation to the Shepherds. The rest of the wall-space in the chapel-room is filled with the procession—the suite and followers of the three kings who are in search of Him who is called King of the Jews; for they have seen his star in the east, and are come to worship him. This gay procession begins on the right-hand wall (as we face the altar), at the end nearest the apse; and ends at the opposite point, on the wall at the left. Apart from its beauty as a work of art, it is one of the most interesting works in Florence, as a record of the time in which it was painted. It contains portraits of Gozzoli himself, who bears his name on his cap—"Opus Benotii"—of Cosimo Vecchio and his brother Lorenzo, the ancestors of the two branches of the house of Medici. A youth on horseback in front was probably intended for Lorenzo the Magnificent; the Emperor of the East is on the side facing the window; and in the corner, on the wall to the left, is seen the gray-bearded head of the Patriarch of the Greek Church. Another youth, on horseback, is conjectured to be a portrait of Giuliano, Lorenzo's brother; he has a hunting-leopard seated behind

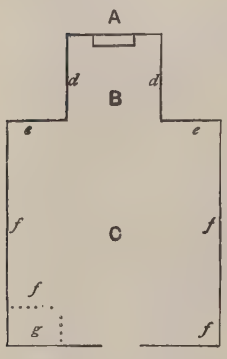

Fig. 466. Plan (to no scale) of the Chapel in the Riccardi Palace, painted by Benozzo Gozzoli. A, altar; B, apse; C, nave; *f, f, f, f,* wall on which the procession is painted; *g,* jog in wall to accommodate stairs; *e, e,* spaces on which the Annunciation to the Shepherds is painted; *d, d,* side walls of apse on which the angels are painted.

him, and another held in leash on the ground. In the background are groups of people everywhere, and in the foreground hawks, monkeys, hunting-dogs, and all the motley accompaniments of a royal progress in mediæval times. In 1439 the Byzantine emperor came to the council at Florence which sought to unite the Greek and Roman communions; and it is thought by some that Benozzo wished to unite with his proper subject a commemoration of this important event. Other frescos by him—in the Church of Monte Falco near Foligno (about 1450) and in S. Agostino at San Gimignano (1465)—prove the artist's gradual growth. One of the most charming of his panel pictures, a Madonna and Child seated on a Throne, painted in 1461, and recalling Fra Angelico (although the figures in Gozzoli's pictures are far more developed than his), may be seen in the National Gallery at London. The Louvre collection contains his apotheosis of S. Thomas Aquinas.

One of the greatest masters of this era was Domenico Ghirlandajo (1449-94), who surpassed most of the others in greatness of conception and power of execution, and may be considered Masaccio's intellectual heir. He, more than any other, gave not merely to the ideal figures of his saints, but to the countless band of contemporaries who accompany them as companions and spectators, a real historic dignity, an impressive aspect, and an air of force and vigor, which were aided by his skilful execution and powerful effects of color. To his earlier years belongs the fresco in the Sistine Chapel at Rome, representing Peter and Andrew called to the Apostolic Office by our Lord—a picture of great merit and fresh life. Two series of fresco paintings, with which he decorated the Sassetti Chapel in SS. Trinità, Florence, in 1485, and the Choir of Santa Maria Novella in 1490, are more extensive and more important. The former contain in admirably developed scenes the chief moments from the life of S. Francis. Especially the Death of the Saint is a composition full of solemn dignity and nobly conceived expression. The works in Santa Maria Novella, however, giving scenes from the life of the Virgin and of John the Baptist, display the master's ripe and perfect art. The events themselves are described with few figures, and simply and largely treated; but the painter's noble contemporaries everywhere appear as spectators—the young girls graceful and refined, the matrons with a well-to-do burgher air, and the men full of force and character—fine figures of free and natural dignity (Fig. 468). The Florentine life of that day is clearly and brightly mirrored in these agreeable pictures. The events at the births of Jesus and John, and the meeting of Mary and Elizabeth, in particular, are freshly and simply drawn from the actual life of the time. As a general thing, all these

scenes have architectural or cheerful landscape backgrounds. In his panel paintings Ghirlandajo did not display equal freedom, although there are works of great merit among them; for instance, an Adoration of the Shepherds, dated 1485, in the Florentine Academy, the Madonna being maidenly, pure, and charming in her thoughtful aspect, and the Child one of the most charming to be found in any picture of this time. The composition and execution are skilful; the coloring is strong, and steeped in a tint of golden brown.

Fig. 467. The Calling of Peter and Andrew. By Domenico Ghirlandajo. From the fresco in the Sistine Chapel.

The active influence of sculpture upon painting is shown by the fact that both arts were sometimes united in one man; as in Andrea Verocchio, and similarly in Antonio Pollajuolo, whose panel paintings recall this union of gifts by their uncommonly energetic modeling. The Florentine Academy possesses a picture of the Baptism of Christ by the former, which is remarkable for the vigorous strength of its characterization, and even more for the fact that Verocchio's pupil, the youthful Leonardo da Vinci, painted the beautiful young angel, whose loveliness contrasts strongly with the austerity of the other heads. And if a merely formal treatment is the most prominent feature in both these masters, to which the spiritual meaning is only subordinate, yet Verocchio's pupil, Lorenzo di Credi (1459-1537), in his many and widely scattered panel pictures, attains a fervor and warmth of

feeling, despite all his careful treatment of form, which give them a peculiar charm.

Finally, we must speak of another eminent artist, who, though affected by Florentine and Paduan influences, forms the transition to the artists of Upper Italy—Piero della Francesca, of Borgo San Sepolcro (born about 1423, and still living in 1509). In his works he unites the most delicate delineation of form and rare knowledge of perspective foreshortening with a tender, golden, almost transparently lucid coloring. To this are added a purity of feeling, and often a sense of beauty, which are otherwise found only in Umbrian

Fig. 468. Zacharias Naming John. By Domenico Ghirlandajo. From the fresco in the choir of Santa Maria Novella.

art. His principal work was the frescos in the Cathedral and in the choir of S. Francesco at Arezzo, illustrating the miraculous legend of the Holy Cross. In the Uffizi at Florence are portraits by him of Feederigo di Montefeltro and his wife. Others of his paintings are in the sacristy of the Cathedral at Urbino, and in his native city, Borgo San Sepolcro. Thence came the fine altar-piece, with the baptism of Christ, now in the National Gallery at London—exquisite figures, bathed in golden light, surrounded by a landscape brightly colored but effective. Signorelli and Pietro Perugino were among Piero's pupils.

Luca Signorelli of Cortona (1441-1523) is one of the mightiest spirits of the century. Bold and powerful, striving to attain the lofti-

est aims, and supreme above all his contemporaries in the impassioned portrayal of stirring scenes, he was also one of the first to paint the naked figure to any great extent. To his earlier years belong two of the frescos in the Sistine Chapel—Moses' Journey into Egypt with his Wife Zipporah, and his Death, in which the master adopts with much freshness and originality the prevailing Florentine method of introducing a great number of figures and motives.

Fig. 469. Moses Discoursing for the Last Time to his People. By Signorelli. From the fresco in the Sistine Chapel.

According to the custom of the times he combines in the same composition a series of consecutive scenes, presenting in the foreground at the left the investing of Aaron with the pastoral staff, on the right the proclaiming to the people of the Mosaic Law. In the middle ground of a lovely mountainous landscape an angel is seen on a rock showing Moses the Promised Land; farther to the left the

blind Patriarch is wearily groping his way with his staff; finally, we behold his burial by angels.

The highest achievement of his peculiar talent is marked by the frescos, painted after 1499, with which he completed the adornment of the Chapel of the Madonna in the Cathedral of Orvieto, begun by Fra Angelico. Seldom have such extremes met in such narrow space

Fig. 470. Group from the Last Judgment. By Signorelli. Fresco in the Cathedral of Orvieto.

and in the execution of the same work. Beneath the pure and saintly figures of Fra Angelico, which gaze down from the ceiling, Signorelli's mighty images overspread the walls like a race of giants battling against universal destruction. The demoniac and terrible figure of the Antichrist, the Resurrection of the Dead, and the representations of

Hell and Paradise, are by his hand. In the Resurrection he displays his thorough knowledge of the human form in a number of nude figures, who appear in the most varied attitudes and in bold foreshortening. His representation of the damned and the horror of those struck by Heaven's avenging lightning, is peculiarly rich in powerful touches. Then, too, the angels, sweeping down with lyres and citherns (Fig. 470) to beckon with gestures of consolation to the terrified supplicators, are incomparably grand and beautiful. In the hideous ferryman who rows the dead across the stream, while many naked figures roam about the shore, we recognize a conception that was afterward adopted by the master's great successor, Michelangelo, in his picture of the Last Judgment. The frescos in the Convent of Monte Oliveto near Siena, illustrating the life of S. Benedict, are among his later works. In his panel pictures the same grand, austere taste prevails, combined with a vigorous, manly treatment, sharply defined shadows, and strong modeling. One of the finest is the Madonna enthroned and surrounded by saints, in the Cathedral at Perugia, dated 1484—noble in arrangement, naturally and boldly conceived and excellently executed. Other able works may be found in his native city, Cortona (in the Cathedral, S. Margaret's, S. Dominic's, and elsewhere) ; and two valuable altar-panels are in the Berlin Museum, where there is also a remarkably large panel, the School of Pan, which shows his natural and poetical treatment of antique mythological scenes. Finally, we may mention the little early painting in the Brera collection at Milan, which represents the Scourging of Christ, and is preëminent not only through its dramatic force and its masterly freedom in handling the nude, but even more by a delicacy of style, and fluent, artistic handling elsewhere wanting to this artist.

B.—THE SCHOOLS OF UPPER ITALY.

The character of Upper Italian painting is based on the expression of a certain soft grace and sweetness. In Padua, at the close of the former period, progress was made, by Aldighiero and Avanzo, toward greater fidelity to nature; but the conception remained as before. And here, too, a new vital principle was required to bring about any decided change. To the learned Padua, famed for its university, belongs the first place in this struggle. This was the place where the study of the antique, as well as the scientific practice of perspective, was pursued with an energy unequaled elsewhere. In Paduan paintings of this time we divine the place of their origin as plainly as we

trace the free and much agitated life of a great and powerful community in contemporaneous Florentine pictures. This direct reference to real life is less apparent in the Paduan school; but, on the contrary, an antique mythological tendency prevails. The study of the human body is aided by antique sculpture; and where the nude form itself is not in place, the accessories, the rich architectural perspectives at least, are fairly overloaded with representations of figures in relief. While this tendency prevailed, the grace and mellowness which for ages had pervaded the painting of Upper Italy were for a long time repressed, and forced to give way to a severe, often austere expression, and an exaggerated distinctness in the delineation of form. This tendency ruled the more unconditionally in the fifteenth century, since the only Florentine artist of any importance who at this time executed many works for Padua (Donatello) pursued a kindred object. Still it is easily apparent that some such period of transition was essential to painting, if it were not to degenerate into effeminacy and indecision.

The first master of the Paduan school was Francesco Squarcione, more distinguished as a teacher than for his own creative powers (1394-1474). He brought a collection of antique statues home from Greèce after extended travels in that country, and based his instructions upon these. But his teachings alone would never have helped to make art bloom afresh, if there had not been among his numerous scholars one genius of profound talent and grand power, who stands forth as one of the leaders of this brilliant and creative period.

Andrea Mantegna (1431-1506), assisted by his study of the antique, strove after a sharp and correct delineation of the forms of the human body; so that we generally remark a plastic rather than a picturesque character in his figures, which sometimes, particularly in his early efforts, are not free from hardness and a certain rugged severity. But, at the same time, he has such a lively sense of the dramatic that he has scarcely a rival in the moving delineation of events. His chief works in fresco are the mural paintings in the Church of the Eremitani at Padua—scenes from the lives of S. James and S. Christopher. There are six pictures on either wall of the chapel dedicated to these saints. They are divided off by pilasters and friezes, which have very beautifully painted garlands of fruit on a dark ground. The upper part of the composition is formed by genii, with wreaths of fruit and flowers stretched lightly over the surface, all full of grace and simplicity. On the right-hand wall there is a more strictly architectural framework of excellently painted columns with their entablature. In the composition of these pictures the master limits himself to

what is strictly essential; but it is full of life and expression. The scenes from the life of S. James, and especially the picture of the Healing of the Paralytic (Fig. 471) are the most important. The paralytic gazing up at the apostle who blesses him, a youth (a noble

Fig. 471. S. James cures the Paralytic. By Andrea Mantegna. A fresco from the series in the Church of the Eremitani, Padua.

figure) looking sympathetically down at the sufferer, and, on the opposite side, a strongly drawn soldier lifting his hands in astonishment, are all delineated with simple feeling. The coloring is clear, cool, and smooth, the modeling true to life, the charming and rich architectural perspective managed with the greatest certainty and perfection.

The upper pictures, scenes from the life of S. Christopher, were executed by some of his fellow-pupils, and are much more ordinary, flat, and insignificant; but the saint's martyrdom and death, unfortunately much injured in the lower portions, were admirably done by the master's own hand. The idea of decorating the panels of the vaulting with colored arabesques, angels, and evangelists, in medallions formed by wreaths of flowers and fluttering ribbons, is bright, fresh, and naturally conceived and carried out.

The same attractive spirit is even more predominant in the frescos with which Mantegna adorned the Ducal Palace at Mantua, now the Castello di Corte, in 1474. On the walls of one large room are scenes from the life of Lodovico Gonzaga. One picture represents the ducal family. A singularly positive, full inward life is portrayed with the simplest means, and in a somewhat severe style of conception. The landscape in the background gave the artist opportunity for a rich ideal representation of ancient Rome. Another picture, much faded and injured, portrays the duke and his wife Barbara sitting in the open air, surrounded by their children, courtiers, and friends. A third picture depicts a hunting-scene amid a poetically imagined mountain landscape. The paintings on the various ceilings are of the utmost grace and animation. In the lunettes are illustrations of the great deeds of Hercules and other ancient myths, painted in relief on a gold ground; while in the lozenge shaped panels are eight busts of Roman emperors in rich wreaths tied with gay ribbons, each held by a genius, all painted upon a gold ground. In the center the ceiling, which is intwined with a green wreath, seems to open, and the eye gazes through a skilfully painted cylindrical opening upon the blue sky. On the upper ledge a peacock parades himself; lovely heads of women and children look across; other children put their heads roguishly through the opening of the balustrade; others stand saucily on the inner socle: one is seen from behind; another, who has a large head, has pushed it through the balustrade, and has got himself into a quandary; and a third looks at him mischievously. The whole is executed with charming humor and masterly foreshortening; besides which, it is remarkable as the oldest example of such ceiling painting intended to deceive the eye.

The first rank among his altar pieces is occupied by the grand work over the high altar of the Church of San Zeno in Verona. It represents the Madonna enthroned and surrounded by saints, among whom there is a wonderfully beautiful S. John. The group is gracefully framed in by rich architectural designs, with charming genii holding garlands of fruit. The Madonna della Vittoria (1495), in the Museum of the Louvre at Paris, is a similar picture, due to his later years.

Duke Gonzaga and his wife are introduced in it as kneeling figures. Among the most superb works of this kind is a Madonna enthroned, and adored by John the Baptist and Mary Magdalen; the latter, a splendid figure, gazing up with fervent confidence. This picture is in the National Gallery at London. Another picture, now in the Berlin Museum—the Body of Christ upborne by two Mourning Angels (Fig. 472), a work of touching and heartfelt expression, and grandly

Fig. 472. The Dead Christ Mourned by Angels. By Andrea Mantegna(?). Berlin Gallery.

severe treatment of form—has recently been declared not to belong to this master. On the other hand, the Pietà in the Brera collection at Milan is a representation of pain carried to the extreme, even to repulsiveness, while it is also a miracle of bold perspective foreshortening. In many of his works Mantegna treated antique subjects with special pleasure, as he belongs to the first of those who opened this domain to modern painting. The most important of these is the famous Triumph of Cæsar, originally painted for the hall of a palace in Mantua, and now a costly treasure of Hampton Court in England. It consists of nine pictures painted in grisaille, which betray a strict and well-

grounded devotion to the spirit of antiquity in an abundance of splendid groups and vigorous motives, and which reveal the genial artist in their careful and conscientious treatment, even of the slightest details. In other works of a similar nature, executed on a small scale, an almost miniature-like delicacy prevails, which recalls the fact that Mantegna also took high rank among the earliest Italian engravers on copper. A thoroughly pleasing picture of Parnassus by Mantegna is in the Louvre.*

But very few remains have been preserved to us of the works of another artist who came under the influence of the Paduan school, and was named, from his birthplace, Melozzo da Forli (Marco degli Ambrosi) (about 1433-94); but these are so full of significance that we must regard him as an attractive and an original master. About 1472 he painted a large fresco of Christ's Ascension in a niche of the choir in the Church of Santi Apostoli at Rome, which was destroyed early in the sixteenth century in the rebuilding of that church. But few fragments were rescued. In the Quirinal Palace there is a figure of the Christ hovering in the air, surrounded by angels; and in the sacristy of S. Peter's there are a number of angels playing on musical instruments. In these works the art of Upper Italy again recovered all its loveliness, and tenderness of feeling. But to these are added a fine mastery of drawing, a rare delicacy and purity of coloring, and a bold application of that perspective method which we first meet with in Mantegna's Mantuan frescos. The meritorious, though somewhat angular and dim-tinted fresco in the Vatican collection, representing Sixtus IV. appointing Platina Superintendent of his library, is also Melozzo's work.

Among the contemporaneous Ferrarese artists Cosimo Tura, who died between 1494 and 1498, is conspicuous for austere power and lofty seriousness, his tendency reminding one of Mantegna; his masterpiece is a Madonna enthroned, in the Berlin Museum, and there are pictures by him in the Brera, Milan. Besides him must be named Francesco Cossa (1474), who painted the extensive frescos in the

* See Yriarte, "Mantegna," published 1901. Also Strong's translation of Kristeller's book; 1900. The collection of copies of prints from the old masters, published by Amand Durand of Paris, by a process called "heliogravure," by which results have been obtained that positively leave nothing to desire in accuracy, freshness, and brilliancy, contains several reproductions of Mantegna's engravings. Lately, in England, photographs of his "Triumph of Cæsar" have been published. In the Portfolio for January, 1874, there was an admirable etching, by W. Wise, of a portion of the tempera painting on linen by the master—"The Triumph of Scipio"—lately purchased for the National Gallery, London. And in the *Gazette Archéologique*, Paris, first number, there is a valuable article upon one of Mantegna's most celebrated etchings—"A Combat of Water Gods"—in which is clearly shown, by the aid of excellent illustrations, how well Mantegna availed himself of antique models.

Palazzo Schifanoia at Ferrara, representing scenes from the life of Duke Borso, combined with triumphal processions of antique deities, works full of naïve freshness, in which an abundance of subjects from the history of civilization is vividly embodied. There are two great pictures by him in Bologna.

The Milanese school was especially prominent in Lombardy at this time, its early efforts being closely allied to the tendencies of Padua. One of the earliest artists of this school was Vincenzo Foppa. The Bergamo gallery owns a little picture by him of the Crucifixion, dated 1456, thoroughly in the style of Mantegna; it is distinctly drawn, and the lights and shadows are effectively arranged. The architectural framework also betrays the antique tendencies of the Mantuan school. A fresco in the Brera collection at Milan represents the Martyrdom of S. Stephen in somewhat cramped style. Beside many other less important masters, among whom we may mention the architect Bramante, the latter's scholar, Bartolommeo Suardi (surnamed Bramantino), appears preëminent. Although he worked late into the sixteenth century, he remained true to the old tendencies, and, although not free from singularities, turned his attention to producing a graceful tenderness of feeling, combined with which the Paduan love of bold and striking foreshortening is noticeable. A fresco of the Madonna with Angels, in the Brera collection at Milan, is remarkable for its way of conceiving the subject. The Ambrosiana also has an Adoration of the Infant Christ, attractive for its beautiful fervor of expression. Ambrogio Fossano, surnamed Borgognone, whom we have already mentioned as the architect of the Certosa at Pavia, worked in a kindred spirit. Without great power or profundity, he pleases by a soft breath of tender feeling. Numerous works, especially frescos, from his hand, are to be seen in the Certosa at Pavia. One of his best pictures, the Ascension and Coronation of the Virgin, formerly in San Simpliciano at Milan, is now in the Brera collection (Fig. 473). A Madonna enthroned amid saints is in the Ambrosiana collection in the same city. One of his most beautiful paintings, Mary adoring the Infant Christ, is in San Celso; and two excellent altar-pieces, of the Madonna with saints, of much fervor, are in the Berlin Museum. Besides these artists, many other painters were busy in Lombardy, of whom we can name only the most important. Among these are Bernardino Zenale (Bernardino Martini) and Bernardino Buttinone (Bernardino Jacobi), who often worked together, and who executed the great altar-piece, in several divisions, in the aisle surrounding the choir of the cathedral in their native town, Treviglio. Zenale may also be recognized in a picture in the Bergamo Gallery by his peculiar gray flesh tints and his agreeable reserve of style; the pic-

ture represents the Madonna sitting in a bower of roses, and hushing her child. We may also ascribe to him a series of six pictures with single figures of saints, which have been transferred from the Chiesa delle Grazie at Bergamo to the Brera Gallery at Milan. A large panel painting of an enthroned Madonna, in the same place, is in the same dull gray tint as his other known works, but is remarkable for the important portraits it contains of Lodovico and Beatrice

Fig. 473. Coronation of the Virgin. By Borgognone. Brera Gallery, Milan.

Sforza and their two children. We find a little picture of the Madonna by Buttinone, executed in the most charming miniature style and in powerful brown tints, in the Palace of Isola Bella. Here, too, we may mention Giovanni Donato Montorfano, chiefly on account of his great and overcrowded fresco of the Crucifixion, dated 1499, to be found in the refectory of Santa Maria della Grazie in Milan, opposite Leonardo's Last Supper.

Similar influences and efforts may be traced even in Piedmont; al-

though, at this distance from the centers of artistic life, the adoption of the new style was more superficial. One of the ablest of Piedmontese masters who excelled in a rude power of realistic characterization was Macimo, or Macrino, d'Alba, an altar-piece by whom, in six parts and of glowing color, is in the Certosa near Pavia. Another great work by this artist, dated 1498, is an enthroned Madonna with saints, in the gallery at Turin, full of energetic character and coloring. Several single panels with saints, dated 1506, are also in the same collection. Other Piedmontese painters who clung fast to the antique sweetness of the Upper Italians are weaker in execution, in consequence of their tender, delicate coloring, but sometimes attractive in expression. They display the same principles of agreeable tone which were afterward developed to the highest beauty and perfection in Gaudenzio Ferrari and Sodoma. Notable among them are Defendente de Ferrari, pleasing pictures by whom may be seen in the Gallery of Turin, and also in the Cathedral and Academy; Girolamo Giovenone, whose progress can be traced down to 1514 in the Turin Gallery, and to 1527 in the Bergamo collection.

The Venetian school produced more important work at this period. In the beginning it, too, came under the influence of Padua; and the first great master of this new tendency, Bartolommeo Vivarini, follows the example of that school in the distinct treatment of form. His numerous works in Venetian churches and museums, and in many foreign collections, are remarkable for their sharpness of characterization and graceful execution. The same tendency appears in a younger painter of the same family, Luigi Vivarini, although it is already much modified and tempered by the influence of the great master, who may be considered the founder of the true Venetian school of painting, Giovanni Bellini. This influence did not pass over Bartolommeo without leaving its traces behind, as is proved by a Madonna with saints, dated 1482, in the right transept of Santa Maria dei Frari at Venice, in which the coloring is as deep and glowing, and at the same time as warm and clear, as in Bellini's works. Now begins a reaction against the severity and hardness of Paduan treatment, and Venetians henceforth find the real vital principle of their art in color. Even in the earlier period, a tender, rich, melting coloring was developed here more than anywhere else. The splendid, richly tinted images produced by the wonderful situation of the city of lagoons must indeed have inclined the artist's eye to the effect and importance of color. The gay, mirthful disposition of the people, the glittering love of pomp of the rich aristocracy, may have strengthened this taste for the full magic of color which

GIOVANNI BELLINI

THE "DOGE LEONARDO LOREDANO" FROM THE PAINTING IN THE NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON

so enhances earthly beauty; and oil-painting, perfected by the Van Eycks in Flanders in the middle of the century, was introduced into Italy just in time to afford the right means for its representation.

Antonello de Messina was the medium of this weighty influence. His principal pictures are in the Berlin Museum, and plainly betray the transition to an independent conception. The portrait of a man, painted in 1498, is strongly marked by the Flemish style. A S. Sebastian of the same date, and more especially a Madonna and Child, show that freer and more distinguished beauty, that mellow, misty blending of color, afterward peculiar to the Venetian school. A Christ on the Cross, executed in small figures in a masterly manner, in the Antwerp Academy, and signed with the master's name, and the date 1475, recalls the Netherland artists in its arrangement and miniature-like delicacy, but has a decided Italian impress in the more simple features of the landscape, in the character of the heads, and in the bearing of the figures. A half-length picture of Christ, in the National Gallery in London, signed with Antonello's name, and the date 1465, is wonderfully, freely, and broadly painted, with the exception of the hands, which are rather too carefully drawn; and the whole picture is golden and lustrous in tone. A large picture of the Coronation of the Virgin, in the Museum at Palermo, ascribed to Antonello, is of a similar nature, and is full of severe, earnest beauty; the angel heads, especially, being of distinguished grace, Christ and the Madonna significant and dignified, the coloring warm, and of transparent clearness in the shadows. The Academy at Venice also has a Madonna reading, signed with his name, of energetic modeling and interesting expression; the Belvedere Gallery at Vienna, a Body of Christ lamented by Angels; and the Louvre collection, a masterly male portrait, which once belonged to the Pourtales Gallery, signed with the artist's name, and the date 1475.

Giovanni Bellini was the master who, during his life of ninety years (1426-1516), accepted these new elements and means of representation with clear perception, and used them with rare power. His father Jacopo, before him, had experienced the influences of the new spirit of the times during a sojourn in Florence and through his master, Gentile da Fabriano, as may be seen, particularly from his remarkable sketch-books in the British Museum and in the Louvre. He also fell under the influence of Mantegna, on whom he bestowed the hand of his daughter Nicolosia.

His authentic works, however, all belong to his later years, and form a series which furnishes a noble testimony to the master's

earnest spirit and his unwearied efforts. Without profound thought, without special poetic inspiration, without richness or variety of composition, he contrives by their significant and marked character

Fig. 474. Enthroned Madonna. By Giovanni Bellini. Venice.

to express in his pictures a dignified and refined existence, represented without action or passion, in stately repose. With him, color also attains that splendor, that mellow power and lustrous purity, which are henceforth the inalienable property of the Venetian school. His earliest known and dated work is a Madonna, with the Child standing on a parapet before her (1487), in the Venice Academy (there is a similar one in the Berlin Museum), free, grand, and distinguished, and at the same time of great delicacy of coloring. Many apparently earlier works prove that Bellini did not reach this height without long labor; see, for instance, a Madonna and Child, also in the Academy at Venice, and signed with his name, which is painted in an incredibly hard and clumsy style. Next follows an altar-piece, dated 1488, in the sacristy of Santa Maria dei Frari at Venice Fig. 474), which represents the Madonna enthroned, with angels and four saints on the side panels. The expression is charming, and humanly amiable; the angels, playing on musical instruments at the foot of the throne, are extremely graceful; the coloring is wonderfully mellow and warm, with the fine, transparent gray shadows in the flesh tints peculiar to Bellini. No less pleasing is the beautiful picture of the Madonna with the sleeping Christ-child, and two naïve boy-angels playing on musical instruments, in the sacristy of the Redentore, which has, however, been recently attributed to Luigi Vivarini (Fig. 475).

The Madonna enthroned, attended by S. Francis, Job, John the Baptist, SS. Sebastian, Dominic, and Louis, which was transferred from the Church of St. Giobbe to the Academy, ranks with the noblest creations of this artist. Here also three graceful angels playing on musical instruments complete the highly poetic impression of the work, which appeals to us like a solemn hymn. A Circumcision of Christ in a choir chapel of S. Zaccaria at Venice is of tender coloring and attractive soft expression. On the other hand, other pictures prove that Bellini felt Mantegna's influence in early life. For example, the Christ mourned by his disciples, in the Brera Gallery at Milan, is of austere depth of expression, but painted in cool, almost sombre style, with cold gray flesh tints. In the pictures of his latest period, even those of his extreme age, his formerly more mild and gracious expression rises to grand dignity and significance, far removed from weakness, or decay in power; the soft, mellow coloring increasing to a splendor and glowing beauty which are fairly Titianesque, as in a picture painted in his eighty-seventh year (1513), in a side chapel of S. Giovanni Crisostomo at Venice. S. Jerome is represented sitting with a book, in a superb rocky landscape; in the foreground, to the right stands S. Augustine; and to the left S. Christopher, bearing the

lovely Christ-child. It is grand in character, free and masterly in execution, the coloring of lustrous clearness. Giovanni frequently painted the detached figure of the Redeemer, in which he attains a grand nobility of expression, stately bearing, and fine arrangement of drapery which are seldom excelled. His best work in this direction is a large altarpiece in San Salvatore, Venice, representing the Supper at Emmaus on a grand scale. The four attendants are grave and merito-

Fig. 475. Madonna and Child. By Giovanni Bellini. Venice.

rious figures; but Christ, the noblest type of the divine Teacher and Master, far surpasses them in majesty and sublimity. The coloring is of deep, glowing, lustrous power, and the whole conception and treatment that of a master who has attained the utmost perfection.

At the same time with Giovanni worked his elder brother, Gentile Bellini (1421-1507), who labored in a similar direction, but with

less power and depth of characterization. Several large pictures from Venetian history are rich in figures and very interesting, and may be found in the Academy at Venice. They are, indeed, sacred subjects, a Procession and a Miracle; but in the natural and unconstrained conception we notice the first dawn of something like genre painting, which was as yet rare in Italian art, and which in Florentine art, with the exception of the work of Benozzo Gozzoli, and a few others, was repelled by a certain grandeur of historical feeling. The colossal picture by Gentile Bellini in the Brera Gallery at Milan, portraying S. Mark preaching at Alexandria, with a naïve mixture of Venetian and Oriental local traits, is of a similar nature. The love of Oriental costume, noticeable in Gentile and other contemporaneous Venetians, was, in part, the result of the foreign dresses, then so much more plentifully seen in Venice than now, and in part caused by a journey to Constantinople, whither this master was summoned in 1479.

Giovanni Bellini's influence on his younger contemporaries was of lasting significance, and decided the progressive course of the Venetian school. Not only were the great masters of the succeeding period, Titian and Giorgione, his scholars, but many less important and yet clever artists received their impress from their connection with him. Among the most eminent of these was Vittore Carpaccio, the true teller of stories of this early Venetian school, many of whose large illustrations of the legend of S. Ursula, in the character of historical genre paintings full of fresh conceptions of life, may be found in the Academy at Venice. In the little chapel of S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni are nine paintings by Carpaccio representing the acts of S. George and of S. Jerome, paintings all in their original location. The Church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo in the same city has an excellent Coronation of the Virgin by him. Another of these artists was Cima da Conegliano, whose devotional pictures are distinguished for strength of characterization and superb, glowing color. Fine specimens of his work may be found in Venice, particularly a very masterly Adoration of the Shepherds in the Church of the Carmini, an enthroned Madonna and saints in the Academy, another of great significance and value in the Gallery at Parma, two splendid altar-pieces with figures of saints in the Brera collection at Milan, and others in the Museum at Berlin. We may also mention the agreeable, though sometimes rather confused Andrea Previtali of Bergamo (died 1528), who often signs his pictures as Bellini's pupil, as in the little picture of the Madonna enthroned amid saints, dated 1506, in the Bergamo Gallery, in which the type of figure is somewhat rustic; but the altarpiece, dated 1515, in San Spirito in the

Fig. 476. Enthroned Madonna. By Bartolommeo Montagna. Brera Gallery, Milan.

same city, is grander and more sublime, and has a fine landscape background. Another altarpiece, in ten divisions, in the same church, dated 1525, is pleasing and well colored. The Brera collection also has one of his panel pictures, painted in 1513.

One of the best artists of this day was Carlo Crivelli, who came from the older school of Murano, and was influenced by both Mantegna and Bellini. Often constrained, even hard, in his figures, he charms by his stern vigor, by the sincerely religious gravity of his conception, and by the incomparable lustrous power of his coloring; to which he unites the most conscientious execution of the slightest accessories, recalling in this point the Flemish masters. Festoons of fruit and flowers, which he delights in using, give his pictures a festal tone. His best works are in the Brera Gallery at Milan—a Madonna enthroned between two saints, dated 1482, still hard and labored, and pale in color; Christ on the Cross, mourned by Mary and John, of equally early date, sharply outlined, and carrying the expression of grief to the extent of grimace; also somewhat harsh, but full of meaning, and one of his chief works, the Coronation of the Virgin, and, in the lunette above it, the Dead Christ mourned by his followers; and finally an enthroned Madonna, surrounded by festoons of fruit—a work of matchless splendor of coloring and lovely fervor of feeling. There are also important examples of Crivelli in the National Gallery, London. The skillful master Bartolommeo Montagna from Vicenza shows similar tendencies, and is often confounded with Mantegna on account of the severe sharpness of his characterization. His noblest work is the Pietà, dated 1505, in the Church of Monte Berico near Vicenza, and in other churches in that neighborhood. Other able pictures from his hand are to be seen in the Museum of the same city, in the Church of S. Corona; also a powerful altar-piece of the enthroned Madonna and Saints, dated 1499, in the Brera Gallery at Milan, grand in character, and of luminous, powerful coloring (Fig. 476).

C.—THE UMBRIAN SCHOOLS.

In the midst of the strong realistic effort which pervaded almost all the schools of Italy in the fifteenth century, an independent and original mode of feeling was preserved in old Umbria, in the quiet, wooded valleys of the Upper Tiber and its tributaries—a feeling which is native to remote mountain regions, and depends more upon a deep religious sensibility than on a fresh conception of outward life.

Here was the early home of religious ecstasy; here were the birthplace and influential monastery of S. Francis of Assisi, with whom the romantic tendency of the Umbrian school of painting accords, just as the kindred tone of the Sienese school harmonized with S. Catharine of Siena at an earlier age. Still, the effort to attain a more powerful conception and more detailed representation of reality was so deeply impressed upon the general consciousness at this time, that it was impossible to avoid it altogether, even in the isolated valley of Umbria. There was, therefore, a blending of both elements in the works of these artists, which adds a new and attractive tenderness of feeling and fervor of expression to the rich products of Italian art.

The true founder of this school was Niccola Alunno, whose real name was Niccolo di Liberatore (about 1430-99), a native of Foligno.* He belongs to the masters who, without great power of thought, charm by sincere and agreeable expression, purity of sentiment, and earnest dignity. One of his most beautiful works is the Annunciation in Santa Maria Nuova at Perugia, dated 1466. The Angel Gabriel is full of sweet serenity, and the Madonna a lovely picture of maidenly modesty. Above hover graceful angel choirs; below are kneeling worshipers, among them the givers of the picture. The tone of the picture is clear and golden, the expression fervent, and full of feeling, yet moderate and temperate; the forms, especially the hands, are somewhat meaningless and unfinished. An interesting Crucifixion by this artist, with the date 1468, may be seen in the Kunsthalle at Carlsruhe; and a most graceful Madonna on the throne surrounded by angels adoring, and playing on musical instrumnets, dated 1465, in the Brera Gallery at Milan.

The work begun by Niccolo was taken up with great talent by Pietro Perugino (whose real name was Pietro Vanucci della Pieve),† and was carried to rare perfection by him during a long and laborious life (1446-1524). Born at Città della Pieve, a little Umbrian town, he at first submitted himself to the tendency predominant there, but afterwards sought to perfect his art in Florence under Andrea Verocchio and other influential masters, and to gain a more significant and bolder conception of life. This tendency is shown by an Adoration of the Magi in Santa Maria Nuova at Perugia, which is nearly allied to the Florentine school in sharpness of characterization and fine, intense color. This is still more decided in the mural paintings executed about 1480 in the Sistine Chapel at Rome, of which but one,

* A. Rossi, "I Pittori di Foligno"; Perugia, 1872.
† J. Dennistoun, "The Dukes of Urbino"; 3 vols., London, 1851.

Christ giving the keys to Peter, is well preserved; but this is one of the best in the whole series, both in grandeur of character, in significant rendering of the subject, and masterly perfection of the drapery and coloring.

Soon after entering on his fortieth year he settled in Perugia, where he thenceforth became the head of the Umbrian school, and attracted a great number of associates and scholars. He now returned to his original tendencies, which he strove to combine with the more thorough realism of Florentine art. A deep, religious enthusiasm

Fig. 477. Madonna Adoring the Infant Christ. By Perugino. Pitti Palace, Florence.

pervades all his pictures; and their expression of devotion, resignation, supplication, and rapture has seldom been equaled by any other master. A rare purity is inherent in his figures; and his female and youthful heads, with their soft, oval faces, high, guileless brows, tender, dove-like eyes, delicate, slender noses, and pretty little mouths, are of special grace and charm. He also succeeds well in the representation of venerable age, and only fails in the expression of manly strength, energetic will, and heroic action. But having once limited himself to a narrow sphere, he soon fell into a stereotyped form, repeating not merely the same heads and the same expression, but also the same attitudes and movements. His innately devout figures thus

often have something mechanical and exaggerated about them; and even if the master's skillful hand and care be unmistakable in the finish of the picture, and if the color be excellent with its warm and yet powerful tones, there can hardly be anything more unpleasant than the mechanical sentimentality so often found in his works. Much of this, to be sure, may be charged to the account of his associates, whose share of the work, owing to the increased demand for his paintings, must have been very great.

The enthroned Madonna with four saints, originally in the chapel of the Town Hall at Perugia, and now in the Vatican Gallery, belongs to his best period. In the same collection we find another fine picture, whose execution is, in a great measure, ascribed to the young Raphael, and which represents the Resurrection of Christ. Perhaps the most important of his works is the Descent from the Cross, painted in 1495, in the Pitti Palace at Florence; the arrangement is grand and clear, the painting excellent, and the expression of pain intense. In Perugia he decorated the walls and ceilings of the Collegio del Cambio (Merchants' Exchange)* in 1500 with frescos of superior coloring and beautiful details, though insignificant in composition. The lovely altar-piece of the Madonna adoring her Child originated somewhat later, and is one of the master's most perfect works. Formerly in the Certosa at Pavia, and now in the National Gallery in London, it is a brilliant, glowing piece of color. On the wings of the picture are the figures of the Archangels Michael and Raphael, whose wonderful beauty seems to indicate the assistance of the youthful Raphael. A feebler repetition of the main part of this picture may be seen in the Pitti Gallery at Florence (Fig. 477). He also painted at Perugia, in San Francesco del Monte, a fresco of the Adoration of the Magi, full of grace and dignity, one of his finest works. Another Adoration of the Magi, in San Agostino, in Perugia, may be considered as one of the best of the many less important sacred pictures by this artist to be found in the various churches of Perugia. But the S. Sebastian, dated 1518, in San Francesco, is painfully weak both in coloring and drawing, and is also insipid and dull in expression. Equally feeble and over-soft is an altar-piece, painted in fresco in 1521, in S. Maria Maggiore at Spello, represent-

* For a description of the pictures in the Cambio, see F. Rio, "L'Art Chrétien," 4 vols., Paris, 1861-67—a book showing much learning, but by no means impartial, being written from the standpoint of a devout Catholic and mystic. It is, however, a work which the student of this period cannot afford to neglect. See also Kugler's "Hand-Book of Italian Painting," English edition. Vasari's "Life of Perugino" should also be read, though it is notoriously one-sided and unjust. For details, see Burckhardt, "Der Cicerone," and Raffaello Marchese, "Il Cambio di Perugia" (Perugia, 1859), written to accompany the photographs of the frescos published in Perugia.

ing Mary with her Son's body, although the mother's head is not without depth of feeling. On the other hand, the altar-painting of the Marriage of the Virgin, in the Museum at Caen, is more meritorious.

Among the artists who followed the style of Perugino, there is far less evidence of an original and individual conception than in other schools. They follow, almost without exception, the types, expression, and execution established by the models of that master. One of the most gifted of their number was the scarcely younger Pinturicchio (whose true name was Bernardino di Betto, 1454-1513), who was more inclined to historical subjects than his fellow-students, and who chiefly worked upon fresco pictures. He painted his most important works in this line for Rome. In a side chapel of Santa Maria in Aracœli, in that city, he illustrated the life of S. Bernard in a somewhat constrained and Peruginesque style, which is seldom atoned for by loftier sentiment or fresher life; but the coloring is bright and clear. The rich frescos in the Appartamento Borgia in the Vatican are his work. The paintings which he executed in 1501 in a chapel of the S. Maria Maggiore at Spello are more attractive in character than those in Santa Maria del Popolo and San Onofrio, or than the History of the Holy Cross, which he painted in the apse of the choir of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme; which latter have been greatly touched up and altered (all three churches being in Rome). In the Annunciation, as stated by Kugler, a composition with rich architecture, is seen, as if suspended from the wall, and beneath a shelf on which books are lying, the portrait of the painter, with his signature; and beneath a string of beads which hangs from the frame are a palette and brush. It will be remembered that Perugino was working on the frescos of the Cambio at the same time that Pinturicchio was working in the Collegiate Church at Spello. Each painted his own portrait, and attached it to his work, in a similar way as a pretended movable picture in a painted frame, and suspended it from the wall by a painted cord. The frescos at Spello represent the Annunciation, the Nativity, and Christ among the Doctors; there is also a half-length likeness of the artist on one of the pilasters. The scale of proportions of these figures often varies, and is not always correctly preserved, particularly in the perspective; but the composition is remarkably clear, the color delicate, somewhat cooler than that of Perugino; and the same is true of the prevailing feeling, which, though hearty and sincere, is without the deep ecstasy of that master. The figures are noble; some of the heads are dignified and beautiful, the Madonna especially being free and noble; and even the details are finished with grace and refinement. In the following year (1502) he

began to decorate the Library of the Cathedral of Siena with frescos, which, with those at Spello, may be considered his masterpieces. Here he was not required to portray any religious incident, but the life of Pope Pius II. (the famous Æneas Silvius Piccolomini). Ten large mural paintings contain the separate scenes, of very stirring character, to judge by the inscriptions below them, but most quiet and ceremonious in the actual representation; all action being as much as possible avoided. Yet the effect is attractive, partly owing much, no doubt, to the skillful composition, happy proportions, able characterization, and free architectural or landscape backgrounds, but much also to the fresh, blooming color, superb architectural framework, and the arabesques on the ceiling, which all unite to make the room one of the brightest and most beautiful of its kind. The fresco of the Last Supper in San Onofrio at Florence, formerly attributed to Raphael, is also probably from his hand. His panel pictures are, for the most part, hasty and insignificant. One of the finest is in the Academy at Perugia, dated 1495, and represents the Annunciation, Death, and Coronation of the Virgin.

Among Perugino's pupils, the best, after Raphael—to whom we shall refer later—was Giovanni lo Spagna, that is to say, "the Spaniard"; his real name was Giovanni Di Pietro. In the Palazzo Pubblico at Spoleto there is a fresco of the Madonna, with S. Thomas Aquinas, S. Jerome, S. Augustine, and S. Catharine, painted by him. Unfortunately, it is in a very bad state of preservation, but is of captivating beauty, and purest nobility of soul, such as, in the whole school, the young Raphael alone displays. At San Giacomo, between Foligno and Spoleto, there is a church of which the choir was painted by lo Spagna in 1526-27. Lastly, the Adoration of the Magi in the Berlin Museum, which came from the family of Ancajani, is also his work; although, from its Raphaelesque beauty, it is there considered to be a youthful effort of that great master. Unfortunately, a part of the picture has been entirely effaced.

Besides these and many other pupils, two masters from neighboring regions show a kindred aim. One was the father of the great Raphael, Giovanni Santi of Urbino* (born before 1450, died 1494), most of whose works may be found in his home, the Marches of Ancona; chief among them being the fresco paintings in the Dominican Church at Cagli. Without extraordinary depth, they please by their innate feeling, dignified expression, and careful execution. In Santa Maria Nuova at Fano we find an altar picture of the Visitation, somewhat dry in tone; and in the same place, in the S. Croce, an enthroned

* J. Dennistoun, "Dukes of Urbino," vol. i. Rio, "L'Art Chrétien." A. Pungileoni, "Elogio Storico di Giovanni Santi"; Urbino, 1822.

Madonna with Saints is more beautiful and significant. In San Francesco at Urbino is the *ex voto* picture of the Buffi family, one of his finest works. The Annunciation in the Brera Gallery at Milan is rather hard, and the enthroned Madonna in the Berlin Museum far less attractive. The other important master is Francesco Francia, or, more correctly, Raibolini (about 1450-1517). Working as a goldsmith and medal-coiner in his youth, he did not take up painting until late in life, but even then won an equal rank with Perugino. He was

Fig. 478. Madonna and Child, with S. John. By Francia. Dresden.

probably greatly spurred on by the latter's works; but he was clear-sighted enough to accept the influences of Venice and Lombardy as well. His fundamental principle is also a deep religious feeling, quite free from ecstasy or extravagance, and finding expression in an attractive and human style, in a tender and agreeable tone. He is also closely allied to Perugino in his love for the representation of quiet states of mind, in his avoidance of much action, in the purity of his character, the fine finish, and the excellent and generally warm tone of his coloring. But his figures have an energetic air of life, and bolder forms and freer development than those of Perugino. His earliest known picture, which he painted in 1494, is an enthroned Madonna, surrounded by six saints. It is now one of the most pre-

cious treasures of the Pinacoteca at Bologna. One of his noblest and most perfect works is the altar-piece in the Bentivoglio Chapel in San Giacomo Maggiore of the same city. It also represents a Madonna on her throne, surrounded by four saints, among whom are a wonderfully beautiful Sebastian, and an ideally sublime John, and with two extremely pleasing little angels, playing on musical instruments, sitting on the steps of the throne. The color is deep, glowing, and of lustrous power. Besides other fine pictures in the Pinacoteca at Bologna, he and his pupils painted a series of frescos illustrating the life of S. Cecilia in the church of that name, which are among his ablest works. Among the pictures to be found elsewhere, the Madonna in a thicket of roses, adoring the Infant Jesus as he lies before her, in the Munich Gallery, is one of the most famous and delightful. In the Brera collection at Milan we find a noble Madonna enthroned with her Child, and surrounded by four saints. Smaller pictures, generally half-length figures of the Madonna or Holy Family, may be seen in many galleries. One of the most graceful is in Dresden (Fig. 478), and others are in the Borghese Gallery at Rome. The Madonna always has the same quiet, dreamy expression, the same soft, dark eyes, the same boldly rounded, oval face; and yet the effect is always attractive and pleasing. Francia also belongs to those masters whose creative power remains in unbroken freshness in advanced age. He died in 1517, shortly after Raphael's S. Cecilia arrived in Bologna, and, as an entirely unfounded story goes, from the shock produced by the powerful effect of that work.

The best of Francia's scholars is Lorenzo Costa of Ferrara, who at first followed the course of the Paduan school, but afterwards worked in Bologna, and was excited by Francia's example to kindred efforts. Beautiful pictures by him, of strong, warm, and harmonious coloring, may be seen in the Pinacoteca at Bologna, in San Petronio in the same city, and in the Berlin Museum. The son and nephew of the older master, Giacomo and Giulio Francia, were less original and independent.

D.—THE NEAPOLITAN SCHOOL.

The direct influence of Flemish art penetrated more immediately into Naples than into any other part of Italy; King René of Anjou, who was himself a scholar of the Van Eycks, giving abundant inducement for such a combination of styles. Although there is no lack of pictures to testify to this connection, yet there has been a very great want of research into this branch of art history. Even the accounts concerning the head of this school, Antonio Solario—called Lo Zin-

garo ("the Gypsy")—are vague, and irreconcilable with the pictures ascribed to him; for if Antonio really lived from 1382 to 1445, he cannot have painted the works attributed to him, since they indicate, in their whole aspect, that they are to be assigned to the latter half of the century. The legend makes Antonio the Quentin Metsys of the South; for it records that, having been a smith, he became a painter, out of love for the daughter of Colantonio del Fiore. The panel paintings attributed to him—a Madonna and Saints in the Neapolitan Museum, characterized by a vigorous life, a decided treatment of form, and warm, harmonious coloring; and a Christ Carrying the Cross in San Domenico Maggiore—by no means correspond to the frescos, also attributed to him, in the convent of San Severino, Naples. These last contain, in nineteen pictures, the life of S. Benedict, and are among the most attractive works of the fifteenth century. They are rather cool than warm, and soft, mild, and harmonious in coloring; and give a series of scenes from monastic life—all quiet and still, as in a pure and holy peace—without any particular force of treatment or action, but interesting for their fine groups of contemporary characters, and especially for their landscape backgrounds, which exhibit a beauty, strength, and depth of thought, unknown in the whole range of Italian art of the fifteenth century, and which stand alone even in the succeeding period. Bold and imposing groups of rocks, and, again, soft, idyllic foregrounds with exquisite distant views, give a high value even to those scenes which are least important as figure-pieces, and add to the charming sense of peaceful quiet which belongs to the place, and which has a doubly pleasing effect amid the noisy activity of Naples.

Chapter IV.

THE PLASTIC ART OF ITALY IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

1. *Sculpture.**

ITALIAN plastic art had, during the fifteenth century, gained a new form from the study of the antique, and had made considerable advances in the unceasing effort after truth and life. In some of its products it even reached a height such as it never attained again, save in exceptional cases. We need only cite Ghiberti's doors, the like of which was not produced by the epoch which followed. But if, hitherto, the expression of an often severe and tasteless realism was predominant, yet now, under the influence of profound and repeated study of the antique, an aspiration toward the ideal, the beautiful, and the sublime, was to assert itself; and this gave rise to a higher and a freer style. What suffered most by this change, and which, later, was utterly lost for centuries to the genius of plastic art, was the exquisite *naïveté* of the earlier time—its charming, though oftentimes over-scrupulous, devotion to nature. On the other hand, plastic art gained a freer and nobler comprehension, a broad, bold treatment of forms, and a style simplified so as to bring out what was fundamental and essential, which might, for a moment, compete with the antique. This, to be sure, is true only of the antique as it was understood in the best times of the Roman Empire; for in those times such works as the Apollo Belvedere, the Torso of the Vatican, and the Laocoon, were held to be the masterpieces of ancient art. However important these masterpieces may be, they do, nevertheless, when compared with the genuine Greek works of the best epoch, contain in their expression the germ of what was theatrical and affected, and, in their treatment of form, a tendency to exaggeration. Inasmuch, therefore, as sculpture was as little able as the architecture of that period to draw on original sources, and could work only at second-hand, it was impossible for it to keep itself for any length of time

* See bibliography of "Italian Sculpture," 1420-1500. Also lives of Michelangelo by Wilson, Harford, and Symonds. Tenanza, "Vita di Sansovino."

free from affectation; and at last it lapsed into a mannerism before which the truth and simplicity of nature had to give way.

But what still more impelled it to follow this erroneous course was the attitude of this period toward its artistic material. True, religion was already strongly represented in art; but subjects of this nature were treated in an ideal style modelled on the antique, which was too foreign to the very nature of religious topics to develop any real life. When, at the same time, figures and stories from antique mythology were lavishly introduced, this reanimated antiquity soon degenerated into mere cold allegory, having been designed to accord with the studied conceptions of the learned, rather than the ideas of the mass of the people. But as soon as art quits the ground of popular ideas, it must become merely abstract, and go astray.

There was, it is true, a brief period during which antiquity, animated by the modern spirit, again flourished, and when a series of the noblest figures sprang from the alliance of Christian ideas with antique forms. But this ideal elevation could only be maintained by the exceptional force and purity of specially eminent masters; for the mass, even of highly gifted artists, this was impossible, inasmuch as it would require a stronger intellectual balance than Christian ideas gave to the conceptions of the age. Thus this manneristic, false, exaggerated style must soon take possession of plastic art, expelling from its domain, first nature, and then beauty.

Still, this transformation was not completed till the close of an epoch, which, though short, was strong in creative power and rich in forms of beauty; and even among the various departments of plastic art, some were affected in a different way from others by the general tendency. Rilievo suffered most from the very outset, inasmuch as, even during the preceding epoch, the picturesque mode of treatment had been carried to the uttermost extremes in this branch; and even masters like Ghiberti fell into this mistake. With a few exceptions, the sixteenth century continued to follow in the same direction; so that a truly artistic treatment of relief sculpture was lost, not to be recovered until an epoch much later.

The case was different with detached statues and groups, in which, for a time, that height and dignity of ideal style which we have already mentioned were maintained. But even in this case the excessive liberty accorded to recent art had serious consequences; and the complete loosing of the ancient ties connecting plastic art with architecture was, in the end, as disastrous to the one as to the other. In the fifteenth century, an architectural basis, even though a light and decorative one, had prescribed a position and certain limitations for plastic art; and in the noblest works of this new epoch the same law shows

itself to be still powerful for good. But sculpture soon emancipated itself so thoroughly as to overstep on all sides the limits set by architecture, and so to overturn the previously existing relations between the two that architecture must now be subservient to its whims. The result of all this was, of necessity, the ruin both of architecture and of plastic art. Freed from its close alliance with nature by its overweening and one-sided imitation of the antique, and emancipated from the severe and regulated control of architectural necessities, it fell unchecked into arbitrariness and degeneracy.

As is evident from the foregoing observations, this period includes several epochs whose developments have to be considered separately. First comes the brief period when art was in its most flourishing state, which really came to a close shortly after the death of Raphael, in 1520, though its echoes still inspired Italian sculpture down to about the year 1540; but then begins that process of decay which nothing could check, and which irresistibly swept away with it even the most eminent geniuses.

A.—FLORENTINE MASTERS.

Leonardo da Vinci, the pupil of Verrocchio, would undoubtedly be reckoned among the most distinguished sculptors of this epoch, were it not that his admired work, the colossal Equestrian Statue of Francesco Sforza, is utterly lost to us, with the exception of a few studies on copper-plate and some sketches. The casting of the statue had been delayed; and when, in 1499, the French took Milan, their archers selected Leonardo's model in clay as a target for their archery practice; and thus it was wantonly destroyed. Still, the lofty mind of the master had already exerted a powerful influence on several other sculptors of his time, especially Giovanni Francesco Rustici, whose bronze group of John preaching betwixt a Pharisee and a Levite is still admired as one of the noblest and most mature works of this period. It stands over the north portal of the Baptistery of Florence. No other works of this highly gifted artist are now known.

But we have fuller information regarding the works of another Florentine sculptor, on whose development Leonardo was likewise not without influence—the noble Andrea Contucci, surnamed Sansovino, who lived from 1460 to 1529. For purity of conception, perfection of form, harmonic beauty of feeling, and graceful moderation in treatment, he might be called the Raphael of sculpture; though, of course, in depth and comprehension he must give way before the prince of painters. To his earlier period belong the sculptures of the sacramental altar in the S. Spirito at Florence; at least, the reliefs be-

tray a hand that is as yet not emancipated from the traditional style; while the truly noble statues of the two Apostles, the Angels with the Candelabra, and the Infant Christ, were unquestionably added by him at a later time. One of his most perfect works, and indeed one

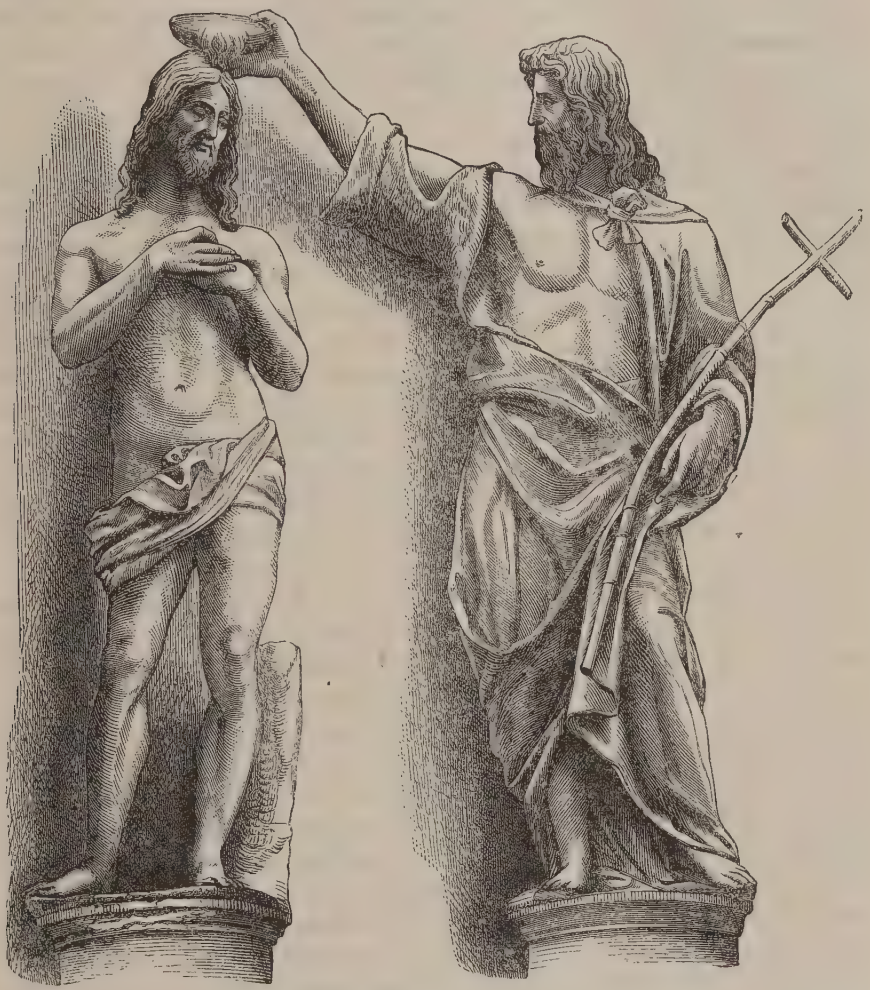

Fig. 479. The Baptism of Christ. By Andrea Sansovino. Baptistery, Florence.

of the freest and most beautiful creations of modern sculpture, is the marble group (executed in the year 1500) of the Baptism of Christ (Fig. 479), which stands over the eastern portal of the Baptistery. The angel in the group was, however, added by another hand. John the Baptist is a grandly effective figure with powerful action, and yet

perfectly free from factitious pathos. The Christ has a nobly developed form, perfectly unconstrained, whose gesture and posture show the sustained earnestness and dignity of feeling befitting the solemn occasion. In the Cathedral of Genoa are two statues by Andrea Sansovino—one of the Madonna, and the other of John the Baptist (1503). Further, there are to be found at Rome several of his best works, dating from 1505 to 1507, especially the two noblest marble tombs in all Italy—those in the choir of the Church of S. Maria del Popolo. The design of these is substantially that of the preceding century. A rather deep niche, surmounted by a triumphal arch and inclosed by columns, contains the sarcophagus, on which reclines the figure of the deceased, with the mild expression of one sleeping. Detached statues, angels, and allegorical figures of Virtues are introduced as decorative adjuncts, and as ornaments of smaller niches in the walls. The uppermost portion consists of a group representing the Saviour, and two spirited figures of angels bearing torches. While all the decorative details are executed with the utmost grace and elegance, it is in the detached figures that the style reaches its perfection. In the allegorical figures which fill the niches, the artist, by a peculiar outward curve of one shoulder, strives to gain an appearance of free action; but the means he employs to gain this end produces a somewhat monotonous effect. In the earlier monument the drapery is somewhat baggy; but in the later one it has such a clear, harmonious flow, and such a simple rhythmic grace, that the figures stand forth pure and noble as in the antique. In the portrait figures of the deceased the artist has represented with incomparable skill the expression of life beneath the thin veil of a gentle slumber. In the earlier monument the reclining figure rests its head upon its hand; in the later one, the arm is gently raised to the head. In both there are complete repose and mildness of expression, and harmonic beauty of movement and of lines. Another Roman work is to be seen in the Church of S. Agostino; namely, a group representing Mary with the Child and S. Anne (1512)—a work of noble composition, deep expression, and perfect forms. Unfortunately, it is badly placed, and hence can hardly be enjoyed.

Finally, from the year 1513, Andrea was in charge of the work of decorating with marble the Holy House at Loretto, which, according to legend, was transported thither from Bethlehem. Only a part of this work, however, was done by his own hand. The great relief of the Annunciation he executed about the year 1523. The Nativity, with adoring shepherds and angels, he completed in 1528. The remainder of the work was done by his pupils and assistants. Taken as a whole, this work is probably the most important collective

creation in sculpture of this golden age. Even the architectural composition—designed by Bramante, and consisting of noble Corinthian semi-columns and a rich entablature with a frieze—is a work of rare beauty. Between these attached columns are eight reliefs, representing scenes in the life of Mary; and a ninth, representing the miraculous transportation of the Holy House from place to place. In addition to all this, we have niches occupied by ten prophets and an equal number of sibyls; the former sitting, the latter standing. Most of the reliefs are in the style of Sansovino; and we may safely affirm that they were executed from designs by him. There are great charm and grace in the figures, and fine plastic style in the draperies; the compositions are generally clearly arranged, with few figures; and the picturesque backgrounds are treated judiciously. The most beautiful of these reliefs are the two executed by the master himself. Both in the Annunciation and in the Nativity we see a Raphael-like fervor and grace. The Adoration of the Magi, completed by Rafael da Montelupo and Girolamo Lombardo; the Birth of Mary, by Montelupo and Baccio Bandinelli; and the Espousal of the Virgin, by Montelupo and Tribolo, are plainly Sansovino's creations. No less simple and noble in their composition are the two small reliefs representing the Visit of Mary to Elizabeth, and the Taxing at Bethlehem. The Death of Mary and the History of the Holy House are the only ones that depart from the master's manner. Of the prophets, several are full of force and expression. They are, in part, inspired by Michelangelo's figures in the Sistine Chapel, though they are animated with a life of their own. Though not altogether free from mannerism, they are nevertheless, on the whole, dignified and even noble figures. The Jeremiah, which is one of the best of them all, is attributed to Andrea Sansovino himself; while the others are by Girolamo Lombardo and his brother Fra Aurelio, with the exception of the Moses, which is ascribed to Giovanni Battista de la Porta. The last-named artist also executed all of the sibyls in which the mannered imitation of Michelangelo is most plainly exhibited, though sundry beautiful youthful forms appear to have been designed by Andrea. However this may be, his spirit and his example had a good influence on the greater part of these works.*

Here we must devote a few words to Raphael, who seems to have furnished designs for several plastic works, and who even possibly executed one of these works with his own hand. At least the marble statue of Jonah seated, to be seen in the Chigi Chapel of the Church of S. Maria del Popolo, Rome, answers to the idea we have of what

* An extended consideration of this master's works will be found in the account of Lübke's Italian journey, in the "Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst," sixth year.

might be Raphael's manner as a sculptor, not only in its noble expression, but also in its consummate beauty. The Elijah, however, in the same chapel, is the work of another and inferior hand.

More potent was the influence upon the whole domain of sculpture of Raphael's great rival, Michelangelo Buonarroti of Florence (1475-1564). Indeed, so profound was the impression made by this supreme artistic genius, with his creative power that burst all fetters, upon his younger contemporaries, that at his death he left behind only imitators of his manner and of his defects. Though Michelangelo was also eminent in architecture, and still more so in painting, he nevertheless regarded himself as properly a sculptor; and he spoke of sculpture as the art in which he felt himself most at home. If, now, we compare his sculptured works with all those which went before, even with those of Rustici and Sansovino, we see at once that with Michelangelo art reached one of those turning-points at which it enters on a new period, with an undreamed-of future opening before. His deeply emotional soul was content neither with the contemplative realism of the fifteenth century, which was based upon its truth to nature, nor with the quiet, harmonious beauty which sprang into being under the hands of the masters we have just named. Each of his works exists for its own sake only; and therein we see a kinship with the antique. But, again, each of them is also the product of the stormy inward struggles of a man who is ever aiming at the highest ideal, and untiringly striving after a new expression of his thoughts—a man to whom achievement gave but little satisfaction; so that oftentimes he left his works unfinished. Here we see the strongest contrast to antique art. Nearly all of his sculptured works are, in one respect or in another, incomplete; and many he had to drop because under the mighty stress of his ideas, and in his eagerness to liberate from the marble the slumbering soul within, he had made a false stroke and spoiled the block.

Though Michelangelo was thus a profound student of the masterpieces of antiquity, and from them deduced an independent ideal style, which, in its bold comprehension of forms, its free and masterly treatment of surfaces, and the abstract, typical character of its faces, is plainly seen to have its ground in the antique, he was, however, the first to break unreservedly with tradition, and to seek in the material before him simply an occasion for expressing ideas peculiar to himself. Here began modern art—the supremacy of the subjective. Indeed, so absolute with him is this new principle, that for the sake of giving the fullest possible expression to an idea he is ready to disregard the laws of natural organism—laws which no man had more thoroughly explored than he himself—and to compel them to bend

to his purposes. He violates truth and beauty by going in search of forced and even impossible situations; he exaggerates the proportions of objects till they become colossal; and while he eschews everything like mere grace and attractiveness, he not unfrequently falls into the opposite excess. Hence it is so extremely difficult justly to estimate his works, or to take a genuine pleasure in contemplating them; hence, too, it is usually a mere affectation when persons not conversant with art manifest extravagant enthusiasm over these wonderful creations, just as is also the case when people express their unbounded admiration for the later Titanic works of Beethoven. He who would be candid will confess that at first the unprejudiced eye is repelled by these works of Michelangelo, but that some weird elemental power ever again attracts the beholder, provided he be not superficial and unintelligent, to the great peerless master; that then begins a profound contemplation, an earnest study; and at last the key to the understanding of these great works is discovered. Then, only, can one begin to appreciate these lofty creations; but at the same time it is found that the pleasure they afford is not without a taste of the tragic; for we become sharers in the griefs and struggles amid which this mighty soul poured forth his inmost thoughts.

Even his earliest works betray an exalted genius, and show how he struggled to rise above the dominant naturalism, and to attain ideal conceptions. To this class belong his bas-relief of a Madonna in the Buonarroti Palace at Florence, and an alto-relievo in the same palace, dating from his seventeenth year, and representing Hercules contending with the Centaurs—a work full of lusty, vigorous life, though overcrowded, after the manner of antique Roman sculptures. Of the same character of diligent and mannered work is the young John the Baptist, in the museum of Berlin, brought from Pisa in 1879. How eagerly the young master, even at this time, strove to give expression to his artistic ideas in regions the most diverse, is shown by another work, dating also from this period; namely, the marble statue of Bacchus, in the National Museum at Florence (Fig. 480)—a work which not only displays a considerable study of nature, but also with great truthfulness makes artistic use of the expression of drunkenness. The close of this period of youth is marked by the Pietà in S. Peter's at Rome, dating from 1499. It represents the Madonna mourning over the dead body of her Son—a group in marble finely conceived, nobly composed, and admirably finished, the heads being specially expressive. This is the Pietà which is signed in full (in Latin), "Michelangelo, the Florentine." To nearly the same period belongs the strikingly beautiful Madonna in marble, now to be seen in the Church of Our Lady at Bruges.

So far the creative genius of the master had pursued its way untroubled, and with simple purpose. But now commences that epoch in his life when the mighty strife of his nature broke through all restraint, spurned tradition, and diverted his imagination into wild and lonesome paths. First appeared, in 1501, the colossal marble statue of David, which formerly stood in front of the Palazzo Vecchio, but which is now in the Academy at Florence, which he carved out of a rejected block. Considering the unfavorable conditions imposed upon him by this circumstance, the fine execution of the body is doubly worthy of admiration. Still, the impression made by the work is not of the best, inasmuch as the colossal size of the statue is in conflict with the assumed youthfulness of its subject. With the year 1503, when Michelangelo was called to Rome by Pope Julius II.,* begins the epoch of his highest mastership. The design of a tomb for this noble and art-loving Pope seemed to afford to the master an opportunity to try the boldest flights of his fantasy. In 1504 he designed an imposing structure, of the plan of which we can get some idea from the drawing in the Uffizi. In highly expressive allegory he introduces figures bound with chains to the pilasters, personnifications of the provinces reconquered by the Pope, and of the arts checked in their activity by his death. Other figures in niches and on pedestals — among them

Fig. 480. Bacchus. Michelangelo.

* Anton Springer, "Michelangelo in Rome, 1508-1512"; Leipzig, 1875.

Moses and Paul, as types of the active and the contemplative life — are added. The symbolism is altogether arbitrary, it is true; yet even in the rough sketch these figures are full of life

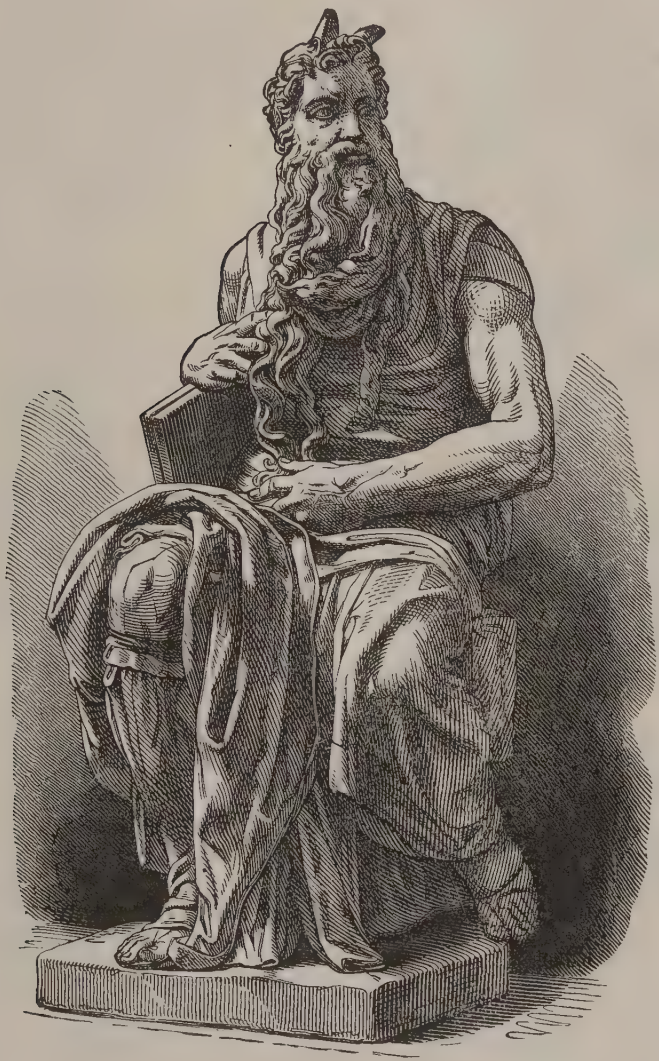

Fig. 481. The Moses of Michelangelo. Rome.

and expression. It is easy to see that here sculpture is no longer, as in earlier times, and even with Sansovino, subordinated to architecture, but that the latter exists for the sake of the sculptured figures.

Unfortunately, this work, which would have been an incomparable gigantic monument of modern sculpture, was never executed; and in consequence the master's life was for a long time imbittered. After sundry alterations, and even after a smaller design had been draughted in vain, at last, forty years later (1545), the little contracted, badly composed monument now to be seen in the church of S. Pietro in Vincoli was erected. Most of it is the work of the master's pupils, not excepting the figure of the Pope, which, with its scrimped sarcophagus, is meanly crowded in between bare, plain pilasters. The master himself executed the figures of Rachel and Leah, which, like those of Moses and Peter in the first design, are intended to symbolize the active and the contemplative life. But above all, the famous colossal figure of Moses is by his hand. Here the artist permitted himself to be led altogether by his symbolic purpose, and sought out a moment which permitted the expression of a powerful energy (Fig. 481). We have here, not the circumspect leader of hosts or the wise lawgiver, but the fiery zealot, who in his hot indignation, because of the idolatry of his people, breaks to pieces the Tables of the Law. He seems to be beholding the worship paid to the golden calf. His head turns to the left, with flashing eyes; his beard, agitated by the inward commotion, falls heavily down upon his breast; the right hand rests upon the Tables of the Law, and with the left he presses the beard to himself, as though he would check the violent outburst of passion. But the advanced position of the right foot and the backward movement of the left, give us to understand that in a moment this powerful form will spring to its feet and vent

Fig. 482. One of the So-called Captives Intended for the Tomb of Julius. By Michelangelo. Louvre, Paris.

MICHELANGELO

"MOSES," FROM THE STATUE IN THE CHURCH OF SAN PIETRO IN VINCOLI, ROME

upon the apostates his fierce and withering indignation. This enormous power of expression and this impressiveness of situation, joined as they are to consummate technical treatment, nevertheless cannot blind us to the fact that the form of the head is anything but noble, and that it expresses rather physical strength and passion than spiritual elevation. In addition to the figures already mentioned, there are in the Louvre at Paris two unfinished statues of captives in chains, which also appear to have been intended for this monument (Fig. 482).

Several works, dating from the middle period of his life, and executed prior to those just named, are still conceived within the limits of noble and well proportioned beauty; for instance, the nude marble statue of an arisen Christ with the Cross, in Santa Maria sopra Minerva at Rome, a work dating from about the year 1521. The spirit of the action in this figure is truly noble: the spiritual expression of the head is somewhat commonplace; and the naked body (now protected by a scarf-like drapery of bronze, while a sandal of the same metal guards one foot from the assaulting kisses of the faithful) is, in its elegance, rather antique than Christian. Further, we have in the Uffizi at Florence the splendid but incomplete figure of the youthful Apollo, whose light, airy movement is beautifully conceived and portrayed. In the National Museum is a medallion relief of the Madonna, with the Infant Jesus leaning upon a book, and with the little John. This, too, is incomplete, but incomparably beautiful in composition, and full of noble sentiment.

Next come the two monuments of Giuliano and of Lorenzo de' Medici in S. Lorenzo, Florence, erected by order of Leo X., but not begun until 1529. The architecture of these monuments is but little decorative, but well designed best to bring out the effect of the sculptures (Fig. 483). In square niches in the walls of the sacristy are seated statues of the princes; and under these, on the rounded lids of the sarcophagi, repose, in Giuliano's monument, the figures of Day and Night; in that of Lorenzo, the figures of Dawn and Evening. As for any definite suggestion or characterization, no such thing is to be found here. The figures are of the heroic size, of large proportions, but not noble nor beautiful in treatment; and in the rhythmic action of their boldly managed curves this impression is often heightened by a violent distortion of the limbs. Still the tone of these bold, strong figures is impressive; but Night, in particular, is a wonderfully grand conception, as she lies in the absolute relaxation of sleep, the weary head bent forward, and supported by the right arm, which itself rests rather artificially on the left thigh. The lower portions of this figure are treated with power and force; but the

upper parts are simply repulsive, as though the master, in haughty disdain, had sought to avoid every pleasurable suggestion, and shut out every light attempt to penetrate his thoughts. The figure of Day shows animation, as, with the head (which is unfinished) turned over the shoulder, it gazes into distance, and lies relaxed, with its limbs in noble curves (though the posture is not without constraint); at the same time it is imposing, and wonderfully perfect in its outlines. The statue of Giuliano, in martial trappings, with its small and by no means ideal head, shows great simplicity and dignity of bearing.

Fig. 483. Statue of Giuliano de' Medici, with the Figures of Day and Night. By Michelangelo. Florence.

It is, however, surpassed by the figure of Lorenzo, who musingly supports his head on one hand, appearing like a thought petrified in marble; hence the name given to it of "Il Pensiero." The two reclining figures on his monument rest perfectly easily and freely, with boldly treated curves, in simple, natural positions. The figure of Dawn is nobler and less violent in its form, but not so grandiose in expression, as that of Night. The lines throughout are of the utmost harmony and of noble symmetry.

In the same chapel is an incomplete sitting statue of the Madonna and Child. This, too, is a noble and grandiose composition. The Madonna's head has an almost tragical expression; the composition, especially as seen in the Child, with its too unquiet attitude, shows some straining after effect; yet the whole is a work of deep pathos. Like excellences and like defects are to be seen in the reclining figure of Adonis Dying of his Wounds, in the Uffizi; also a work grandly conceived, and only showing in the face a certain stiffness like a mask.

Fig. 484. Medals of Francis I. and of Pope Clement VII. By Benvenuto Cellini.

A statue of an apostle—incomplete, like so many others of Michelangelo's works, and still only half wrought out of the block of marble—can be seen in the court of the Academy at Florence. The group of the Descent from the Cross, in the Cathedral of the same city, is a constrained and unsuccessful work. On the other hand, the likewise unfinished bust of Brutus in the Uffizi exhibits marvelous force of characterization. A portrait of the master, a bronze bust in the Palace of the Conservatore at Rome, is one of the best works of its kind; but it can hardly have come from the hand of Michelangelo.*

That capriciousness of genius to which the master yielded more

* Engraved in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* January, 1876.

and more from day to day was fraught with fatal consequences to art. As in architecture, so in sculpture, he gave the signal for the irruption of an unbridled subjectiveness, which became all the more dangerous as his imitators had less of native power, and as this deficiency had to be made up by exaggeration of the Michelangelesque manner. Still, at first, there were a few artists who knew how to maintain a tolerable degree of independence, and to confine their imitation within reasonable bounds. To this class Tribolo, properly named Niccolo Pericoli (from 1485 to 1550), who had been employed under Andrea Sansovino on the Holy House of Loretto, and who had adopted the graceful, noble style of that master. Of this he made independent use in the reliefs of both the side portals of the façade of S. Petronio at Bologna, where he treated with much attractiveness the histories of Moses and Joseph. In the interior of the same church there is another work of his, a relief of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary. This, too, is a work of sterling merit. We must add here the name of Benvenuto Cellini, who is of interest to us on account of his decorative works and his goldsmith work, as also on account of his autobiography (from 1500 till 1572).* Called to France by Francis I., he was there charged with important commissions; but nothing remains of his life-size silver statues, or of his colossal figure of Mars. However, in the Museum of the Louvre there is still to be seen his fine, elegantly executed relief in bronze of the Nymph of Fontainebleau; in the Ambras collection in Vienna there is a richly ornate salt-cellar in gold, and in Windsor Castle an exceedingly beautiful shield. In Italy, Florence possesses, under the Loggia de' Lanzi, the masterpiece of his later years, the bronze statue of Perseus with the Medusa's Head—a work not without naturalistic bias in its scrupulous treatment, but yet felicitous in its harmony of lines and in its power of expression. Then, too, sundry of his medals show great vivacity, especially those done for the king and for Pope Clement VII. (Fig. 484).

B.—THE MASTERS OF UPPER ITALY.

Under the dominating influence of the Tuscan-Roman school a milder spirit of grace and beauty began to pervade the stern realism of the schools of Upper Italy; the author of this movement being

* "Benvenuto Cellini," by J. Brinkmann; Leipzig, 1867. "Vita di Benvenuto Cellini, Orefice e Scultore, scritta di sua mano propria in Firenze"; Milan, 1806. Edited by E. P. Carpani. Another edition is that of G. Molini, printed from the original MS., Florence, 1830. Translated by Thomas Roscoe, 1822. Roscoe's translation makes a volume of Bohn's "Library"; London, 1847. These memoirs have also been translated by J. Addington Symonds.

BENVENUTO CELLINI

"PERSEUS"

FROM THE STATUE IN THE LOGGIA DEI LANZI, FLORENCE

chiefly Andrea Sansovino. Among the most eminent of the artists of this school was Alfonso Lombardo (1488-1537), who wrought at Bologna contemporaneously with Tribolo, and who from the latter derived this more ideal direction. In the Cathedral at Ferrara are some of his earlier works, still somewhat after the naturalistic manner; namely, clay figures of the apostles. But Bologna possesses his most important works. In the Church of S. Pietro in that city is a Descent from the Cross, likewise in clay. Then there are several works of great merit in the Church of S. Petronio, especially the Resurrection of Christ in the spandrel of the arch of the left side portal—a noble production; in S. Domenico, the graceful, miniature-life reliefs on the base of the Arca di S. Domenico; and, in the oratory at S. Maria della Vita, the life-size group in clay of the Death of the Virgin Mary.

Modena, too, had at this time a prolific and talented artist, Antonio Begarelli (till 1565), who sought out a special path for himself amid the general tendencies of the time. His principal works consist of great groups of terra-cotta. His style is in many points akin to Correggio's paintings. His forms are full of beauty; but in the composition he chiefly follows the laws of painting. In his native place, the more important churches contain his principal works. Thus, in S. Maria Pomposa is the group of mourners around the dead body of the Lord; in S. Francesco, the pathetic Descent from the Cross, which impresses one exactly like a great painting. Nobler and simpler is the group of the dead Christ with mourners, in S. Pietro. Then in S. Domenico there is the group of Christ between Martha and Mary; and finally, in the Berlin Museum, an altar with a crucifix and four angels.

To this class belongs also Andrea Riccio, surnamed Il Briosco (1480-1532), who wrought principally in his native city of Padua. To a specially fine sense for varied grouping and successful execution he adds a spirited freshness of conception. Still, so exuberant is his fantasy that in his reliefs he is as little free as most of his contemporaries from a tendency to overloading. There is much freedom and animation in his two bronze reliefs—David dancing before the Ark of the Covenant, and Judith and Holofernes—on the choir screen of S. Antonio. Of like character is the famous bronze candelabrum, of the same date (1507), and to be seen in the same church. True, after the fashion of the time, it is lavishly ornate throughout its entire height of eleven feet, being overladen with all conceivable sorts of fantastic figures taken from ancient mythology; but yet the work, in its admirable execution, and especially in the reliefs on the base, is very spirited, and full of life. We give an

illustration of the lower portion of this candelabrum as a characteristic specimen of the ornate style which prevailed in this epoch (Fig. 485). A number of reliefs originally belonging to the Torriani Monument at Verona, and now to be seen at Paris in the Museum of the Louvre, are also by his hand.

But the admitted chief and head of all the sculptors of Upper Italy is the Florentine Jacopo Tatti, usually called Jacopo Sansovino, after his great teacher Andrea Sansovino, and who, during his long life (1479-1570), for half a century ruled supreme at Venice over architecture and sculpture. In his earlier epoch he adopted successfully, but not without impressing on it the stamp of his own originality, the pure and noble style of his teacher, as we see in his great marble statue of the Madonna seated with the Child, in the Church of S. Agostino at Rome. To this period belongs also the statue of the Apostle James in the Cathedral at Florence; and, as an evidence of his sympathetic and original apprehension of antique subjects, we have the marble statue of Bacchus in the Uffizi — a work that shows great originality of design and admirable skill in its execution. In 1527, after Rome had been sacked by the imperial army under Bourbon, Jacopo went to Venice, where he won his great eminence in the realm of art, and where, with the help of a multitude of pupils and assistants, he produced a considerable number of works. They are not all of equal merit, differing in this respect according to the more or less active part taken by him in their execution. Now and then the

Fig. 485. Portion of Riccio's Bronze Candelabrum. In San Antonio, Padua.

severe naturalism of the school predominates, and there are evidences of exaggeration and overloading. Still, on the whole, Jacopo, in a time when nearly all artists had fallen into the mannerism produced by Michelangelo's example, maintained his art at a height equal to that to which the contemporary Venetian painters had raised theirs, sustained by an attractive warmth and life and a profound sympathy with nature. Among his numerous works at Venice we mention especially the bronze door of the sacristy of S. Mark's, which in its

Fig. 486. Relief from the Bronze Door of San Marco, Venice. By Jacopo Sansovino.

arrangement and divisions calls to mind the famous door by Ghiberti at Florence. An elegant border, embellished with statuettes of the prophets and boldly projecting heads, incloses two large reliefs—the Entombment (Fig. 486) and the Resurrection of Christ, both admirable and spirited compositions. No less powerfully conceived, though somewhat overwrought and deficient in proportion, are the six reliefs in bronze, representing miracles performed by S. Mark. These are to be seen in the choirscreen of S. Marco. On the other hand, the small bronze effigies of the four Evangelists, seated, on

the balustrade in front of the high altar, show the overmastering influence of Michelangelo. About the year 1540 he embellished the loggia at the base of the Campanile of S. Mark, Venice, with allegorical and mythological reliefs and statues, the former of which, especially, exhibit much grace. So, too, the colossal marble statues of Mars and Neptune, at the head of the Giants' Staircase of the Doges' Palace, are full of animation, and very skilfully executed. But particularly fine and charming, and worthy of being classed with the most beautiful works of this kind, are the statues of the Virtues, and especially that of Hope, on the Monument of the Doge Venier in San Salvatore, which was executed after the year 1556. Finally, Jacopo proves himself to be a portrait sculptor of considerable merit by his sitting statue of Thomas of Ravenna, over the portal of S. Giuliano. In S. Antonio at Padua the rich ornamentation of the Chapel of the saint is all by Jacopo and his pupils, with the exception of the reliefs by the Lombardi, mentioned above. Still, the relief by Jacopo, representing the resurrection of a woman who has committed suicide, is one of his most styleless works; not without the spirit and animation he always shows, it is true; but its pathos is overwrought; the figures are stiff and angular, even to ugliness; and the drapery is distorted. On the other hand, one of the noblest and most touching of these compositions—the Resuscitation of a Dead Youth—is by one of the ablest and most talented of his pupils—Girolamo Campagna, a native of Verona.

Finally, to this class belongs Girolamo Lombardo, a native of Ferrara, whom we have already seen employed upon the Holy House of Loretto, as a sculptor in marble, but who also executed for the church of that town and for the Holy House a series of works in bronze which possess high artistic merit. Though the work of this able artist continued down to the end of the sixteenth century, he nevertheless is tolerably exempt from the vicious mannerisms of his time, and adheres to the noble style created by Raphael. He it was that executed the four bronze doors in the Holy House, which he embellished with spirited scenes from the life of Christ. He also made the bronze statue of the Madonna, so full of simple dignity, for the façade of the church. Finally, we have from his hand the splendid main portal, with its vigorous and spirited Old-Testament figures in relievo—a work of high decorative beauty. He was assisted in its execution by his four sons. From his school came Antonio Calcagni of Recanati, who in 1587 commenced the splendid Monument of Sixtus V. which stands in front of the façade of the church. The seated statue of the Pope shows marked individuality of character; but the statuettes and reliefs on the pedestal are not

free from mannerism. In 1590 Calcagni designed the southern bronze portal of the church, which surpasses former work in richness. The northern door, corresponding to the southern one, and no less ornate, is by Tiburzio Vercelli, likewise an artist from the Marches of Ancona, and a disciple of Girolamo. Finally, either Calcagni or Vercelli (for it is ascribed to each) executed the great bronze baptismal font for the church—a superb work of art of the first rank, which, like his other works—in addition to a high degree of ornamental beauty and plastic animation, shows also wonderful technical perfection.

C.—THE IMITATORS OF MICHELANGELO.

From Michelangelo sculpture had acquired a new and grandly ideal style, but at the same time that vicious inclination toward forced and far-fetched effects which caused the great master himself occasionally to fall into mannerism. But what in him was always the expression of inner convictions, and the fruit of a mighty creative process, became in his imitators mere phrase and an empty fashion. Men even of notable talent were unable to withstand this overmastering influence, which, like a tragic fate, doomed modern art to destruction after its brief golden age. Of Michelangelo's assistants, Montorsoli worked mostly at Genoa, whither he was called by Andrea Doria. The splendid Monument of Pope Paul III. in S. Peter's at Rome is by Guglielmo della Porta, who likewise worked first at Venice. The clumsy and pretentious fountain with statue of Neptune in the Piazza della Signoria at Florence is by Bartolommeo Ammanati.

More worthy of note was a Flemish artist, Jean Boulogne, of Douai, called in Italy Giovanni Bologna, and erroneously Giovanni da Bologna (1524-1608), who was mostly employed at Florence. He had the secret of giving to his figures, with all their commonplace expression, a certain energetic confidence and harmonious beauty, and of making his monuments very effective in their general arrangement. The great fountain at Bologna (1564) is a splendid and impressive work; the famous marble group of the Rape of the Sabines, under the Loggia de' Lanzi at Florence, is a masterpiece, though there is a disagreeable mannerism in the expression; the bronze equestrian statue of Cosimo I. in the Piazza della Signoria is vigorous and manly; finally, in the Museo Nationale in Florence is to be seen his most spirited work, which at the same time is the one that evinces the most refined treatment of forms—the famous Mercury. In this piece, the bronze Mercury, whimsically enough, seems borne on a

zephyr; nevertheless, the figure appears wonderfully graceful and airy, as though ready to shoot heavenward with the speed of an arrow.

Finally, to this class belongs a master of earlier date, who unworthily and enviously strove to appear as a rival of Michelangelo, but who was, against his will, forced by the irony of fortune to become one of his most servile imitators. This was Baccio Bandinelli (1487 or 1493-1559). His best works are the relief figures of prophets, apostles, virtues, and other personifications, in the marble choir screen of the Cathedral at Florence. They are generally excellently distributed in the space at command, showing grace in their conception and variety in their arrangement, often with fine, yet sometimes with rather stiff drapery; and are of great interest even in their treatment as exceedingly low reliefs. On the other hand; exaggeration and mannerism characterize the marble group of Hercules and Cacus in front of the Palazzo Vecchio at Florence, which is an empty imitation of the colossal forms and the grandiose treatment of Michelangelo.

2. *Painting.**

What the age of Pericles was for sculpture, the sixteenth century was for painting. We have already explained the reasons why the modern world must express its highest thoughts in this branch of art. The fifteenth century had in many respects prepared the way for this, had inspired all forms of thought with new energy, and had portrayed all the phases of life with characteristic truth. Painting had thus gained absolute mastery of the domain of form, and could now devote its powers with complete freedom to the expression of the profoundest thoughts and the most exalted beauty. The lofty style that distinguishes the works of this golden age from all that went before, and all that has since appeared, was the necessary and natural fruit of the high artistic feeling which had been steadily developed in the Italians by consistent culture. Affiliation with antique art was here not the result of study or of imitation, but it was the expression of a deep affinity.

Had this consummate perfection of art been concentrated in one master, it were of itself alone sufficient to stamp as classic forevermore the Italian painting of that age. But the creative force of this incomparable epoch is all the more wonderful inasmuch as it produced a multitude of masters of the first rank, who, in as many

* See bibliography of "Italian Painting, 1420-1500." Also Ridolfi, "Vita di Paolo Cagliari Veronese"; and the lives of Michelangelo (see bibliography under "Sculpture").

original and important directions, attained by the same final effort the summit of ideal beauty and classic perfection. So profound was the thought of this epoch, so fully did it comprehend the whole circle both of Christian and of antique ideas, so firmly did it take its stand upon that lofty plane where narrowness and exclusiveness are out of the question, and where human feeling is filled with immortal truth and beauty, that even second-rate talents, carried along by the mighty current, sustained themselves on the crests of its mounting waves, and produced works in which nobleness, beauty, and even a trace of the supreme perfection of the great masters, will forever live. The strict bounds within which the masters of the preceding century had followed their several paths gave way before the free interchange of ideas between painters of different groups which now prevailed. Only by this symmetrical development of their artistic nature could the masters rise above the one-sided tendencies of the schools, and complete the liberation of art. True, in painting as in sculpture, this epoch of purest and noblest bloom was at its height only for a short time; true it is that here, again, the ideal style soon fell into a superficial and external treatment, and that the body was retained after the soul had taken flight. Still, this brief period is so rich in all that is greatest and most beautiful that, viewed in its wondrous light, all that went before seems to be only a prophecy, a promise; and the masterpieces which contain its splendid fulfilment throw forward into the remotest times a ray of beauty and majesty which fills succeeding generations with an enduring joy.

A.—LEONARDO DA VINCI AND HIS SCHOOL.

This new and momentous epoch in painting began with Leonardo da Vinci, born at the Castle of Vinci near Florence in 1452, died in France in 1519. He was one of those rare beings in whom nature loves to unite all conceivable human perfections: strikingly handsome, and at the same time of a dignified presence and of an almost incredible degree of bodily strength; while mentally he possessed such various endowments as are hardly ever united in a single person. Not only does he hold eminent rank among the foremost artists of his time; not only did he base the theory of his art on keen scientific researches in anatomy and perspective, the results of which he sets forth in his treatise on painting;* further, he far transcended the learning of his day in every other branch of practical and mechanical knowledge. He investigated the laws of geometry, physics, and

* "Trattato della Pittura," of which the first edition was published in Paris, in Italian, in 1651, and of which there are English translations.

chemistry; he was a practical engineer and architect; constructed canals, sewers, and fortresses; invented machines and mechanical works of all sorts; and besides all this, he practiced music assiduously, and was a gifted poet and improvisatore. The thirst for knowledge led him throughout his restless life to be ever concerning himself with new studies and inventions; and though he devoted only a small part of his time and strength to painting, that art owes to him, more than to any other man, its perfection and disinthralment.

Like all the other artists of the fifteenth century, Leonardo proceeded from a sympathetic apprehension of nature and life, and led art to a complete mastery of form; but, at the same time, he knew how to combine with this the highest expression of beauty, the utmost vigor of thought, the manifestation of the eternal and the divine. Still, so little content was he with the artistic utterance of his ideas, that after long-continued and untiring labor he oftentimes left his works unfinished, or else, in the execution of them, was ever employing new technical expedients; and these, unfortunately, have hastened the decay of his most important productions. The peculiarities of Leonardo's work are extreme scrupulousness about the nicest details; a certain massiveness in designing and modeling; and to this he added, as one fruit of his study of aërial perspective, a delicate blending of colors and an airy softness of outline. In expression he combines dignity and majesty with a sweetness which—especially in his female heads—takes on a character of the most attractive loveliness. The type of his ideal female head, with large, dark, deep eyes, rather long, straight nose, smiling mouth, and pointed chin, is common to all his pupils and imitators; though in his original works, this winning smile is blended with a dreamy, sad expression, indicative of the depth and sincerity of his feeling.

As Leonardo early evinced a notable talent for painting, he was placed under the tuition of Verocchio; but soon he so far excelled his master that the latter, it is said, renounced his art. There is still to be seen in the Academy at Florence a painting by Verocchio, the Baptism of Christ, which is harsh and even painful, in its realism, and in the almost skeleton-like delineation of the figures. Incomparably more beautiful than the other figures of this piece is that of an angel, which, according to Vasari, was executed by Leonardo. Other works of Leonardo, belonging to this early period of his life, have perished or disappeared. There is no trace left either of his two cartoons of Neptune and of the Fall of Man, or of the fantastic Monster which he painted on a shield; even the Head of Medusa in the Uffizi at Florence is wrongfully attributed to the master. Nor is the admirable portrait of Ginevra Benci in the Pitti Gallery, nor

LEONARDO DA VINCI

"THE LAST SUPPER," AFTER THE PAINTING IN THE MONASTERY S. MARIA DELLE GRAZIE, MILAN. FROM THE COPY IN THE LOUVRE

the not less admirable one of a goldsmith (really by Lorenzo di Credi), a genuine production of Leonardo's early years. On the other hand, however, we may, perhaps, justly reckon among the very best of his early works the consummately beautiful Annunciation, transferred to the Uffizi Gallery from the Church of Monte Oliveto. Again, the fresco of the Madonna, with a portrait of the donor kneeling, in the cloister of S. Onofrio at Rome, is by Leonardo, though ascribed by some to a pupil; and it must date from this period, for it betrays in its character, and in its cool and simple coloring, the influence of the Florentine school. On the other hand, the master shows greater freedom and independence in his Adoration of the Magi in the Uffizi—a large painting, little advanced beyond laying on the first brown ground, in which the touching loveliness of the Madonna, the devout expression of the adoring Magi, and the poetry of the grouping give evidence of matured powers.

It was about the year 1482 that Leonardo was summoned to the court of Lodovico Sforza at Milan. We possess a document drawn up by him in the form of a memorial, in which he offers to the ruler of Milan his services as an engineer, a constructor of military works, an architect, a sculptor, and a painter. Besides the theoretical treatises on his art written by him at Milan, there were two great artistic undertakings to which he devoted his powers down to about the year 1499. One was the equestrian statue already mentioned, the loss of which must be forever regretted; the other (1496-98) is the world-renowned Last Supper in the refectory at S. Maria delle Grazie*—a work the shameful destruction of which is ever to be lamented. This work has been damaged and ruined in many ways—as by the flooding of the low-lying hall; by the stupidity of those who cut a doorway through the lower central portion of the picture; and also by the originally defective construction of the wall. But what contributed more than all of these causes to its destruction was the master's unfortunate idea of painting his work in oil-colors upon the wall. Finally, to complete the ruin of this worst-abused of all works of art, two wretched botchers—Bellotti and Mazza—must commit the outrage of entirely repainting this grandest work of Leonardo. Only in very recent times has the effort been made carefully to remove these additions; and now, after all the ill-treatment it has suffered, it can best be judged by contemporary copies, such as that in the Royal Academy, London, and one kept near the original; or by Raphael Morghen's admirable engraving. The original cartoons of the heads —the Christ in the Brera Gallery (Fig. 487), and the Apostles

* Bossi, "Del Cenacolo di Lionardo da Vinci"; Milano, 1819. With this compare Goethe's fine treatise, "Abendmahl von Leonhard da Vinci."

in the Grand Ducal collection at Weimar—also afford very material assistance.

Leonardo was not content with a calm representation of the scene of the Last Supper, as it had been so often portrayed before; as little was he content with the task of awakening a fresh interest in a simple representation of this sacred scene by a profound intuition and portraiture of the several characters. All this we find here, done with consummate art. But in choosing for his starting-point the moment when Christ utters the pathetic words, "One of you shall betray me," he breaks with all tradition, casts a burning spark into the very

Fig. 487. Head of Christ. From a Drawing in the Brera Gallery, Milan.

midst of the assembled figures, and boldly ventures to convert into a profoundly dramatic scene the still and mournful solemnity of Christ's feast of love. And none but such a master as Leonardo could preserve the most faultless symmetry and proportion amid that wild tumult of emotions—of sadness, grief, painful uncertainty, anger, indignation, and even horror. None but such a one could, through his profound knowledge of the human heart, evolve out of the individual characters of the apostles the special expression which befitted each separately, and amid all this strife of the passions portray the divine Master as seated amid the disciples, clothed in wondrous majesty, with just a slight shadow of distress upon his features, and

an expression of entire submission (Fig. 487). The very composition of this piece—with two groups, of three apostles each, on either side of the divine Master, thus more effectually making Christ the dominant figure—is in itself one of the most masterly conceptions of the artistic mind. The nice antitheses of character in the arrangement of these groups are innumerable, as exhibited in the expression of the heads, in the movement, in the drapery, and, above all, in the physiognomy of the hands. In illustration of this, we give below

Fig. 488. Group from the Last Supper of Leonardo—John, Peter, and Judas Iscariot.

(Fig. 488) one of these groups—that on the right hand of Christ, showing the beloved disciple profoundly grieved, the zealous Peter aroused to anger, and the betrayer taken aback by the unexpected announcement.

To this same period of his sojourn in Milan are to be referred sundry other paintings by the master, especially certain portraits, which, however, are not of unquestioned authenticity. In the Ambrosian Library of Milan are several beautiful heads in chalk; also

the portrait of Gio. Galeazzo Sforza, which exhibits much freedom and boldness of touch; while the profile of Sforza's consort, Isabella of Aragon, a work full of very delicate detail, betrays the character of the earlier epoch. To this period, also, belongs the similarly treated and charming portrait of Lucrezia Crivelli, a mistress of Ludovico's, now in the Louvre, where it is known as "La Belle Ferronnière." In the same collection is a half-length figure of John the Baptist in the Wilderness; but this, in its chiaroscuro, and in the fanciful expression of the head, marks the transition to the later epoch. But to the earlier period appears to belong the partly nude figure of a woman, now in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg. In the Hermitage are also to be seen two other early works of this master; namely, a Madonna and Child, which once was in the Litta Palace at Milan, and a fine Holy Family with Saint Catherine from the palace at Mantua.

When, in 1499, the French took Milan, Leonardo went back to his native city, Florence, where he spent several years in the practice of his art. To this period belongs, first of all, the cartoon destined for the intended great painting of the hall of the Palazzo Vecchio—the Battle of Anghiari. He was engaged on this work during the years 1503 and 1504. Michelangelo, too, was soon afterward invited to execute a similar work; and thus did he enter the lists against his great countryman. These two cartoons, by the greatest masters of the time, were, so to speak, the public manifesto by which art signalized the moment when it was preparing to make its loftiest flight. The younger artists of the period, as Raphael and many others, came together to admire and to study these works, which marked a new era in painting. This cartoon of Leonardo's, as also that of his rival, has perished. Only a group of four horsemen fiercely struggling for a standard has been preserved for us in a drawing by Rubens, reproduced in an engraving by Edelinck; but this suffices to give us an idea of the boldness and force of the composition. A short time previously Leonardo had drawn a cartoon of the Holy Family, which likewise excited the highest admiration, and which is now in the Royal Academy at London. Mary holds on her lap the boy, who turns lovingly toward the infant John; while S. Anne sits beside them, with an expression of happy content. There is another group of the Holy Family, preserved in repeated imitations by Leonardo's disciples. The best is that now in the Louvre; it is in part, probably, the work of the master's own hand (Fig. 489). In this painting the Madonna is seated in the lap of S. Anne, and gazes smiling at the child, who is mounting on the back of a lamb. The freedom with which this very human subject is conceived, and the

true womanly dignity and grace preserved in it, indicate with certainty the hand of the great master. So, too, with the noble portrait of Mona Lisa, wife of his Florentine friend Giocondo, on which he worked four years, and which he, after all, regarded as unfinished. The original of this portrait, in the Louvre—called La Joconde; in Italian, La Gioconda—though in some respects it has been severely

Fig. 489. Holy Family; the Virgin seated in the Lap of S. Anne. By Leonardo. Louvre.

criticised, nevertheless is sure to captivate the beholder by the charming grace of the conception, as also by the sweetness of its almost seductive smile.

In 1513 Leonardo went to Rome; but in 1516 he obeyed an invitation from Francis I. to visit the court of France. Here, at the little Château of Clou, near Amboise, given to him by Francis, he died, three years later, lamented by the art-loving king, though not in the arms of that prince, as tradition would have it. The other works

bearing his name, to be found in various galleries, are by his pupils; often, it is true, they exhibit great perfection, and are, withal, of unusual value, owing to the thought embodied in the composition, which generally is traceable to him. The master himself did his

Fig. 490. La Vierge au Bas-Relief. By Leonardo. England.

work slowly; was never content with his own performance, and again and again left his works unfinished; but he carried in his mind enough of the most brilliant ideas to furnish material for a whole school. Among the most famous of these works are several Holy

Families, but especially one dating from the early years of his sojourn at Milan, which is now in the Louvre. It is known as "La Vierge aux Rochers," and is claimed as an original. There is another copy, formerly in the possession of the Duke of Suffolk in England, now in the National Gallery, where it also is thought to be the original picture. The Madonna, with the infants Jesus and John, with whom there is also an angel, sits in a nook in a rock beside a spring, the margin of which is wreathed with flowers—one of the most charming idyls of Christian art. Another Holy Family, known as "La Vierge au Bas-Relief" (Fig. 490), has been repeated again and again; so, too, another work of much merit, which represents Christ as a youth in the midst of four Pharisees. The best copy of this—apparently one of the best efforts of Bernardino Luini, save that, perhaps, the hands show a somewhat too labored modeling—is in the National Gallery at London, where it is catalogued as an original Luini; a poorer copy exists in the Palazzo Spada at Rome. The original inspiration of this work, no doubt, came from Leonardo. The same origin may be assigned to the fine picture of Vanity and Modesty, apparently by Bernardino Luini, once in the Palazzo Sciarra, Rome, but now in private hands in Paris—a work attractive through its deep poetic feeling and delicate blending of colors. Then, too, the small picture of Christ in the act of blessing, in the Palazzo Borghese, admirably executed, and full of a mysterious charm, may well be referred to a design by the master's hand.

Leonardo had a multitude of pupils and followers, many of whom were highly gifted artists. But so mighty was the influence of the master's mind upon these, that not only his types, but even his thoughts, formed the whole groundwork of this vigorous school; and, as we have seen, many of his works now live only in the pictures painted by his disciples. The common characteristic of these Lombard painters is a quiet grace and loveliness, which finds itself most at home in religious subjects, and which avoids the expression alike of deep passionate emotion and of violent action; while in all that regards design and form, they fall far below the master, who stands preëminent for his thorough acquaintance with anatomy. Leonardo's pupils, on the other hand, developed in their own independent labors his own tendency toward a delicately modulated coloring and a fine effect of chiaroscuro, albeit they oftentimes went to extremes in this direction. So too, now and then, their charming heads of women, especially of the Madonna, degenerate into a stereotyped, mannered expression, in which a meaningless smile is predominant.

The foremost place among Leonardo's pupils must be accorded to Bernardino Luini, specially distinguished for his fervor and grace,

for the winning beauty of his figures, and the bright, warm blending of his colors. He showed great activity as a fresco painter. Of his works dating from his earlier and immature period, we have in the Brera Gallery at Milan a number of such pictures taken from churches in the vicinity, and in which we detect, in some of the heads, traces of Raphael's influence. In the Ambrosian Library in the same city is a fresco of the Crowning with Thorns which betrays the limitation of the artist's ability in the representation of energetic and evil characters, but atones for this by its admirably conceived figures.

Fig. 491. Madonna and Child. By Bernardino Luini.

He next embellished with a multitude of most beautiful frescos the Church of the Monastero Maggiore (S. Maurizio) at Milan—figures of single saints, the history of the Passion, representations of legends, etc. Other frescos were formerly in other monasteries of Milan, and many of these have been removed to the Brera. He exhibits the full maturity of his powers in the frescos executed about 1529 in the Franciscan Church at Lugano. Among these frescos, a large Crucifixion, full of fine figures, is very striking; and a lunette picture of the Madonna with the Child and the Infant John exhibits

all the purity of the master's style. He is also at his best in the frescos of the Church at Saronno (executed about 1530), representing the life of the Madonna. His numerous easel pictures often pass for works of Leonardo's, on account of their depth of feeling, their beauty, and their finish. His Madonnas are specially charming, full of pure maidenly grace (Fig. 491). A painting of the Madonna with saints, and several figures of the donors kneeling, in the Brera Gallery, has for its ground-tone a rather subdued red; still, in warmth of sentiment, it is not inferior to his frescos.

Leonardo's other pupils show less of independent talent. Thus the graceful and tender Andrea Salaino, whose pictures are distinguished by a soft, reddish ground-tone in the flesh tints; Giovanni Antonio Beltraffio, who is not without constraint in expression and design; Marco d'Oggion, whose works may be recognized by a somewhat less warm coloring, and who is best known for his great copies of Leonardo's Last Supper; Francesco Melzi, who is thought to have successfully approximated to the master in depth of feeling and in grace of expression, though none of his works is positively identified; finally, Cesare da Sesto, who at first emulated the master, showing considerable talent, but who later adopted, not to the profit of his art, the external mannerisms of the school of Raphael.

Under Leonardo's influence—which, however, in this case, was combined with that of the Umbrian school and of Raphael, so as to produce a peculiarly modified style—came also the talented and prolific Piedmontese artist, Gaudenzio Ferrari (1484-1549). A pupil of the older Lombard school, he preserves a certain inclination toward animated and even exaggerated expression which makes itself manifest in conjunction with his efforts in the other direction. In his earlier years his works possess a charm and grace which show them to be akin to the best works of Perugino, while at the same time they remind us of those of Sodoma. Take, for instance, the beautiful large altar-piece of the Church at Arona on Lago Maggiore (1511), the principal compartment of which represents a subject frequently repeated by the Umbrian school—the Infant Jesus worshiped by the Madonna, the whole surrounded by a number of saints; the figure of S. Fedele being specially noticeable for its youthful beauty. Nearly approaching this in excellence is the large altar-piece in the Church of S. Gaudenzio at Novara, in Lombardy (1515), with the enthroned Madonna, the Birth of Christ, and several saints. Like the preceding, this is a soft and charming work; further, it possesses a bright golden tone, and occupies a position midway between Raphael's youthful works and those of Sodoma. The sacristy of the Cathedral in the same city also possesses a beautiful painting

by this master, executed at a period not much later; namely, the Marriage of S. Catherine with the Child Jesus. Still, Gaudenzio devoted himself mainly to executing extensive frescos, some of which have been removed to the Brera Gallery. Other very meritorious works of his, full of dramatic life, are found in a chapel in the

Fig. 492. From the Assumption of the Virgin. By G. Ferrari. Vercelli.

Church of S. Maria delle Grazie, Milan; namely, a representation of the Crucifixion and the Scourging of Christ, embracing a great number of figures. More noteworthy are the mural paintings in the Church of Santa Maria delle Grazie, at Varallo in Piedmont, which were executed after the year 1510, portraying the life of Christ;

also the Crucifixion of Christ in the Capella del Sagro Monte in the same town. Here the principal figures (which are not by Gaudenzio) are sculptured, and then painted in the natural colors; while on the wall around about, and on the vault above, are frescos representing sympathizing observers and mourning angels; some of them by Gaudenzio. There are some important works by him in various churches of Vercelli, southwest of Novara. In S. Cristoforo (1532-34) is a series of large frescos representing the life of Mary from her birth to her assumption (Fig. 492); also the legend of S. Mary Magdalen, and a grand Crucifixion possessing great dramatic force. In S. Bernardino is a touching representation of the preparations for the Crucifixion, with Christ seated in the attitude of painful resignation, while his executioners are preparing the hammer and nails. Then there are some much mutilated frescos, representing the life of S. Catherine of Alexandria, in the little oratory of S. Caterina. In the same place there is a beautiful altar-piece of early date, in the choir, representing the marriage of S. Catherine. In S. Giuliano are two panel pictures: the Adoration of the Magi, a work of almost Raphaelesque beauty, and with great brightness of color; and the Lamentation over the Dead Body of Christ—a piece crowded with figures, and full of life and passion; the background is a fanciful, elaborate mountain landscape. Finally, in 1535, Gaudenzio painted in the dome of the Church of Saronno, near Milan, some beautiful choirs of angels. One of the earliest and best of his easel pictures is a Lamentation over the Dead Christ, in the Turin Gallery. A Martyrdom of S. Catherine, in the Brera Gallery, is a vigorous work, but rather coarse in expression. It portrays, not without a kind of enjoyment, the scene of the martyrdom. The whole work is admirably done, though the coloring is rather harsh. The figures of the saints are full of dignity, and the action of the executioners is very forcible. A work equally strong in its portraiture, with similar depth and strength of color, full of dramatic action, and (though it contains a great number of figures) showing no sign of confusion or incoherence, is the large altar-piece of the Crucifixion in the Church of Canobbio on Lago Maggiore. In the Turin Academy there is a long series of beautifully designed cartoons by this master.

Another distinguished Lombard painter is Andrea Solario of Milan, surnamed Il Gobbo, whose earlier pictures—for instance, a Holy Family (1495), now in the Milan Gallery—betray the influence of Giovanni Bellini; though some of them, as the Crucifixion (1503), now in the Louvre, point to Mantegna. Later he adopted Lenoardo's manner; which, however, he developed independently, in

accordance with his own delicate æsthetic sense. We find an illustration of this in his charming Madonna nursing her Child, in the Louvre; and in an Assumption of the Virgin, in the Certosa at Pavia.

To the Lombard school likewise belonged, at first, Giovantonio Bazzi (or Razzi), surnamed il Sodoma (from about 1480 till 1549). He was a native of Vercelli, and in his early years undoubtedly felt the influence of Leonardo. Later, however, in the course of his eventful life, he received many an enduring impression from the study of Florentine art, as also, during a protracted sojourn at Rome, from the works of Raphael.* This artist is worthy of note, not so much for any grandeur of conception, or clearness of composition, as for his uncommonly fine æsthetic sense, and his faculty of giving expression to a profound enthusiastic feeling. In addition to this, his fancy evolved the noblest forms; and he possessed the secret of the softest and airiest blending of colors. The frescos representing the Life of S. Benedict, which he painted beside Signorelli's works in the court of the Convent of Monte Oliveto, near Siena, in 1505, are said to have been forcible, and full of vigorous characterization. Soon afterward he was called to Rome by Julius II. to execute frescos in the apartments of the Vatican; of these, however, but little now remains. But in the Villa Farnesina there are still preserved two beautiful frescos which he painted for Agostino Chigi; viz., the Marriage of Alexander with Roxana, and the Wife of Darius entreating the clemency of the victorious Alexander. The former especially is full of beauty, showing wonderful lightness of touch, warm, airy coloring, and unsurpassable softness in its gradation of tints. One is forced to admire the charming beauty of the head of Roxana, even in the presence of Raphael himself (Fig. 493). The numerous Cupids in the air underneath are delightfully naïve; and the foremost figure of Alexander's escort is of the highest type of youthful beauty. But in the drapery we miss the noble style with which Raphael and Michelangelo have familiarized us. Besides, in the second picture especially, every higher law of composition is disregarded; though here, too, the eye is sufficiently occupied in contemplating the consummately beautiful female figures.

Later the master went back to Siena, where he executed his most finished works, and infused new life into the sadly decayed Sienese school. Among his finest productions are the frescos executed by him in the Oratory of S. Bernardino, in company with Beccafumi, and with Girolamo del Pacchia, who has hitherto been erroneously confounded with the insignificant Pacchiarotto. The Assumption of the

* Compare the monograph of Dr. Jansen; Stuttgart, 1870.

Virgin, the Temptation, Mary in the Temple, and the Coronation of the Virgin, are by his hand. They are all full of beauty and profound feeling; but the grouping in the last-named is not very good, nor is the picture sufficiently elevated in its characterization. No less admirable are his figures of saints, especially the S. Sebastian and the S. Jerome in the Chapel of S. Spirito. In the Oratory of S.

Fig. 493. Head of Roxana. From the fresco by Sodoma. Farnesina Palace, Rome.

Caterina he also executed several frescos from the lives of the saints; but it is not easy to appreciate these, on account of the darkness of the place. He treated that saint's legend in a chapel of S. Domenico (Fig. 494), where he has represented the ecstasy of the saint, and her swooning, with the deepest feeling and the noblest expression of pain. In the Palazzo Pubblico of Siena there are also several frescos executed by him, among them separate figures of SS. Victor and An-

astasius, both full of nobility and grace. Of his not numerous easel paintings, an Adoration of the Magi in S. Agostino and a large Descent from the Cross in S. Francesco are worthy of mention; but a S. Sebastian in the Uffizi at Florence—a charmingly beautiful work, portraying with marvelous truth the saint's mental agony—deserves to be ranked with the noblest creations of any age. The influence of Sodoma, blended with the still more powerful influence of Raphael,

Fig. 494. S. Catherine of Siena Receiving the Stigmata in a Swoon. By Sodoma. Siena.

can be recognized in the paintings of that excellent architect, Baldassare Peruzzi, who, though not always free from mannerisms, nevertheless in his beautiful fresco of the Madonna in S. Maria della Pace at Rome has produced a really noble and skillfully executed work.

To this list, finally, may be added the name of a Veronese artist, Gian Francesco Carotto, of the school of Mantegna. In his finely composed and delicately conceived pictures there is evidence of an original interpretation of the influence of Leonardo. One of his prin-

cipal works, dating from 1528, is in S. Fermo at Verona: an altar-piece representing the Madonna and S. Anne borne upon the clouds, and surrounded by beautiful angels; beneath are four saints—figures in spirited movement.

B.—MICHELANGELO AND HIS FOLLOWERS.

Michel Angelo Buonarroti of Florence (1475-1564), already known to us as an architect and a sculptor, stands side by side with his senior Leonardo as co-author of the new epoch in painting, and at the same time as one of the first and greatest masters of this art. Nay, it may be affirmed that as regards elevation, force, and depth, in boldness of action, and grandeur of form, he has never had a peer. Though his predilection was for sculpture, it so happens that his best works are his paintings; for the art of painting alone could afford him a field sufficiently large for executing his designs. The same giant mind which animates his sculpture lives also in his paintings. Easel pictures were not in his line: the ideas that could be compressed into such narrow space he preferred to give expression to in marble; or else he left to others the execution of such works. On the other hand, he himself, alone and unaided, painted the two largest frescos ever executed down to that time, independently of all tradition, whether artistic or ecclesiastical. In these wonderful productions he exhibited a force and power before which even the greatest artists among his successors have bowed in homage.

Michelangelo received his earliest lessons from Domenico Ghirlandajo, who was filled with amazement at the rapid development of his pupil's talents. He of his own accord diligently made sketches after Masaccio's great frescos in S. Maria del Carmine, and at the same time studied with the utmost care the remains of ancient art. Of the vigor and independence of his mind in these early days we have evidence not only in his first sculptured works, but also in a panel picture of the Holy Family still preserved in the Uffizi at Florence—probably the only easel picture left by the master. The Madonna sits on the floor, with her feet under her, having just closed the volume on her lap, and extends her hands toward the Child, which is held out to her by Joseph, who is seated behind her. The background is filled with figures leaning against a parapet: the only object of introducing them seems to be to satisfy the artist's desire to represent the human form. The group itself is in its motive very far-fetched, and therefore not very interesting, despite the solid merit of its portraiture. Even thus early the master so sternly eschewed all

external, sensuous grace as to execute his work in a subdued tone and in distemper.

More after his own taste, undoubtedly, was a commission received from the municipality of Florence for a design of a battle-piece, to be painted in the great hall of the Palazzo Vecchio, where Leonardo had been already engaged in painting. He selected for the motive of his picture the instant before the battle, when the soldiers—having, without a thought of impending danger, leaped into the Arno to bathe—are unexpectedly summoned to arms by the trumpet-call (Fig. 495). His cartoon, when completed (1505), so excited the admiration

Fig. 495. Part of Michelangelo's Lost Cartoon of the Soldiers Bathing. From an ancient print.

of his contemporaries as to quite cast into the shade Leonardo's work. With a consummate knowledge of the human body, to the study of which he had devoted twelve years of his life, he here brought out the most diversified movements—the sudden surprise, the varied efforts of the men to hurry on their clothes, to seize their arms, to hasten to the fight. The cartoon was placed on exhibition, and was diligently studied by the younger artists, among them Raphael. Unfortunately, however, it was destroyed—out of spite by Bandinelli, if Vasari's account is to be believed; and now it is known to us only through ancient imitations and copperplate engravings.

This cartoon, as also several sculptured works, so added in a short time to the fame of Michelangelo, that, as we have already seen, he

received from Julius II. an invitation to visit Rome and design a monument for that pope. While this undertaking was still delayed, he was ordered, in 1507, to paint the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel. Unwilling, reluctantly, he set about this task; and nothing but the iron will of Julius II. could have prevailed on the fiery-spirited artist to complete the work, especially after he had precipitately quit the city in a passion on account of some fancied injury, and was only induced to return by the Pope's personal entreaty. Michelangelo began his work about 1508, and completed it, with some intermissions, a few years later (1512). That he worked absolutely without assistants, and alone, and that he spent in the execution of this work only the incredibly short space of twenty months, is nothing but a fable. This ceiling is the most complete of all the works of the master; it is also the grandest monument of painting of any age. In the distribution of the work, Michelangelo did not simply take, as he found it, the form of the vaulted roof (which is a vault with a flat surface in the middle, set in the deep curves of the pendentives like a mirror in its frame), but, further, added a quantity of rich painted architecture, which, though of itself it appears rather arbitrary, nevertheless serves his purposes admirably. The long, nearly flat sur-

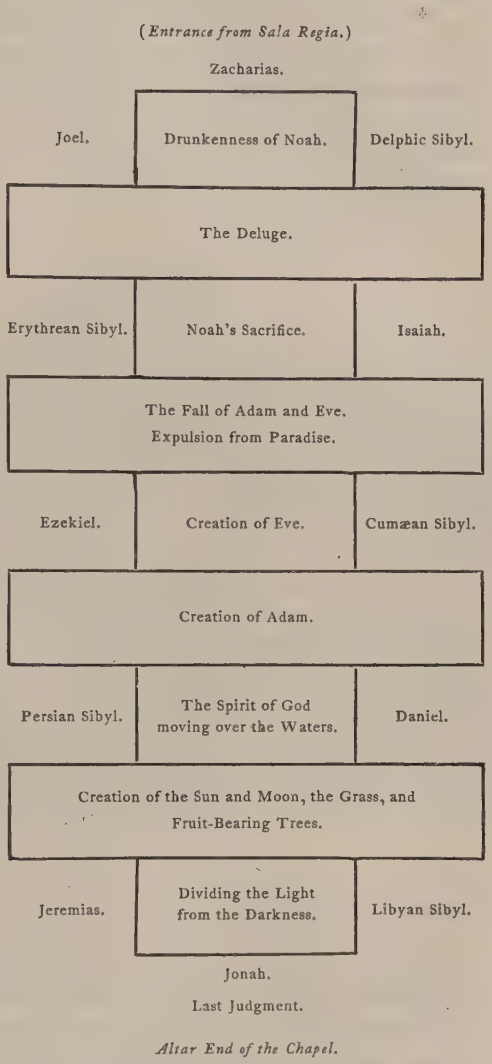

Fig. 496. Disposition of Frescos on the Ceiling of the Sistine Chapel. From the Guide-Book of Dr. Gsell-Fels.

face in the middle of the ceiling was so divided as to represent in nine frescos, alternately wide and narrow, the principal scenes of Genesis, from the creation to the deluge (Fig. 496). On the broad triangular pendentives of the vaulting are the seated figures of the prophets and the sibyls, who prophetically announced the coming of the Messiah (Fig. 498). In the four corresponding corner spaces are represented the Brazen Serpent, Goliath, Judith, and Esther, signifying the fourfold redemption of the people of Israel. On the lunettes, and above the window arches are the ancestors of Mary, silently awaiting the coming of the Saviour. To this highly suggestive and

Fig. 498. The Delphic Sibyl. From Michelangelo's Fresco. Sistine Chapel, Rome.

impressive display of scenes and personages he added, furthermore, on painted pedestals and in other subordinate positions, a host of noble figures in tints of gray and bronze, which simply serve to give to the architectural *ensemble* an incomparable animation, without, however, confusing the eye or disturbing the repose of the whole.

Words can give but a faint conception of the unfathomable depth and the inexhaustible richness of this work. We will simply hint at a few of its most striking features. In the first place, the narratives of Genesis are here treated with a grandeur such as will hardly ever again be produced by art. The form of the Father as he comes at-

tended by cherubs, and as it were borne on a mighty wind, to separate Light from Darkness (Fig. 500 and the larger figure of the Father, Fig. 501), to assign to the heavenly bodies their courses, and to create the first man, is full of majesty. In the creation of Adam (Fig. 499), an electric spark of animation seems to enter the members of the slumbering form when it is touched by the Creator, and to wake it into life. The first human beings are represented as befits a primeval race, possessed of the highest beauty and of unimpaired vigor; while over the form of Eve, who comes forth at God's command with the timid manner of a child, the master has diffused a sweetness and loveliness elsewhere foreign to his works. Throughout, he with a few strokes produces at the same time the deepest and

Fig. 499. The Creation of Adam.

the highest effects. Hence his prophets and sibyls are to be reckoned among the most wonderful productions of art. Raised high above the human level, and at the same time bearing the deepest impress of meditation and abstraction, of inquiry and of speculation, they seem, in their solemn self-absorption, to typify the ardent longing, the painful yearning, of ages and nations for the promised Redeemer. Truly grand and simple are the four representations of the Deliverance of the Israelites, which, like all the other scenes in these frescos, have reference to the Messiah and his work of redemption. In the thirty-six groups of the Ancestors of the Virgin Mary (Fig. 502) the same fundamental idea of a painful, longing expectation is conveyed in a multitude of striking subjects; while the attitudes, the grouping, and

the gestures display a simply overpowering wealth of inventive faculty. Finally, the many nude figures, which fill every vacant space on the painted pedestals and cornices of the vaulting, must be ranked with the noblest works of their kind in the whole domain of modern painting. They show in a wonderful way the mastery of form and the boldness and vigor of imagination in virtue of which Michelangelo was supreme in his art.

Again, though the plastic character is predominant, there are a successful coloring and a depth and warmth of tone which are still distinctly visible, despite the coating of black from the incense smoke and the candles, which grows thicker from year to year. The whole

Fig. 500. Creation of Light. From Michelangelo's fresco in the Sistine Chapel, Rome.

work gives most convincing proof of the unconquerable energy of the master, more especially when we bear in mind that this was his very first attempt in the difficult technique of fresco painting.

Some thirty years later (from about 1534 till 1544), and when he was well advanced in years, Michelangelo, by command of Pope Paul III., painted his Last Judgment on the altar wall of the same chapel. Here he more boldly than ever departed from all the traditions of Christian art. Whoever should expect to find here the well-ordered rows of the elect of saints and angelic choirs, etc., forming a nimbus of heavenly glory around the Redeemer as he sits upon his throne of ethereal light and splendor, would meet with a sad disappointment. Michelangelo wished to portray in the most violent

movements of the human body the fierce rage of the passions; and only one scene in the Judgment is fitted to his purpose—namely, that in which the world-appalling sentence is pronounced, "Depart from me, ye cursed!" Terror, despair, impotent rage, the conflict between fear and hope, are everywhere visible; but they are not the emotions of Christians who have sinned, and have been shut out from all hope of salvation, and who have awakened to the terrible fact that for them heaven is forever lost. On the contrary, one imagines that he sees before him the ancient Titans and Giants, as they are hurled by Zeus the Thunderer down into the abyss. And the tumultuous angels

Fig. 501. Figure of the Almighty. From the group represented in Fig. 128.

in the air around, bearing in their hands the instruments of martyrdom, seem, in full accord with this idea, to cry aloud for vengeance; the saints, as they congregate around the throne, demand justice; the struggles of the damned with the fiends of darkness become a contest between athletes for life and death; even the grim ferryman in his boat below, who beats back with his oar the wretches who beg to be taken in—an idea already made use of by Signorelli, and originating in Dante's great poem—is quite in harmony with the merciless tone which pervades the whole piece. Finally, to show that all hope of mercy has vanished, she who is the never-failing intercessor with

Christ, the Virgin Mother, in her profound agitation shrinks in awe by her Son's side, and shudderingly averts her countenance, generally so gracious.

If we place ourselves at this extreme standpoint of the artist, we must, perforce, confess that he has expressed his thought with a depth and force unmatched in the whole domain of art. In defiance of all the laws of nature, this mighty genius, so far from showing any impairment of his powers in old age, actually attains in this work the highest pitch of excellence. Who has ever succeeded in depicting with such absolute mastery of the whole domain of form, and with such unerring hand, every imaginable grouping, distortion, fore-

Fig. 502. Group of the Ancestors of Mary. From the fresco by Michelangelo. Sistine Chapel, Rome.

shortening, every possible movement of rushing, falling, climbing, wildly agitated human figures, as he has given them here, when he was a man of almost seventy? But though the prudishness of modern times has (by command of Paul IV.) in divers ways altered the original appearance of this fresco by painting over many of its nudities, and though the fumes of incense have clouded its once bright colors, we can nevertheless still perceive with what skill the artist contrived to produce in this great fresco, with its height of 60 feet, an unequaled clearness and harmony of effects, in spite of the enormous multitude of figures it contains. Yet, though he will ever live in this painting as one of the greatest of artists, it is not to be denied that we

no longer see in it the native majesty, the devotional spirit, and the symmetrical beauty of his ceiling frescos; and that in his Last Judgment he has given free scope to that mighty demoniac force which was destined soon to hasten the downfall of art.

To this same later period of his life belong two other frescos in the Capella Paolina of the Vatican—the Conversion of Saul, and the Crucifixion of Peter. These remained for a long time covered with grime, but have now been cleaned; and both, but especially the first, exhibit a high degree of dramatic spirit.

There appear to be in existence no completed easel pictures by his hand, with the exception of the Holy Family already mentioned, although an unfinishd Madonna with Angels, formerly in the possession of Mr. Labouchère of London, but now in the National Gallery, is commonly assigned to the master. As we have said, he had no liking for this class of pictures, and painted them but seldom. Of the picture of Leda, which he executed in distemper, there is an old copy in the Royal Schloss at Berlin. Other work of this kind was done by his pupils, and imitators after his designs. He especially employed in this way Fra Sebastiano del Piombo (Luciani, 1485-1547), who had acquired a masterly power of coloring in the Venetian school under the influence of Bellini and Giorgione, and who understood how to turn his skill to account in portraying the grand thoughts and forms of Michelangelo. He is probably the author of a painting now in the National Gallery, London, representing the Dream—a poetico-allegorical composition of the master's—copies of which are also found in other places. The masterpiece of this excellent artist—the Raising of Lazarus, which occurs in the same collection (Fig. 503)—is also probably founded on a design by Michelangelo. It was executed in 1519, while Raphael was engaged on his great Transfiguration, and was designed to rival that famous painting. To the same period (1520) belongs the large and beautiful panel picture of the Martyrdom of S. Apollonia or of S. Agatha, in the Pitti Gallery at Florence. A Crucifixion, of deep expression and finely executed, in the Berlin Museum, has been ascribed to Sebastiano, but is now given to a later follower of Michelangelo; and a Dead Christ lamented by Mary Magdalen and Joseph of Arimathea—a group of colossal half-figures, of intense tragic power of expression, and powerful delineation of form—is undoubtedly Sebastiano's work. That Sebastiano had already, as a pupil of Giorgione, attained high eminence on his own merits, is proved by the most important of his earlier works—a S. Chrysostom in animated conversation with several other saints. This painting, which is one of remarkable beauty and characterized by great warmth of color, is to be seen in the Church of S. Giovanni

Crisostomo at Venice. This artist was also highly distinguished as a portrait painter, as is evidenced by his great and boldly conceived portrait of Andrea Doria in the Palazzo Doria at Rome, and an admirable female portrait in the Städel Museum at Frankfort.

Fig. 503. The Raising of Lazarus. By Sebastian del Piombo. National Gallery, London.

Several compositions of Michelangelo were also carried out by Jacopo Pontormo (properly Jacopo Carucci), a pupil of Andrea del Sarto. Thus we have in the Palace of Hampton Court an exceedingly animated picture of Venus and Cupid, which picture is thought

to be a replica of that in the Uffizi at Florence; while the design of both has been ascribed to Michelangelo. Marcello Venusti, too, oftentimes imitated Michelangelo's compositions. His best work of this kind is a small copy of the Last Judgment in the Naples Museum. It is especially noteworthy because it was painted before alterations were made to make the great picture accord with later ideas of propriety.

Among these imitators, Daniele da Volterra (properly Ricciarelli), a pupil of Sodoma and of Peruzzi, possessed most originality and merit. His principal work is the famous Descent from the Cross, in the Church of the Trinità de' Monti at Rome, which is full of fine action and profound pathos. Less agreeable, on the other hand, is his crowded picture of the Slaughter of the Innocents in the Uffizi at Florence.

During the remainder of the sixteenth century the art of painting at Rome and at Florence lives almost entirely upon the imitation of Michelangelo, under the dominion of whose grand forms and bold ideas the whole age remained in powerless submission, until at last it had no creative power of its own remaining. It was the fashion to copy the exaggerated muscularity of his figures, but without his knowledge of anatomy; to ape in externals the attitudes, the strong postures and action, of his figures, without being able to infuse into them the animating soul; to delight in quantity, in colossal pictures, and unparalleled rapidity of execution, without ever thinking of putting into their works any genuine life, any thoroughness of execution or aptness of characterization. The lofty, ideal style was transformed into an odious mannerism, in which conscientious designing gave place to superficial dexterity, and color utterly lost all truth, warmth, and harmony. Only in simple portrait painting was any meritorious work done. The chief representatives of this art were (at Florence) Giorgio Vasari of Arezzo (1572-74), one of the most loyal of the admirers of Michelangelo, and well known on account of his attractive Lives of the Artists of Italy, which has formed the groundwork of later histories of Italian art; and Francesco Salviati (properly de' Rossi) and Angiolo Bronzino, of whom the last-named still ranks very high as a portrait painter, while the picture in the National Gallery, London, called in the latest catalogue, Venus, Cupid, Folly, and Time, must not be forgotten. In Rome the principal representatives of the degenerate mannerism of the day were the brothers Taddeo and Federigo Zuccaro. In nearly all of these artists we see good original talent perverted by the false taste of the period.

C.—OTHER FLORENTINE MASTERS.

So rich in artistic gifts was the favored city of Florence, that besides the two great masters, Leonardo and Michelangelo, it produced some other able painters who succeeded in attaining high independent rank and a free and noble style.

First among these was Fra Bartolommeo, or, as he was called before he entered the priesthood, Baccio della Porta (1475-1517), born in the same year with Michelangelo, though dying at a much earlier date. He received his early training from Cosimo Rosselli, but soon came under the powerful influence of Leonardo, whose depth of characterization and whose delicate method of painting, he strove to master. We see in the Uffizi a kind of diptych consisting of the two pictures dating from this early period, the Nativity and the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, both exhibiting the scrupulous finish of miniatures. Baccio had already won great distinction in his art, when the condemnation and burning at the stake of his friend Savonarola (1498) gave him so severe a shock that he entered the Dominican Order, and sought to renounce art altogether. It was only at the urgent entreaty of his friends and brethren in the order that he returned again to the art he had abandoned; and when, in 1504, Raphael came to Florence, he became attached to the worthy *frate,* learned from him his method of color, and, in return, gave him instruction in perspective. Fra Bartolommeo's peculiar sphere is devotional painting; and here he stands the equal of the greatest and noblest masters. His figures are full of deep sensibility, and at the same time free in their action, nobly draped, and of a ripe beauty. But what, above all, contributes to the impressiveness of his pictures is the magnificent grouping, the well-balanced composition of the whole—an effect which, nevertheless, is produced without any sacrifice of freedom. In his coloring we see still further developed the same delicate gradation which Leonardo exhibited, and by which he laid the foundation of the art of aerial perspective; and in his best works he combines a rare strength and depth with a bright freshness of coloring. In fresco he did but little, and of that little not much now remains. Still, what is left of a Last Judgment, executed in 1499 in the Convent of Sta. Maria Nuova at Florence, is very well worthy of notice. It has been removed from the wall, and is nevertheless in bad condition. It consists of two rows of magnificent figures of apostles and saints sitting enthroned on clouds, with Christ represented in the midst of them in the fullness of majesty and divine repose—a work which is said to have exerted a decisive influence on the youth-

ful Raphael. Several of the finest of his many altar-pieces are still to be seen at Florence. To his early period belongs the Madonna appearing to S. Bernard, in the Gallery of the Academy. It is not altogether successful in the expression of the Virgin and the Angel; its coloring, too, is glaring and inharmonious, after the manner of most of the early Florentine painters. Nevertheless, the figures of the saints are full of dignity. Most of his other works belong to his second epoch. Thus there is a Madonna accompanied by Saints in the Convent of S. Marco—a work of very high merit, full of power, and marked by great depth and warmth of coloring. Then there is a Resurrection with four Saints in the Pitti Gallery—a picture full of impressive dignity and beauty. In the same gallery is his Descent from the Cross—one of the grandest works of the artist (Fig. 504), full of an expression of deep anguish, strikingly shown, in its different degrees, in the figures of John uttering violent lamentations, of Mary utterly bowed down by her affliction, and of Mary Magdalen giving free way to her grief and her tears. The Pitti Gallery likewise contains the colossal figure of S. Mark, which the master painted expressly as his answer to the accusation that he was unable to paint large figures. Here the drapery is remarkably fine and impressive; but the action of the piece is rather stiff, the face rather empty in expression; and there is no mistaking the unfavorable influence upon this artist of Michelangelo's frescos of the Sistine Chapel. One of the most beautiful compositions of this artist is an unfinished picture on a brown ground, now in the Uffizi. It represents the Madonna seated, with her Child, the little S. John, and S. Anne, and surrounded by several saints. It is an extremely beautiful and pleasing picture, of admirable symmetry in its composition, impressive and grave in its expression. There are other important pictures by him in the churches of Lucca. In the Cathedral of S. Martino is an altar-piece representing the Madonna enthroned, attended by saints and by angels playing on musical instruments (1509). The expression of this work is noble, and its coloring brilliant and harmonious. To the same year belongs a painting in S. Romano of Lucca, representing God the Father with hovering angels, and Mary Magdalen and S. Catherine of Siena beneath—one of the most perfect creations of art, and in beauty, dignity, and grace to be compared only with Raphael's works. On the other hand, the Madonna della Misericordia in the same church, which dates from the later years of the master, though its separate parts are very fine, is nevertheless not free from awkward grouping and far-fetched attitudes; and hence the effect is disappointing. Outside of Italy, paintings executed by this artist are very rarely met with. There is a Presentation in the Temple, formerly in the

Belvedere collection, Vienna, now in the Imperial Museum within the city; two notable altar-pieces of the Enthroned Madonna with Saints in the Louvre, and a similar picture in the Cathedral of Besançon.

A worthy colleague of Fra Bartolommeo was Mariotto Albertinelli, who adopted his friend's style, and who often completed the latter's works. This was the case with a fresco in Sta. Maria Nuova, Florence, and an altar-piece of the Assumption of the Virgin in the Berlin Museum. His finest work is the Temptation, in the Uffizi

Fig. 504. The Descent from the Cross. By Fra Bartolommeo. Pitti Palace, Florence.

Gallery. It is full of a graceful and deep sensibility, and at the same time is remarkable for the easy flow of the drapery and for the noble rhythm of its composition. The cordial meeting of Mary and Elizabeth is here treated much after the same manner as in Andrea Pisano's bronze door of the Baptistery, save that the painter has intensified the expression, and more fully developed the picturesque contrast between the older Elizabeth and the younger Mary.

Freer and more independent was the development of a younger artist, Andrea del Sarto (properly Andrea d'Agnolo), (1487-1531).* A pupil of Piero di Cosimo, he, like so many of his contemporaries, was powerfully stimulated by the study of the two famous cartoons of Leonardo and Michelangelo. Still, as he further de-

* "Andrea del Sarto," by A. von Reumont; Leipzig, 1835.

veloped, the gifted Andrea departed from all the previously received methods of Florentine art, and became a colorist whose equal had up to that time never appeared in Italy, and, if we except the Venetian school and Correggio, has never since been seen. What was handed down to Andrea as the precious heirloom of Florentine art—though here we must recognize also the special influence of Fra Bartolommeo, twelve years his senior—was the pregnant style of design, the fine sense of symmetry in composition (to which, however, he gave greater freedom by the rich and varied spirit of his single figures), and, finally, a dignified treatment of drapery. But the chief excellence of Andrea, as compared with his contemporaries, in his incomparable blending of colors, his delicate flesh tints, and his golden chiaroscuro, the transparent clearness even of his deepest shadows, and his entirely original and perfect style of modeling. In the course of his short life, troubled as it was, he displayed an amazing fertility. He executed several large frescos, and raised that art to an unprecedented degree of perfection in coloring. The panel pictures painted by him are very numerous; and though of these some are rather hastily executed, unfinished, and either in glaring colors or too pale and faint, still the majority of his authentic works possess a high degree of beauty. Like Fra Bartolommeo, he restricted himself to religious pictures; but he does not, like Bartolommeo, look at his subjects from the point of view of deep religious feeling and a high ideal conception, but rather from that of worldly grace and loveliness. We oftentimes miss in his works the warmer sympathy of the master, and detect a certain indifference in his frequent repetition of the same type of countenance. Now and then, however, his works are enlivened by a noble expression of true sentiment; and nearly always there is some genial trait that has a pleasant effect on the beholder.

Of his frescos, the first three in the vestibule of the Compagnia dello Scalzo at Florence are the earliest. Executed in chiaroscuro, they represent the history of John the Baptist; the scene where John baptizes the multitude is especially characteristic, and full of life. In later life he completed this series, adding to these three six other frescos, some of them possessed of great merit. He next painted, between 1511 and 1514, the frescos in the vestibule of S. Annunziata—five scenes from the life of S. Philip Benizzi, the Adoration of the Magi, and the Birth of the Virgin—works not possessing any high dramatic force, it is true, but composed with great skill, full of vigorous life, and of finely developed and brilliant coloring. His style and his mastery of the beauty of color are seen at their best in the celebrated Madonna del Sacco, a fresco over a door leading into the church from the cloister, executed at a considerably later date (1525).

A work of like perfection is the Last Supper in the refectory of the Convent of S. Salvi at Florence. True, it is not to be compared for depth and power with Leonardo's Last Supper; yet it is equally animated, and admirably grouped.

We can mention only the most important of this master's very numerous panel paintings. In the Pitti Gallery are several Madonnas and Holy Families, which portray the same simple subject in manifold variations. A Madonna enthroned on clouds, with four saints beneath, is not one of his most expressive pictures; but it is of very refined tone, and executed in a warm chiaroscuro. An Annunciation is painted with greater freshness and with more power; but at the same time it is harsher, and in the drapery it is even glaring. Another and somewhat smaller Annunciation, in which the angel kneels while the Madonna is seated, is extremely unsatisfactory in its expression, though in coloring it is light and brilliant. One of the most remarkable paintings in the same collection, that of four saints absorbed in a disputation about the Trinity, is one of the most perfect of Andrea's works, whether we regard the superb action of the noble figures, the strength and delicacy of the treatment, or the splendid grouping. Further, the Tribune of the Uffizi contains the celebrated Madonna di S. Francesco, also called the Madonna with the Harpies, dating from the year 1517—one of Andrea's masterpieces. Mary stands on a pedestal, which bears an inscription and has the corners adorned by harpies. The Virgin is a grand and imposing figure, holding in her arms the Child, who with much grace and naturalness is embracing her neck with his little arms. On the right is S. Francis, on the left S. John—both noble figures, and highly expressive; while the coloring of the entire work shows wonderful depth and clearness.

Soon after the completion of this picture (1518) Andrea was summoned to the French court by Francis I., who received him with distinguished honor. Unfortunately, he who as an artist was so worthy of respect, was, as a man, weak and devoid of character. He suffered himself to be allured back to Florence, frivolously abused the king's confidence, and was compelled to spend the remainder of his life at home, without ever finding a wider field for his activity, being dragged down by unworthy associations. That notwithstanding this he was able to accomplish so much excellent work (for instance, the later frescos already mentioned), reflects all the more glory on his better genius. Of the paintings executed by him in France there still exists in the Louvre collection the beautiful figure of a Charity, who holds two children on her lap, while a third is sleeping at her feet—a work of charming naturalness and admirable effects of color (Fig. 505). To the later years of the artist's life belongs a large picture

of the Madonna enthroned, with attendant saints (1528), in the Berlin Museum, in which the splendid grouping, and the lifelike characterization point to the very high place this picture held before it was ruined by neglect and careless cleaning. Of still later date (1529) is a no less excellent and famous painting in the Dresden Gallery, the Sacrifice of Abraham.

Fig. 505. Charity. From a picture by Andrea del Sarto. Louvre.

We must mention, as a co-worker and imitator of Andrea, Marcantonio Franciabigio, who, emulating him, painted in the vestibule of the Compagnia dello Scalzo two scenes from the history of S. John, and in the vestibule of the S. Annunziata the Betrothal of the Virgin. In the latter work he approximated with much success to the style of his far more eminent friend. Among his pupils, Andrea Pontormo, already mentioned, was a portrait painter not unworthy of his master, while in his historical pictures he fell under the influence

of Michelangelo. Others of his pupils—such as Domenico Puligo and Rosso de' Rossi (died 1541), the latter of whom executed a good many works in France—fell into a pale, faint style of coloring, and suffered the beautiful coloring of Andrea to degenerate into an unnatural delicacy and a straining after forced effects.

Finally, we may mention here Ridolfo Ghirlandajo, son of Domenico, and a pupil of Fra Bartolommeo, who in his earlier works (two scenes from the life of S. Zenobius in the Uffizi Gallery) gave evidence of high aspiration, but who afterward relapsed into a spiritless mannerism, and into the old inharmonious method of color of the early Florentine painters.

D.—RAPHAEL AND HIS SCHOOL.

While the masters of painting, thus far considered, were of the Florentine school, we have now to turn to another great master of this art, who, in so far as his early development is concerned, was of the Umbrian school—Raphael Santi (erroneously called Sanzio), a native of Urbino, born in 1483; died at Rome in 1520. The thing that is most worthy of admiration in Raphael is a certain harmonious combination of all intellectual endowments, such as is but rarely seen even in the greatest artists: in only one other and very similar master, of another art indeed—Mozart—does it occur in the same degree of perfection. While in other men, even of the first rank, one gift or another predominates—whether it be the gift of strong characterization, or that of producing the highest expression of the sublime—in Raphael, on the contrary, we find all the individual traits of intellectual life incomparably equipoised; and the highest expression of this harmony is perfect beauty. But this beauty does not consist merely of sensuous loveliness or fascinating grace; it is thoroughly permeated by thought, and strongly characterized. Each beauteous form nobly and powerfully expresses one or another feeling of the soul, ranging from the tender to the sublime. It is a noble spirit of moral dignity that gives it its full nobility.

This moral power we recognize, above all things, in the process of Raphael's development. As a delicate boy, he was bred amid artistic influences; inasmuch as his father, Giovanni Santi was himself an estimable painter of the school of Perugino. After his father's death (1494), the young Raphael came to Perugia, and studied under that chief master of the Umbrian school. For the young pupil it was of great advantage that his genius got its first direction from a school whose works sprang from the inward feeling of the soul, and were

inspired with exquisite tenderness. But that which, in the hands of Perugino and nearly all the other artists of the Umbrian school, had fallen into a stereotyped mannerism, received from the youthful Raphael a new and genuine life, because it was received by him in a fresh and earnest spirit. As he grew to be a youth full of life and genius, and the school had nothing more to offer him, in his desire for a higher development he went in search of further incitements, and found them at Florence; which city he first visited for a short time in 1504, and made a longer sojourn there in 1508. The cartoons of Leonardo and Michelangelo prompted him to earnest study; but at the same time his eyes were opened by the magnificent works of the early Florentine artists—from Masaccio down, and especially by the works of that master himself—to the whole fullness, variety, and depth of real life. He also assiduously cultivated the acquaintance of contemporary artists. In particular, it was from the noble Fra Bartolommeo that he learned not only a fresher method of coloring, but also the secret of symmetrical yet free grouping. Still, with all this gentle and almost feminine receptivity the greatness of Raphael lay in the masculine vigor in virtue of which he was enabled to blend together and assimilate these diverse influences, and, avoiding mere eclecticism, by his own native gifts to develop a style peculiar to himself.

At this point, in the year 1508, in his twenty-sixth year, came the call of the art-loving Pope Julius II., who summoned him to Rome, there to be intrusted with the execution of most important works. Here begins for Raphael the epoch of his highest mastership, which found employment in the noblest and greatest subjects, and in an almost endless series of glorious works during the few years which remained to him before his death in 1520.

But the master was not even yet content with his achievements. In the full maturity of his powers, as he profoundly studied the works of Michelangelo and the remains of ancient art, he found himself stimulated to fresh development; so that each succeeding work becomes the occasion of enlarging his knowledge. None of the results gained by contemporary art was disregarded by him. He always knows how to appropriate what is essential—what, in the works of other artists, is of genuine worth; and even as regards coloring, many of his creations may well compare, in point of clearness, depth, and warmth, with the best works of the Venetian school. In the whole domain of the materials then at the disposal of art, he knew no limitations. He ranks as high in grand symbolic paintings as in bold historical compositions. He is as great a master in the dignified treatment of Christian subjects as in his graceful and animated treatment

of ancient mythology; as great in portraiture as inexhaustible and thoughtful in religious painting, properly so called, and especially in Madonnas and Holy Families. And with all this vast creative activity he recognizes only one self-imposed limitation—beauty: hence, though his span of life was short, his works are imperishable. He steadily progressed; but he was ever true, beautiful, and pure, and freer than any other master from superficiality and mannerism; and he produced a vast number of works, elevating to men of every race and of every age, and before whose immortal beauty artists of every school unite in common homage.

Among the works of his first epoch are several pictures of the Madonna, two of which are now in the Berlin Museum. The earlier of these two paintings betrays some constraint in the treatment of form and in action, and is somewhat heavy in coloring; and on this account we may well hold it not to be a work of the master. But the later picture, a Madonna between S. Francis and S. Jerome, is a charming conception, with noble action and clear, golden-toned color. Still more finely executed, but marked by the same fervent spirit, is a little round picture of the Madonna, formerly in the Palazzo Connestabile at Perugia, but now at the Hermitage at St. Petersburg. Next to this comes the Coronation of the Virgin in the Vatican collection. This, too, shows the influence of Perugino; but it is one of the best and purest works of the Umbrian school. At the close of this first, youthful epoch stands the famous Sposalizio in the Brera at Milan (Fig. 506)—the Betrothal of the Virgin (1504). In this early work we see, combined with perfect clearness and warmth of coloring, a freedom in the grouping, a living beauty in the figures, a lightness and grace of movement, far surpassing the best efforts of the Umbrian school, and reminding us of the Florentine masters. A comparison with Perugino's painting in the Museum at Caen shows how far the pupil had even then outstripped that master. A noble domed edifice forms an impressive background to this picture.

It was about this time that Raphael abandoned the school of Perugino; and in the succeeding four years of his sojourn at Florence falls the great turning-point of his artistic life, when the nice sensibility and beauty of form which he got from the Umbrian school were to blend harmoniously with the more masculine life and stronger characteristics of the school of Florence. Under these new conditions his style acquired a superb freedom and a spirited freshness of expression. His Madonnas, before almost girlish, are now in the full bloom of maidenhood; and in drawing, modeling, and coloring the artist gives proof of a vigorous independence. Among the earliest of his works exhibiting this transition we must reckon the simple yet strikingly beautiful

Madonna del Granduca in the Pitti Palace at Florence. Then to the period succeeding his first brief sojourn at Florence are to be referred several works of greater compass; as, for instance, the fine Madonna di Ripalda, formerly in the Royal Palace at Naples, but now in Lon-

Fig. 506. The Betrothal of the Virgin (Lo Sposalizio). By Raphael. Brera Gallery, Milan.

don, which he executed at Perugia for the nuns of S. Antony of Padua. It represents the Madonna enthroned, accompanied by S. Peter and S. Catherine, S. Paul, and S. Rosalia. At the foot of the throne the infant John presses eagerly forward to pay his homage to the Child Jesus. The latter raises his little hand in the attitude of

benediction, and the mother lovingly presses him to her bosom. Further we have, dating from the year 1505, a splendid enthroned Madonna, with the noble figures of John the Baptist and S. Nicolas of Bari, at Blenheim in England, but originally painted for the Church of the Servi at Perugia. In the same year he painted in the Church of S. Severo at Perugia his first original fresco—a Christ glorified, seated on a throne between two hovering angels; overhead a dove, and in the clouds a representation of God the Father; beneath, on each side, three superb figures of saints seated on clouds. Here, too, the spirit of Florentine art pervades the loveliness and beauty of the Umbrian school; and the noble grouping of the whole may be regarded as due to the influence of Fra Bartolommeo's fresco in Sta. Maria Nuova.

The effect of Raphael's second and more protracted stay at Florence was to adopt still more decisively the ways of Florentine art. Accordingly, the works dating from this epoch show a gradual progressive abandonment of his earlier ideas. To the beginning of this epoch is to be referred a Madonna from the Casa Tempi, now in the Pinakothek at Munich. The Madonna is painted in a standing posture, tenderly pressing her Child to her bosom. Then come three mutually related pictures of the Madonna, who is represented as seated in the midst of a pleasant landscape, and observing the graceful sport of her Child with the infant John. This same subject is treated with some constraint in the Madonna with the Goldfinch (del Cardellino), in the Tribune of the Uffizi; freer and more unconstrained in the Madonna in the Meadow, in the Belvedere at Vienna; developed to consummate grace in the Belle Jardinière, in the Louvre at Paris, though this picture was painted in part by a pupil, perhaps Ridolfo Ghirlandajo (Fig. 507). Raphael carried out the same idea still further in a picture of the Holy Family to be found in the Pinakothek at Munich. Here Elizabeth and Mary, who face each other, kneeling, look with delight on the simple sports of the children; S. Joseph completing the strictly pyramidal grouping, which is nevertheless arranged with the utmost freedom. To this same period belongs the S. Catherine of Alexandria, now in the National Gallery, London —one of Raphael's most charming figures. The saint stands amid a bright, delicately drawn landscape. In treatment and expression the work resembles the Belle Jardinière; but in coloring it is warmer and softer. To the close of this epoch are to be referred the Madonna del Baldachino in the Pitti Gallery, Florence, which is unfinished, and the famous Entombment of the year 1507, in the Borghese Palace at Rome. As being the first work in which Raphael attempted to represent an event involving any dramatic action, this picture shows with what wonderful rapidity the powers of the artist, now only twenty-

four years old, had developed, though neither in expression nor in action does entire freedom even yet appear.

It was about the middle of the year 1508 that Raphael received a flattering invitation to the court of Julius II., there to undertake one of the most important tasks that could be given to the art of that day.

Fig. 507. La Belle Jardinière. By Raphael. Louvre.

This was to embellish the splendid chambers of the Vatican with paintings in which the spiritual power of the Papacy was to be glorified. Under the hand of Raphael these paintings became the highest expression of the combined knowledge, the profoundest spiritual thought of the time, and at the same time the culmination of all the

efforts and of all the progress made in Italian monumental painting from the time of Giotto. Three chambers (Stanze) of the Vatican, and one large hall, are covered, both on their walls and ceilings, with these paintings, and hence are known as Raphael's Stanze (Fig. 508).

He painted first the pictures in the Camera della Segnatura—representations of Theology, Poetry, Philosophy, and Jurisprudence; that is to say, the sum of intellectual activity as then understood. Theology is set forth in the so-called Disputa. Above is depicted the Church Triumphant; in the midst Christ throned upon clouds, His countenance expressive of a divine gentleness and compassion; beside Him are the Madonna and John the Baptist, humbly interceding with him as the Saviour of the world; beneath these the Holy Spirit, in the form of a dove; and, in the upper space of all, God the Father in a glory of angels. On either side are arranged the redeemed, seated upon clouds—glorious shapes of consummate beauty and freedom of treatment. The entire upper portion of this picture is the complete development of an early work by Raphael in San Severo at Perugia. On the earth beneath are a number of Fathers of the Church, bishops, and teachers, who are grouped about an altar, on which is the pyx containing the Host. This group is characterized by animation, inspired faith, deep research, and profound reverence, in opposition to doubt and dispute; all expressed with incomparable vigor and depth of characterization. The picture is the crown of all religio-symbolic painting, and at the same time is conspicuous for enchanting beauty and life. The execution is careful, even to the smallest detail; the coloring, golden, clear, and fresh.

The School of Athens, on the opposite wall, embodies no less admirably the majesty of the intellectual life of antiquity. Plato and Aristotle, figures of the most delicate individuality, grouped in the center of a lofty wall, present a most picturesque and thoughtful contrast. About them, in unconstrained groups, are standing the other philosophers of antiquity. Through the power of a lively sympathy, a marvelous assemblage of famous men is represented—eager argument, proving and disproving, doubting, believing—all in accordance with their character, age, and temperament. The execution in this picture is also of extreme finish; although, perhaps, general effect is more aimed at.

The third great wall picture, the Parnassus, illustrates the liveliest conception of an elevated poetical nature. Apollo is playing upon the violin, with an air of pleasing *naïveté,* surrounded by the noble forms of the muses and of the celebrated poets of antiquity and of modern times; he himself throned in youthful grace. A window which breaks the wall on this side of the room is made use of in a

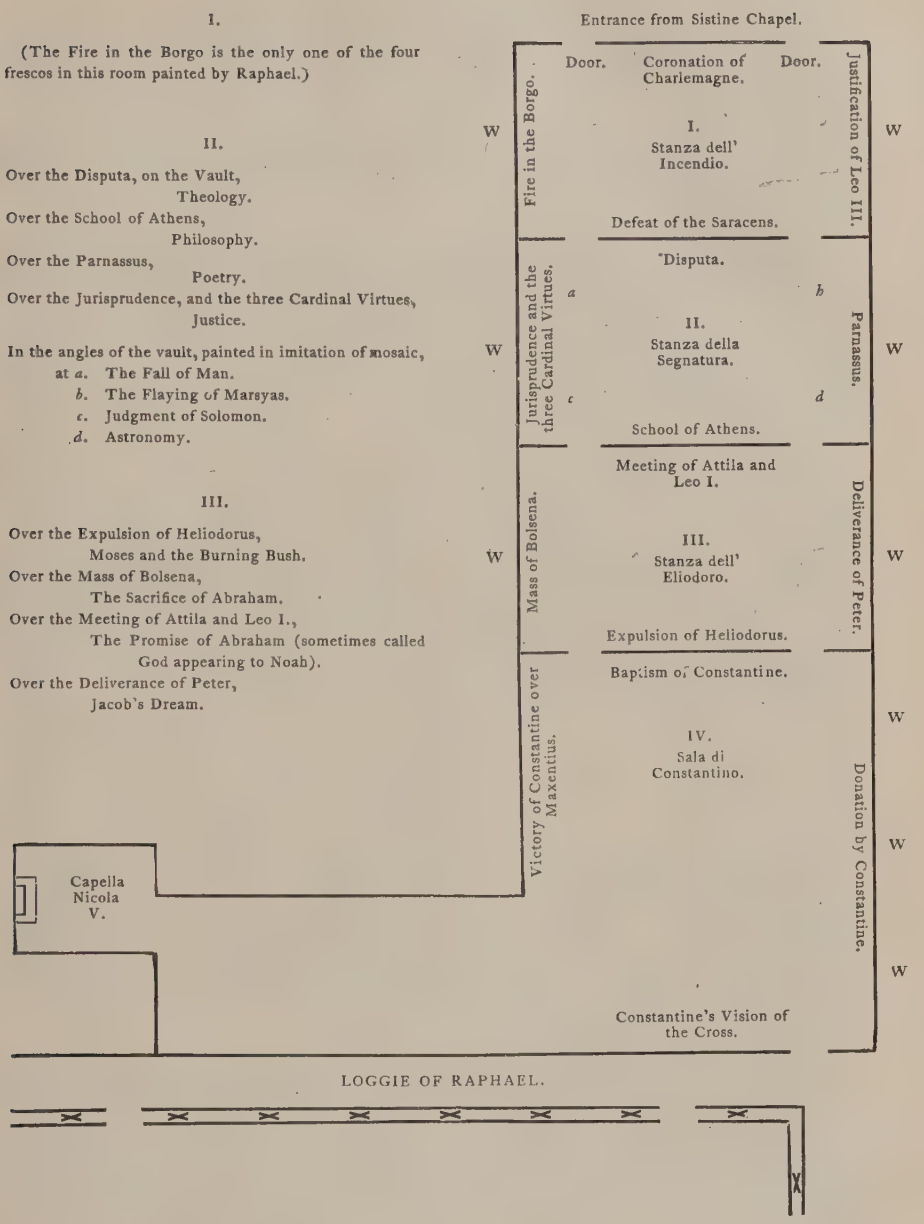

Fig. 508. Plan (to no scale) of the Stanze of Raphael, with the Loggie of Raphael on the Cortile di S. Damaso. In the plan, W. W. W. stands for windows. The doors and windows are not so symmetrically placed in reality as indicated in the plan.

masterly way in the composition of the picture; and a new beauty is gained by means of what would seem to be a misfortune.

On the opposite wall, which is that containing the large window illuminating the whole, Jurisprudence is represented in two pictures equally full of beauty. The smaller historical scenes, and also the allegorical pictures on the vaulting, Theology, Philosophy, Poetry, Justice, corresponding to the wall paintings below, also contain much that is admirable.

These pictures were completed in 1511; and in the following year Raphael began the pictures in the Stanza dell' Eliodoro. It was the object of the painter to illustrate in this room the heavenly aid and protection vouchsafed to the Church, with the addition of references to events occurring in his own time. The method of representation is no longer in the calm tone of symbolic composition. It is full of movement and of intense dramatic life; and at the same time displays greater energy and boldness in coloring and drawing. Probably the paintings by Michelangelo on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel exerted an influence upon Raphael in the treatment of these subjects. The first picture represents Heliodorus driven by avenging angels out of the Temple of Jerusalem, which he was about to pillage. The terror of the plunderer of the sanctuary, the superb wrath of the shining horseman, the dismay of the spectators, are all represented with such power in the expression of momentary action, that the work stands as one of the loftiest efforts of dramatico-historical art. With what majesty and calmness the figure of the Pope, entering upon the scene of this stormy encounter, maintains the equipoise of the work! One does not think of the anachronism, which is lost in the simple greatness and truth of the representation. Equally remarkable for its blending of different periods is the Mass of Bolsena, which is painted on the window wall, and which, like the Expulsion of Heliodorus, is rich in portraits of distinguished contemporaries, and also furnishes another proof of the facility with which Raphael triumphed over difficulties of space.

The scholars of Raphael evidently bore a part in the execution of these pictures, which were not completed until 1512. On the death of Julius II. and the accession of Leo X., so many orders were crowded upon the artist that he was compelled to leave a larger share of the work on the remaining frescos to his scholars, and, finally, simply to supervise their execution according to his cartoons. The Liberation of S. Peter from Prison, painted upon the second window wall of the same room, is one of the most admirable of historical compositions. It is especially remarkable for the excellently managed chiaroscuro, which is the peculiar distinction of the picture.

The next fresco painted was the Attila, in which the invader is represented as turned aside from his attack upon Rome by the appearance of the apostles Peter and Paul—a scene wherein passionate excitement contrasts finely with the exalted calm of the heavenly figures and the assured dignity of the Pope. It should be borne in mind, however, that this use of strong contrasts here, as in the case of the Heliodorus, although picturesquely adapted and skilfully employed, is doubtless a reminiscence of those methods of the fifteenth century which were not yet quite outgrown. The pictures on the ceilings contain scenes from the Old Testament, dignified in composition.

The Stanza dell' Incendio begun about 1515, gets its name from the fresco which represents a Fire in the Borgo, that is, the then new suburb immediately adjoining the Vatican and the old basilica of S. Peter. This was extinguished through the intercession of the Pope (Leo IV.). This part of the story is given in the background of the painting, where the Pope is represented upon a balcony of the Basilica of S. Peter. But the relation of the Pope to the whole theme of the picture is admirably brought out by a group of women imploring assistance; while the foreground is filled with the figures of those escaping from danger, and of others rescuing the unfortunate (Fig. 509). The splendid action of these figures, generally naked, illustrating the various phases of terror and physical effort, are undeniably in Michelangelo's manner. The execution, however, is not free from a certain hardness.

The three other wall paintings in this room are of minor importance—the Victory over the Saracens at Ostia, the Oath of Leo III., and the Coronation of Charlemagne. However, the Hall of Constantine contains one of the most celebrated compositions of Raphael, which was, indeed, only completed after his death, by Giulio Romano —the Battle of Constantine, in which Maxentius was defeated at the Milvian Bridge before Rome. This picture is conspicuous for the prominence given to the principal personages by the great master, by means of vigorous composition, at the same time that he has elaborated certain episodes containing remarkable figures. This is, take it all in all, the most perfect battle-piece of modern art.

Another important work was the ten cartoons—i.e., full size drawings on paper—for tapestries, which drawings Raphael made between 1513 and 1514 at the command of Pope Leo X. The tapestries from these cartoons were woven at Arras in Flanders, and were intended to cover the walls of the Sistine Chapel. Seven of these cartoons are preserved in Hampton Court, near London. The tapestries themselves are at present in the Vatican, in a gallery devoted to them. They represent the most important events in the his-

tory of the apostles, with such lofty grandeur of conception that they may fairly be classed among Raphael's most finished creations, and make good his claim to the first place among historico-dramatic artists. The Miraculous Draught of Fishes is the first of the series—a

Fig. 509. Group from the Fire in the Borgo. By Raphael. Vatican.

picture vivid in conception and full of excited movement. The Giving of the Keys is noble and expressive. The Healing of the Lame Man is distinguished by inventive genius and admirable grouping. The Death of Ananias is a picture of great tragical power and extremely beautiful in expression; as is also the Stoning of S. Stephen. The miraculous nature of the Conversion of S. Paul is marvelously delineated. In the Punishment of Elymas the Sorcerer, who was smitten with blindness (Fig. 510)—a picture fully as impressive and admirable as the Death of Ananias—the sudden horror and con-

sternation of the moment are wonderfully portrayed. S. Paul preaching at Athens, and S. Paul at Lystra (Fig. 511), are both pictures of elevated beauty. The series is closed by the Imprisonment of S. Paul at Philippi. Several sets of tapestries were made in Flanders from these cartoons; one set was given by the Pope to Henry VIII. of England, and was afterward taken from England, while others are in the Museums at Dresden and at Berlin, and the Royal Palace at Madrid.

A second series of tapestries, also in the Vatican, numbering twelve in all, appear to have been, in part, executed after designs by Raphael, and contain several beautiful compositions.

Fig. 510. The Punishment of Elymas the Sorcerer. From the cartoon of Raphael.

Raphael at the same time, at the request of Leo X., conducted the decorations of the loggie in the first court of the Vatican, begun by Bramante. Under his superintendence his pupils executed that series of scenes from the Old Testament, as well as several from the New Testament, in the rectangular divisions of the ceiling, which are known as Raphael's Bible. Although the coloring of these is somewhat crude and gaudy, as is apt to be the case with Giulio Romano

and others of Raphael's scholars, still the composition is of Raphaelesque beauty; and the pictures are instinct with that simple patriarchal dignity and grace which are characteristic of the old covenant. In the representations of the Creation, the influence of Michelangelo, in a milder degree, is recognizable. Raphael furnished sketches for the walls and pillars (Fig. 512) consisting of the most enchanting decorations, which were carried out by Giovanni da Udine, who especially excelled in this line of art. The spirit of antique art, in all its glory of lovely diversity and joyous pomp of color, was revived in these designs. Injured as they are to-day, and with their once

Fig. 511. The Sacrifice at Lystra. From the cartoon of Raphael.

open arcades filled with glass, the painting of these exquisite halls is among the most charming creations of modern art.

While Raphael made use of the assistance of his pupils in the extensive undertakings we have named, he painted with his own hand, in the year 1512, in the Church of San Agostino, the colossal figure of the Prophet Isaiah, in which he paid a tribute to the tremendous influence of Michelangelo, at the expense of his own individual style. However, two years later (1514), he painted a fresco in the little Church of Santa Maria della Pace, representing four sibyls attended by angels, full of enchanting beauty, as well as nobly grouped, and of a freshness, distinctness, and vigor of coloring such as has never

been surpassed in fresco painting. About this time Raphael also furnished the sketches for pictures in the dome of the Chigi Chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo.

In the frescos of the Farnesina Villa this inexhaustible master entered the realm of the classic divinities. The first of these—the Triumph of Galatea—he painted in the year 1514. The seashell chariot of the Goddess, drawn by dolphins, rides the waves; Nereids and Tritons surround her; and from the upper air charming little Cupids rain down their arrows. An atmosphere of smiling, jubilant happi-

Fig. 512. Border from the Loggie of Raphael. In the Vatican.

ness, of a beautiful rapture of life, fills the sea and the air, bathes the figures, and inwraps our senses, too, by means of the warm and tender coloring and the delicate, graceful design. In 1518 the scholars of Raphael painted on the ceiling of a hall of the same villa the history of Psyche, under his supervision. On the flat surface of the vaulting are two pictures, rich in figures—the Judgment of the Gods, and the Marriage of Cupid and Psyche. On the pendentives, Cupid, in countless variety of positions, and with a roguish grace not to be surpassed, is returning with the gifts of the different gods. The intermediate spandrels contain different scenes from the story, so com-

posed as to fit admirably into the several spaces to which they are confined, and full of fine movement and lifelike expression (Fig. 513). The execution of these pictures may be somewhat coarse; but they are, nevertheless, examples of the purity, freedom, and beauty of soul which lived in every creation of Raphael.

But the power of this marvelous spirit is by no means exhausted even by his long list of remarkable and extensive monumental works. Besides the productions already enumerated, besides his architctural labors, the building of St. Peter's, and his researches among the ruins of antique Rome, he found time to paint a number of easel pictures—Madonnas, Holy Families, large altar-pieces, and even portraits, about fifty of which belong to this period of the artist's life. We shall confine ourselves to the mention of the most important of these.

Fig. 513. Psyche Returning with the Vase. From the fresco in the Farnesina.

First of all in importance are the Madonnas and the Holy Families, into which Raphael has breathed his own individual life, and has raised the originally purely dogmatic theme to the highest point of human freedom and perfection. Although Raphael was never married, no artist has so glorified the happiness of the family life as he. We might name fifty Madonnas, painted at all periods of his working life, in which he treated again and again this favorite subject. But at the same time he so varied his conception of a mother's love—the simplest and the purest of all human emotions—that his paintings of this subject illustrate plainly in themselves the different stages of his own development. The childlike diffidence of the Madonnas of his earlier manner blooms out gradually into a gracefully developed maidenhood, until it finally attains, in his ripest works, to the expression of a grandly free, motherly dignity, which is hallowed, however, by a mysterious charm of innocence and purity. Thus these pictures are the most humanly lovely delineations of a

simple, devout family life, and yet, at the same time, without the addition of halos and gold backgrounds, more divine than all earlier Madonnas. Among the most beautiful pictures of the kind, painted during the first years of his Roman life, is that in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg—called Madonna di Casa d'Alba—a circular picture, in which the blessed Virgin is represented seated in a bright landscape watching the play of the two children; also the Madonna with the Diadem (sometimes called the *Vierge au Linge*) in the Louvre at Paris (Fig. 514). The Virgin, with a face full of

Fig. 514. Madonna with the Diadem. By Raphael. Louvre.

blessedness, is raising a veil from the sleeping Child Jesus, in order to show him to the little S. John. The celebrated Madonna of the Chair (della Seggiola or della Sedia) in the Pitti Gallery at Florence, is a circular picture of surpassing beauty of composition, painted about 1516, and very nearly approaching the Sibyl in Santa Maria della Pace in transparency and warmth of coloring, and in the mature yet delicate beauty of the Madonna. The Madonna of the Curtain (della Tenda), in the Pinakothek at Munich, is simpler, but similar in treatment. The circular picture of the Madonna dei Candelabri, of which there are two examples (replicas) each in private hands in

London, is of exceeding grace; as is also the Madonna del Passeggio, in the Bridgewater Gallery in the same city; both pictures being in the later manner of Raphael, but only partly executed by his own hand.

The circle of thought that includes these Holy Families constantly widened and attained to a richer expression. Raphael opened an inexhaustible wealth of glorious motives in this range of conception; and he displayed, moreover, a loftiness of invention, a beauty of drawing, and a rhythmic perfection of composition which entitle him to be considered the first master of all times. The Madonna dell' Impannata, in the Pitti Palace at Florence, ranks, in point of invention, among his noblest works, although the execution shows very few traces of his hand. The so-called Perla, in the Madrid Museum ("the pearl of my pictures," as King Philip IV. said of it), is a magnificent, consistent composition; as is also the Madonna della Lucertola (with the lizard), called the Madonna under the Oak, in the same collection. None of these can be supposed wholly of Raphael's handiwork. The Madonna of Francis I. in the Louvre at Paris, painted by Raphael in 1518 for the King of France, is similar in manner, but still more beautiful and animated. The Repose in Egypt, in the Belvedere at Vienna, is a picture filled with an expression of cheerful, blessed peace.

To conclude: Three peculiarly great Madonna paintings belong to this period of the master's life, all of which were especially designed either as altar-pieces or as memorial pictures, and which, therefore, called for a more solemn treatment. And here, also, Raphael has reached a higher expression than was attained by any master before or after him. The Madonna, enthroned as the Queen of Heaven, is represented surrounded by angels. Several important saints are also introduced. Raphael has repressed all superfluous display. He has transformed the choirs of angels into an aureola of lovely faces; but he has thrown a dignity and elevation into the few figures of which the picture is composed, which is in perfect accord with the greatest freedom of movement, and with the most graceful and lifelike traits. The earliest of these paintings, of the year 1511, is the Madonna di Foligno, at present in the Vatican Gallery. The glorious womanly figure floats upon clouds, her whole soul absorbed in the contemplation of her divine Child, with an expression of the profoundest mother-love. Beneath, S. Francis and S. John the Baptist stand in enthusiastic contemplation, as well as S. Jerome, who is commending to the heavenly group the kneeling giver of the picture, one of the Conti family. In the foreground, between these principal personages, is a graceful child-angel with a tablet. The Madonna of the

Fish in the Madrid Museum (Fig. 515) is of higher rank as a composition, and in harmony of motion. It was painted in 1513 for the Church of S. Dominic in Naples. The enthroned Mother of God is bending graciously toward the bashful young Tobias, who is kneeling. He is under the guardianship of a beautiful angel, and has

Fig. 515. The Madonna of the Fish. Madrid.

brought a fish as an offering. On the other side, the venerable S. Jerome is reading in a book. This picture was originally designed for a chapel where intercession was made for the cure of diseases of the eyes. This circumstance accounts for the presence of Tobias, and gives especial significance to the gracious expression of the Madonna. But Raphael reached the loftiest interpretation of this subject in the

world-renowned Sistine Madonna, which was painted in 1518 for the Church of San Sisto in Piacenza, and is at present the prized masterpiece of the Dresden Gallery. We are all familiar with that wonderful form, arrayed in glorious raiment, borne upon clouds—a heavenly apparition, encircled by a glory of lovely angel-faces. A veil flows from her head; she seems to be lost in profound thought concerning the divine mystery, which she clasps with motherly devotion; for a child is throned within her arms, whose lofty mission is foreshadowed in his childish features, while the depth and majesty of his eyes express his destiny as the Redeemer of the world. The saintly Pope Sixtus is reverently looking upward, the impressive dignity of his bearing in strong contrast with S. Barbara, who stands opposite him; with lovely demeanor, her graceful head bowed, and her eyes downcast, before this revelation of power and glory. The two enchanting angel-boys, leaning on the lower division of the picture, give the last touch of beauty to this magnificent work. It may be said that in this picture, which is, and will continue to be, the apex of all religious art, Raphael has united his deepest thought, his profoundest insight, his completest loveliness. His Madonnas, and, in the highest sense, the Sistine Madonna, belong to no especial epoch, to no particular religious creed. They exist for all times and for all mankind, because they present an immortal truth in a form that makes a universal appeal.

Several other important pictures on religious subjects must be included here. First of all, the Vision of Ezekiel, in the Pitti Gallery at Florence—a small painting full of genius, executed with the delicate elaboration of a miniature, which suggests the influence of Michelangelo in its splendidly bold composition. To this period belongs the now famous Apollo and Marsyas, formerly belonging to Mr. Morris Moore of Rome, now in the Louvre; a very small panel, but one of the most exquisite of Raphael's works outside the circle of his religious pictures. Good critics still hold it to be of an unknown Umbrian master rather than of Raphael's youth. In the Pinakothek at Bologna, there is the S. Cecilia, which was completed in 1516. The saint is represented surrounded by Paul and John, Mary Magdalen and Petronius, listening to music of choirs of angels. Meanwhile she, powerless, suffers the organ in her hand to fall to the ground, which is strewn with other musical instruments (Fig. 516). Also the S. Michael in the Louvre at Paris, executed the following year, magnificent in the power and boldness of its expression and treatment. In the same collection is the S. Margaret victorious over the Dragon. The same subject is repeated, with a different, bolder treatment, in the Belvedere Gallery at Vienna. We have

RAPHAEL

"SISTINE MADONNA," FROM THE PAINTING IN THE ROYAL GALLERY, DRESDEN

also the spiritually beautiful S. John in the Wilderness, a figure of youthful vigor, in the Tribune of the Uffizi, besides good repetitions, of ancient date, of the same subject, in other places. There exist also two large altar-pieces, which differ from the generality of works of this kind in presenting a dramatic situation, instead

Fig. 516. S. Cecilia. By Raphael. Bologna.

of the ordinary calm representation. One of these is the Bearing of the Cross, in the Madrid Gallery, best known as Lo Spasimo di Sicilia, because it was painted for the Convent dello Spasimo at Palermo. This picture belongs to the painter's maturer years (1516-18), and shows a profound thoughtfulness of composition, united with consummate power in the expression of passionate feel-

ing. However, the very last creation of Raphael reaches the climax of dramatic greatness and powerful composition, although it was unfinished at the time of his death—the Transfiguration of Christ at present the most precious jewel in the Vatican collection (Fig. 517). The profound insight of the artist has associated in this picture two

Fig. 517. The Transfiguration. By Raphael. Vatican.

widely differing events. Above, the glorious forms of Christ, of Moses, and of Elias, floating in mid-air, afford a glimpse into the blessedness of Paradise; below, a group of persons, moved by sympathetic suffering, surrounding the boy possessed by devils, embody in a striking contrast the pain and wo of earthly life. But

the very glimpse of the opening heavens, and the very revelation of the eternal glory of Christ, throw a divine ray of consolation upon the night of the troublesome existence of earth, transferring doubt into a blessed, confident certainty.

It must not be forgotten, in conclusion, that Raphael is to be reckoned among the great portrait painters of all times. His portraits possess an undeniable importance as genuine historical productions, delicately defining personal characteristics, and at the same time rivaling the Venetian manner in distinctness and warmth of coloring. The Pitti Gallery at Florence is especially rich in portraits by Raphael. Those of Angelo Doni and his Wife, painted before his Roman period (about 1505), are charming, although a little constrained in treatment. The portrait of Pope Julius II., on the contrary, indicates the ripest development and the most spirited treatment; and the same may be said of the portrait of Leo X. with Cardinal Giulio dei Medici and Cardinal dei Rossi. There is also in the same collection a portrait of Cardinal Bibbiena, his friend and patron, and of Fedra Inghirami. Furthermore, there are various admirable pictures in Rome; especially the lovely young violin player, of the year 1518, in the Sciarra Palace. In the Doria Palace is an admirable portrait of two men, and the so-called Fornarina in the Barberini Palace, frequently repeated, but, to our thinking, the sole work of Raphael's which is without nobleness of conception. The Louvre possesses the highly prized, but somewhat cold, Joanna of Aragon; also the portrait of Count Castiglione, and the portrait of the young man with the black cap, and leaning upon a stone sill. Finally, there is in the Munich Pinakothek, a charming, youthful bust portrait of Bindo Altoviti, which was formerly believed to be the portrait of Raphael himself.

Thus in a brief life of thirty-seven years, crowded with creative force and industry, Raphael measured and exhausted all the intellectual requirements of his age. That lofty ideal of beauty, which, as he says himself, was ever before his eyes, he embodied in an almost incredible number of glorious productions. He was more loyal to his genius than any other artist, and was untiring in his endeavors to rise to loftier planes of development; but, at the same time, he never failed to invest details of apparently minor importance with a spiritual dignity and an immortal halo of beauty. When he died, Rome seemed to his contemporaries to be left desolate; Painting, to be orphaned. All classes of society gathered about his bier, above which hung his last work, the Transfiguration, as the loftiest monument that could be raised to his honor. All ages and all conditions laid the tribute of a general sorrow

upon the grave, not only of the great artist, but also of the noble man.

The Raphaelesque style soon became the common property of Roman artists; and as Raphael had employed assistants, not only for his frescos, but also for many of his easel pictures, owing to the great number of the orders intrusted to him, almost all the artists then in Rome—foreigners as well as Italians—attached themselves to his school. As long as he lived, his personal genius supplied them with inspiration for their works, to which the inexhaustible beauty of his own productions was imparted like a golden halo; but after his death, the most noted and talented of his followers fell into certain extravagances, while those of less force degraded his style into a soulless, unlovely mannerism, even to the extent of sacrificing all softness, repose, and harmony of coloring. Giulio Romano belongs to the former class. His name is properly Pippi—one of the few artists whom Rome herself has produced (1492-1546). As the most gifted of all Raphael's pupils, he had the largest share in the execution of the master's greater works—the Battle of Constantine, for instance, which, although somewhat harder and less refined than the master's work, is yet painted with considerable skill. The mythological subjects in the Villa Lanti and the Villa Madama are his own independent works, painted during this Roman period; also several excellent altar-pieces, as the important painting of the Madonna Enthroned, in Santa Maria dell' Anima; a smaller Madonna, in the sacristy of S. Peter's at Rome; an extremely lifelike Madonna just going to bathe the Infant Christ, in the Dresden Gallery; and the Martyrdom of S. Stephen, in the Church San Stefano in Genoa. Giulio was invited to Mantua by Francesco Gonzaga four years after Raphael's death, and was intrusted with important commissions. In the execution of these, however, he fell more and more into a coarser manner, which led him to the adoption of exaggerated forms, distorted attitudes, and a rude, even vulgar, conception. His style is more subdued in the frescos of the Ducal Palace at Mantua, which illustrate scenes from the story of Diana and from the Trojan War (Fig. 518); but, on the other hand, he transgresses the bounds of artistic dignity in the enormous series of frescos in the Palazzo del Tè, especially in the Fall of the Giants and in the story of Psyche. Though not without vigor and richness of invention, nevertheless, by the license he permits himself, he contributed more than any other artist of his time to the desecration of art. The colored sketches for these works, preserved in the Villa Albani at Rome, belong, however, to the most perfect and beautiful of their kind. Francesco Primaticcio may be instanced as an inheritor of Giulio's

manner. He conducted the decoration of the Château of Fontainebleau for Francis I. Important paintings by him still remain there, but the greater number have disappeared in later changes of the palace.

Francisco Penni, surnamed Il Fattore, is of minor importance. He was largely engaged in the execution of Raphael's works, but otherwise accomplished nothing of much value. There is also Andrea Sabbatini of Salerno, a pleasing artist, many of whose pictures are to be found in the churches of Naples and in the Museum of that city. Polidoro da Caravaggio, properly Caldara, must also be mentioned, who painted the exteriors of a number of Roman palaces with admirable camaieu frescos (that is, in monochrome);

Fig. 518. The Flight of Helen. From Giulio Romano's fresco in the Ducal Palace, Mantua.

finally, Perino del Vaga, properly Buonaccorsi of Florence, who transplanted Raphael's style to Genoa, where he decorated the Palace of Andrea Doria with frescos. Luca Cambiaso, a Genoese painter, was influenced by him—an artist of great truth and vigor of invention in the midst of an age wholly sunk in mannerisms.

Many artists belonging to other schools followed in Raphael's steps. Conspicuous among these was a very gifted pupil of Francia, Bartolommeo Ramenghi, called Bagnacavallo, by whom there is a magnificent altar-piece in the Dresden Gallery—the Madonna enthroned upon clouds, surrounded by Saints. The gentle, graceful Timoteo della Vite, or Viti (1470-1523), also passed over to Raphael from the school of Francia. A number of Ferrarese artists also are to be included here: the prolific Benvenuto Tisi, popularly

called Garofalo, who is represented by many pictures in foreign as well as Italian galleries; and the talented Dosso Dossi, distinguished for splendor of coloring, and charm of poetical imagination. The mastery over coloring possessed by these two artists is held up to our contemplation and admiration in a whole series of large altar-pieces in the public Gallery of the Athenæum in Ferrara. Il Garofalo is remarkable not only for his altar-pieces, but also for his very small devotional pictures, which he executed with great tenderness and sentiment. The Borghese Gallery in Rome is especially rich in charming works of this kind by this admirable artist.

E.—CORREGGIO AND HIS SCHOOL.

In marked contrast with all previous artists, and yet, in painting, one of the foremost—nay, an enterprising conqueror of new fields—was Antonio Allegri da Correggio (1494-1534). He was a pupil of the school of Upper Italy; but probably he owed his education to a Lombard artist, Francesco dei Bianchi, called also Ferrari, and to the influence of Mantegna's school; while later he was strongly incited by the example of Leonardo. Whatever of exquisite grace appeared still undeveloped and limited in that great master, finding its expression in his delicate blending of colors, received in Correggio its logical though independent development. Even as a youthful artist, he must have had an exceedingly delicate sensibility; for he was one of the most precocious geniuses in the whole history of art. Endowed with unusual exaltation of feeling, with great nervous excitability, he aims in all his works directly at bringing out this aspect of his inner life. He bathes his figures in a sea of joy and ecstasy, fills them with intoxicating delight and rapture, and gives to the sense of pain itself an expression half sweet, half sad. He scarcely knows what is meant by dignity, gravity, or nobility of form, rhythmical composition, or the beauty that is in harmony of line. He represents his figures only in the lively expression of some feeling full of inner emotion, and in restless outward movement; and to attain this, he violates all strict tradition, and oversteps all recognized laws both of religious conception and of artistic usage. Whoever looks upon his forms readily perceives that they belong to a different sphere from those of the other great masters. His Madonnas and Magdalens exhibit the same genre-like style of face, the same dewy, melting, tenderly languishing eyes, the same small nose, and the same over-delicate, smiling mouth, as his Danaë, his Leda, or his Io. He loves to portray the rapture of

passionate devotion; but the expression is the same, whether he paints heavenly or earthly love. Yet, though he knows how to paint most perfectly the transports of human passion, and to make soft and swelling limbs seem trembling in a paroxysm of ecstasy, nevertheless, with few exceptions, his tone remains pure, clear, and true; and hence, from his point of view, he does not demean his saintly personages when he portrays them as alive to these same emotions. He transports them all back into the state of paradisaic innocence; and herein lies the justification of his work.

But his peculiar means of expression is a light which, softly blended with the twilight, and interwoven with delicate reflections and transparent shadows, plays around his forms in a kind of colored chiaroscuro. In producing this chiaroscuro, with its minutest gradations and shadings, Correggio is one of the foremost masters of painting. He it was that discovered, and brought to a wonderful degree of perfection, this new atmosphere by which bodies half concealed and half unveiled appear only all the more attractive, all the more fascinating. It is for him the one great instrumentality through which his art works. To it he sacrifices exalted style, noble design, and strong grouping; for its sake he even commits errors of form, and contents himself with commonplace and even affected traits, and with a style of composition in which effects of color decide everything; while every ideal requirement is utterly disregarded, and, as a consequence, every conceivable kind of foreshortening is freely employed.

His earliest work bearing a date, one referred to the artist's twentieth year (1514), is the great altar-piece of the Enthroned Madonna with SS. Francis and Anthony, John the Baptist, and S. Catherine, in the Dresden Gallery (Fig. 519). It exhibits a certain crudeness; but at the same time we see in its expression and characteristics some traces of Leonardo's influence, and the coloring is most delicately blended. To his early years also belongs the charming picture of the Repose in Egypt, in the Tribune of the Uffizi—a delightful idyl, showing already greater skill in the management of color, and in expression still free from the artist's later mannerisms. So, too, the Madonna, in the same collection, worshiping her Child as it lies before her, must rank among his most pleasing and his purest works; it is of a splendid chiaroscuro. The Madonna, it is true, is not a high ideal conception; but the idea of maternal affection is very beautifully expressed.

With the year 1518 begins a change in Correggio's career, which was to lead him to the highest point reached by him in his art. He was called to Parma to paint a number of large and important

frescos. First he had to decorate a hall in the Nunnery of S. Paolo. The subject of these paintings furnishes eloquent proof of the purely secular and brilliant mode of life then prevalent in religious establishments. Among the subjects painted here are scenes from ancient mythology, stories of Diana, and other smaller pictures. In them he exhibits the highest charm, the sweetest graces of his style.

Fig. 519. The Madonna Enthroned. By Correggio. Dresden Gallery.

The vaulted ceiling is especially pleasing. It is painted to resemble an arbor of vines, through the oval openings in which peep roguish genii full of delightful *naïveté*. Two years later Correggio received the incomparably more important commission to paint, in the same city, first the altar apse, and then the interior of the dome of S. Giovanni. Of his frescos in the apse but little remains; for

CORREGGIO

"HOLY NIGHT," FROM THE PAINTING IN THE ROYAL MUSEUM, DRESDEN

they were afterward obliterated. But the paintings of the dome still exist uninjured. In the middle, Christ is seen in mid-air, surrounded by a halo; while beneath are the apostles, seated on clouds, gazing reverently upward toward him: still lower down, on the pendentives, are the four evangelists, with the four Fathers of the Church, also resting upon clouds. These figures are full of majesty and power; but the artist has omitted everything like an architectural background, and makes us gaze into apparently illimitable ethereal space. At the same time, he subjects his figures to all the consequences which flow from such a situation. Accordingly, he foreshortens them to correspond to an assumed fixed point of sight; the result being, that all nobler development of the body and all higher expression is sacrificed. Mantegna had previously made, at Mantua, the same use of perspective, but only in a very circumscribed space, and in subjects of a light and humorous character. Melozzi da Forli, too, had in his paintings in SS. Apostoli at Rome, applied this principle for the first time in the representation of religious subjects. But Correggio recognized no limits in this matter; and in so painting a lofty dome space he had to foreshorten to such an extent that the upper and nobler portions of the figures were sacrificed for the benefit of the lower. He surrendered himself without reserve to this capricious fancy for a new method in the frescos painted by him (1526-30) in the dome of the Cathedral of Parma, which represent the Assumption of the Virgin. Here, too, there are painted on the vaulting large figures of saints—the guardian saints of the city—accompanied by angels and genii. Above these, between the windows of the dome, stand the apostles, who gaze with wondering rapture upwards at the Madonna, as she is borne aloft by a host of jubilant angels. Her Son, floating in a heavenly glory, hastens downward to meet her. The innumerable multitude of figures, in every conceivable degree of foreshortening, is like a flowing sea of joy and gladness; but we see hardly anything of the figures except the legs and the lower parts. The upper portions of the body and the faces are so greatly foreshortened as to give rise, at the time, to the cutting remark that Correggio had painted a ragout of frogs. Nevertheless, the effects of his innovation on his admiring contemporaries were enormous; and this style, all unsuitable as it was for such a place and such subjects, was for two centuries the dominant one.

Several excellent easel pictures, also, belong to this epoch of Correggio's highest mastership. First, there are several works in the Museum at Parma, among them the Madonna della Scodella, so called from the scodella, a kind of dish which the Virgin holds in her hand, and which an angel is filling with water. Joseph is pulling

down the branches of a palm, and giving the child some dates: a further development of his earlier picture of the Repose in Egypt (Fig. 520). The painting of S. Jerome—or rather the Madonna with S. Jerome, a beautiful angel, and Magdalen—is so filled with a magical clearness of light that it has also been called the Day (Il Giorno). The expression of grief in his Descent from the Cross is very striking; while, on the contrary, the equally well-painted Martyrdom of SS. Placidus and Flavia is a repulsive work—one of the earliest of those pictures of modern times which seek to portray the

Fig. 520. Madonna della Scodella. By Correggio. Parma.

agonies of torture. The fresco of a Madonna is to be reckoned among the noblest and grandest conceptions of Correggio. The Marriage of the Infant Jesus with S. Catherine, which scene he portrayed over and over again, is full of natural grace; the master treating the subject throughout in a charmingly playful fashion. In the Louvre at Paris is the best of these paintings; another one, somewhat altered, is in the Museum at Naples; where may also be seen a Repose in Egypt, called La Zingarella. The Madonna,

whose face expresses strong maternal feeling, wears an Oriental turban as a head-dress (whence the name La Zingarella, i.e., The Gypsy); and the air is filled with lovely, hovering angels.

Several very important works of Correggio are to be seen in the Dresden Gallery. There is, for instance, a most tender and charming little picture of a Magdalen (the authenticity of which has, however, been recently denied), in whom, to be sure, we see nothing of the expression of a penitent sinner. The picture represents simply a beautiful woman stretched on the soft greensward, in the dreamy twilight of a forest, reading in a book. Then there are several other pieces of considerable size, representing the enthroned Madonna surrounded by saints. They exhibit all the excellences, but also the defects, of the artist. The expression of Mary here borders on the wanton, and the saints regard her with an ardor that hardly belongs to a religious picture. In this same style is the S. Sebastian, and still more the S. George, in which these saints, by a sort of coquettish display of their rather effeminate comeliness of person, add to the by no means religious impression made by the pictures. One of Correggio's most famous pictures, preserved in the same gallery, is the Nativity, commonly known as La Notte, or the Night. The Child is receiving the homage of the shepherds, who have hastened to the spot, and of sundry beautiful angels. Here the light proceeds from the Babe, irradiates with wonderful charms the blessed Mother, who bends over her new-born child, and falls with dazzling splendor on the forms of the shepherds, men and women, whose features betray their unaffected amazement. To the same class of works is to be referred a grand Ecce Homo, of greater austerity; which, however, dates from a somewhat earlier period. It is now in the National Gallery, London; as is also a charming little picture of the Holy Family.

Finally, there is a long list of paintings in which Correggio depicts scenes from ancient mythology. His style is here more in harmony with the object represented than it is in the case of religious pictures. What in the latter works detracted from the sacredness of the scene, and introduced into it a questionable element—in the voluptuous expression of the heads and the seductive prominence of bodily charms—is here perfectly consonant with the subject; and the master is free to develop into figures of consummate grace some of the happiest of his inspirations. To this class belong the lively picture of the Education of Cupid by Venus and Mercury, in the National Gallery of London; the Ganymede, borne through air by an eagle, in the Belvedere at Vienna; and, above all, several pictures in which Correggio has ventured to portray the highest ecstasy of

sensual love, though without becoming ignoble or low. The most celebrated of these works are in the Berlin Museum and in the Belvedere at Vienna. The Leda with the Swan (Berlin), in a delightful wooded landscape, attended by her bathing playmates, is without a doubt the most charming and most chaste of these pictures. The supreme expression of passionate love is seen in Io embraced by Jupiter in a cloud—a work of preternatural power, and of wonderful artistic perfection. Of this, the best exemplar is to be seen in the Belvedere at Vienna; that in Berlin is inferior. On the contrary,

Fig. 521. Jupiter and Antiope. By Correggio. Louvre.

the otherwise admirable painting, in the Louvre at Paris, of Jupiter and Antiope (Fig. 521), borders on wantonness; the Danaë in the Borghese Palace, Rome, though delicately painted, is rather commonplace; while the Cupid holding the drapery is exceedingly graceful; and two child genii, engaged in whetting a golden arrow, are portrayed with charming naturalness. Finally, the Dresden Gallery possesses a portrait of a man said to represent the painter's physician; but this is now, not without reason, attributed to some other hand.

A masterly male portrait in the Belvedere at Vienna, however, appears to be an authentic work of the master, dating from his later years.

All Correggio's pupils, without exception, fell into the most arrant mannerism, strove to outstrip the master in effects of light, in pretty, coquettish postures and elegant forms; or else they passed into an imitation of Raphael's manner, the imitation in both cases being merely superficial. Even Francesco Mazzuola, surnamed Il Parmigianino (1503-40), the most gifted of them all, fails in his religious pictures and frescos, and is great only as a portrait painter, where he had to follow nature. Somewhat later, Federigo Baroccio of Urbino (1528-1612) took up anew Correggio's style, and expanded it into a universal manneristic type, which, as time went on, passed for the genuine expression of what was called "grace." Nevertheless, we often detect in the works of this artist a trace of that precious naturalness which disappeared all too soon with the golden age of painting.

F.—THE VENETIAN SCHOOL.

The Venetian school was affected in a less degree than any of the other Italian schools by the active intercourse which generally prevailed among them. Favored by the peculiar local conditions of their city, the artists of Venice carried to a successful conclusion the new principle in representation which had been introduced among them during the preceding period. We have already seen how Giovanni Bellini raised color to the importance of a new element in art; and how, during a long, active life, he developed by its means an almost unsurpassable strength, warmth, and distinctness. Upon this principle Venetian Painting proceeded. Improved by other tendencies, she henceforth surrendered herself to the quest of the beautiful through ways of her own choosing, and found it in the glorification of simple reality, in the pride and joy of existence, which at that time had attained an expression of the highest holiday splendor in the proud, wealthy Queen of the Sea—the city of the lagoons. Masterpieces of painting have portrayed this glittering gorgeousness, idealized, however, into shapes of immortal and lofty beauty. Nor is this accomplished by means of an especially accurate treatment of forms, nor through a profound and thoughtful choice of subject; nor does it result from an inner consciousness stirred to its depths. It is rather the expression of a life free from care and restraint, open to the influences of beauty, and pursuing the even tenor of its

way with all the joyousness of the Olympian gods. There is a noble but worldly grandeur in all these lofty forms, even when they represent Madonnas and Christian saints. They are not in immediate *rapport* with the spectator, as in Correggio's pictures. On the contrary, they seem to rejoice in their own calm beauty, like the gods of antiquity. The strifes and pains of earth, stirring action, and passionate feeling are far removed from them. They were created for pure delight alone.

Hence the art which concerns itself, not with incident nor anecdote, but with the simple representation of certain states of existence, is the Venetian vantage-ground; and the simplest motives suffice to make it attractive. But beauty of color is, above all, lavishly expended upon their pictures, until it has become their special characteristic. They search after mysterious effects of color, a softness of flesh tints, a charm of contrasts and transitions, such as has been attained by no other masters. At the same time, this glowing, warm, luminous color is by no means the expression, as with Correggio, of a state of nervous exaltation. It is the outpouring of an internal harmony, of a natural healthfulness of soul and body, which is manifested in a visible, perfected beauty, full of nobleness and purity.

Giorgione, properly Giorgio Barbarelli of Castelfranco, made the first step toward the complete liberation of Venetian art (1477-1511); only the shortness of his life preventing his establishing himself as the rival of his great fellow-pupil, Titian. He learned of his master, Giovanni Bellini, the secret of a rich, glowing depth of color, and the power of characterization, both of which he carried to a pitch of almost unearthly, rude intensity. He is, furthermore, the first artist in whose works landscape is treated with genuine poetic feeling. Henceforth this became a prominent feature of the Venetian school, which was, perhaps, drawn to the study of the beauties of mountain scenery for the very reason that these beauties did not lie at the doors of the city. An altar-piece of the enthroned Madonna, worshiped by SS. Liberali and Francis, in the parish church of his native Castelfronca, near Treviso, is the best of his earlier works. There is also, in the Monte di Pietà at Treviso, a Dead Christ, supported on the edge of the tomb by mourning angels, full of moving power of expression. This has recently been denied to be the work of this master. There is a Judgment of Solomon at the country seat of Kingston Lacy, near Wimborne, England—a magnificent work, of original conception, but unfinished. Giorgione displays the same poetical spirit in the composition of many historical scenes, which acquire the character of highly romantic tales under his hand, often

with the added charm of a deep mysteriousness in the representation. There is in the Dresden Gallery a Meeting of Jacob and Rachel, where the patriarchal environments of the story are suggested in landscape, to which the rest of the picture is subordinated. This picture is with justice, however, now no longer credited to Giorgione. On the other hand, Morelli, writing before 1893, has assigned to him the superb Venus in the same gallery, where it is indicated as a copy after Titian, probably by Sassoferrato. The poetical landscape imparts a mysterious atmosphere to the "Three Astrologers" in the Vienna Museum. The same applies to the so-called "Family of

Fig. 522. The Concert. By Giorgione. Pitti Palace, Florence.

Giorgione," formerly in the Manfrini Gallery, now in the Palazzo Giovanelli at Venice.

There is a large picture, The Tempest Stilled by S. Mark, in the Academy at Venice, which, although injured by restorations, illustrates the artist's fantastic imagination in its most striking phase. It is also disputed whether this is Giorgione's or not. This poetical bias is seen even in his portraits, which are distinguished by lofty conception and vivid coloring, whereby the mere portrait is raised to a charming and distinctive genre picture. This is the case with the superb painting in the Pitti Gallery at Florence, which goes by the name of The Concert (Fig. 522). A Priest is playing upon the harpsichord. Behind him is a youth, with a hat and feather. He turns his head toward another priest, who stands at his side, with a 'cello

in one hand, while he lays the other upon the musician's shoulder. The composition of the figures is so replete with historical reality, that a repetition of the same subject in the Doria Palace in Rome is naïvely enough entitled the portraits of Luther, Melancthon, and Katharine von Bora. Another picture of glowing color, and appealing to us like a novelette, is the splendid Concert in the Louvre, attractive also through a highly poetic landscape.

Fig. 523. Santa Barbara. By Palma Vecchio. Venice.

We have already referred to the sole well-known scholar of Giorgione, Sebastian del Piombo; but we will also give place here to the name of an artist who carried out the method of that great master in his own independent manner, although in the beginning of his career he was a follower of Giovanni Bellini. Jacopo Palma Vecchio, or the Elder, without having the austere force of Giorgione, painted pictures which are remarkable for a lovely, mild, and thoughtful harmony, expressed in warm, tender hues. His finest work is an altarpiece in Santa Maria Formosa in Venice, in seven divisions. In the middle is Sta. Barbara (Fig. 523), magnificent, almost heroic, in treatment, glowing in color. Beside her are other smaller figures of saints; above, the Virgin, with the Body of Christ. An admirably executed painting in the Dresden Museum, full of life and spirit, represents three girls — said to be the artist's daughters — superb types of the voluptuous yet noble golden-haired Venetian beauty. A number of attractive pictures in the Belvedere Gallery in Vienna have been partially ruined by so-called "restoration." There is, however, in the Sciarra Gallery at Rome, one of the most enchanting works of this master, which has been erroneously attributed to

Titian, and styled La Bella di Tiziano. Among the pictures in the Vienna Museum may be seen an excellent example of those Holy Families, treated with predilection especially by Palma, depicting in a highly poetic landscape the peaceful assemblage of happy people grouped around the fair mother with the lovely child; these works, without exactly touching deeper chords of feeling, fascinate through their idyllic charm.

The great Tiziano Vecellio, the foremost painter of Venice, came from the school of Giovanni Bellini. He was born in 1477 at Cadore, in the Friulian Alps; and in 1576 he was carried off by the plague in Venice.* He departed from the severe, somewhat archaic, manner of his master, and was affected to a certain extent by the influence of his genial fellow-pupil, Giorgione; but in the end he brought to a focus the entire power of the Venetian school, and with incomparable vigor and depth raised it to complete freedom. His works are distinguished, above all, by that loftiness and lifelikeness, that transparent beauty, which are only to be attained by a thorough conception of reality. At the same time his genius is all-embracing; and although it is with the representation of a tranquil existence that his soul most deeply sympathizes, still there is no sphere of painting in which he has not produced masterly work. Through all his long life he held fast to the principle, with unwavering loyalty and undiminished ardor, which had animated the infancy of his art life. It was by the light of his shining example that he pointed out to his pupils and contemporaries the road, by persistently following which they continually brought new treasures to light, long after all the other Italian schools had exhausted their vitality and had sunk into a joyless mannerism.

One of this artist's earliest works is the celebrated Christ with the Tribute Money, in Dresden. Here the treatment of the hair and beards is tender and graceful, the details lovingly dwelt upon; but the main excellence of this picture lies in the glow and vigor of the coloring, and in the marvelous depth and calmness of the look on Christ's face, turned upon the Pharisee, who is characterized by crafty effrontery. In his later works Titian wields a bolder brush, and deals with free, magnificent forms, and with clear, broad masses of colors, which are blended into an unsurpassable harmony through the wonderful glory of his golden light. There are several frescos which he executed in Padua, with the assistance of his pupils, and which, with the wall pictures of the Doges' Palace, destroyed by fire, excite our interest from being the only works of the kind remaining of the Venetian school. The Three Miracles of S. Anthony, in the Scuola del Santo, by Titian's own hand, are not especially remarkable as his-

* Crowe and Cavalcaselle, "Titian, His Life and Times"; London, 1877.

torical compositions; but they excel in magnificently drawn figures, in a landscape of poetical beauty, and in a glowing perfection of color. The picture of Joachim and Anna, in the Scuola del Carmine, is similar in manner.

We can mention only the most famous of the numerous oil paintings of this master. Chief of these is the Entombment of Christ, now in the Louvre at Paris. A copy of this is also in the Palazzo Manfrini at Venice. This picture is inferior to the Entombment by Raphael as regards grandeur of conception and purity of drawing; but it nevertheless possesses a truly spiritual beauty, indicated by the solemn depth of the coloring, and by its noble reserve, which subordinates the bodily action of the figures to the expression of deep grief. Another masterpiece of his period of greatest vigor is the Ascension of the Virgin, in the Academy at Venice. The magnificent form of the Madonna floats in space, surrounded by a shining host of rejoicing angels; her face is marvelously transfigured by a divine illumination as she gazes into the majesty of heaven. Far above her appears, with outstretched arms, God the Father, surrounded by a glory of angels. Below are the apostles, gazing upward with passionate longing, and seeming to be drawn after the transfigured Madonna, who leaves them behind on the earth to mourn. The story is told with free, bold touches, and with an overpowering wealth of color. The only trace of violence of treatment is in the somewhat confused and altogether too stormy group of apostles. Titian attained the height of passionate excitement in his great representation of the Murder of Peter Martyr (Fig. 524), formerly in the Church of San Giovanni e San Paolo, but destroyed by fire in 1867. The Saint is stretched upon the ground, helplessly extending his arm toward the murderer, who is about to deal the fatal blow. But the tragic horror of the picture is concentrated in the figure of the Saint's companion, who is taking refuge in flight, overcome by terror. This painting has very little in common with religious compositions, strictly speaking; but the artist has introduced angelic forms bathed in light, who, bearing branches of palm, are looking down through the branches of high trees, and relieve the horror of the scene. The beautiful landscape is of the highest importance. There is also the almost entirely destroyed Martyrdom of S. Lawrence, in the Church of the Jesuits, in which the awfulness of the tragedy is veiled by the darkness of the night. The moon struggling through clouds, and the light of two torches, produce the most extraordinary ghostly effects of light and shade. The Christ crowned with Thorns, of the Louvre, formerly in the Church of Santa Maria delle Grazie in Milan, is a masterpiece of dramatic pathos, but which, with all its

TITIAN

"THE TRIBUTE MONEY," FROM THE PAINTING IN THE ROYAL GALLERY, DRESDEN

greatness, has a strained appearance. Finally, we have the great Ecce Homo, in the Belvedere at Vienna, of the year 1543—a picture of impressive boldness and vigor, although marred by certain defects in detail.

But Titian's favorite themes were devotional pictures in a calmer style, of which he painted a great number. Among these should in

Fig. 524. Murder of Peter Martyr (Peter of Verona). By Titian. Formerly in the Church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice.

the first place be mentioned those simpler presentations of the Madonna, depicting the Holy Virgin with the Child in loving, maternal happiness, as cultivated before by Bellini and on a freer scale by Palma. Saints are occasionally introduced, and complete the amiable

family scene. Two delightful pictures of this kind, dating from the early period of the master, especially the so-called Madonna with the Cherries, may be seen in the Vienna Museum. Others are in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence, and various public collections. One of the most exquisite is the "Vierge au Lapin" in the Louvre, conspicuous for noble realism, spontaneous charm, and a wonderful glow of coloring. In some of his larger altar-pieces the Madonna is represented as no longer a timid, shrinking maiden, but as a motherly woman full of majesty and grace, and mature womanly beauty. The other saints are grandly conceived characters. The donors of the pictures, who are usually introduced, are also represented as dignified figures, full of nobleness and grace. One of the most remarkable works of this kind is in Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari—the great altar-picture of the Madonna Enthroned, surrounded by saints and by the Pesaro Family. There are others of smaller dimensions, but of a loving devoutness, to which the freer arrangement and the omission of the throne impart an especially moving human character. There is such a picture in the Dresden Gallery, where the Madonna, holding her Child, is graciously inclining toward a young woman, who is modestly approaching her, guided by S. Peter (Fig. 525). S. John is playfully detaining the Child, who is struggling toward the supplicant; and S. Jerome completes the group on the other side. The whole picture is distinguished by the noble individuality of the different heads, and by the wealth of picturesque contrasts. One of his latest devotional pictures is the Annunciation, in San Salvatore in Venice. There is a depth of religious feeling in the treatment of this picture also; and the great age of the artist is betrayed only in a certain dull, dead tone of color, and in less distinctness of drawing. The same may be said of his last picture—the Descent from the Cross—left uncompleted at his death, at present in the collection of the Academy.

The same breadth of treatment which enabled Titian to develop and introduce into his pictures an array of purely human motives, out of the domain of religious incidents, stood him in good stead in the composition of scenes from antique mythology. The greatest artist and the noblest interpreter of sensuous beauty must undoubtedly have turned his steps with especial delight to this joyous, fabled world of the Grecian Olympus; since here, far more than elsewhere, he found the full charm of human beauty waited his portrayal. There is this radical difference between Correggio and Titian: that whereas the figures of Correggio, the artist of glowing passion, appeal directly to the beholder, there is more of innocent indirectness in Titian's manner. His beautiful, dignified women are their own excuse for being;

and it is the pure love of beauty to which they owe their existence. There are only occasional exceptions where Beauty exhibits herself with a certain malice prepense. There are three pictures of this description, in Titian's earlier manner, painted in 1514 for the Duke of Ferrara. One of these, Bacchus and Ariadne, of a severe and reserved beauty withal, is in the possession of the National Gallery in London. Both the others are in the Museum of Madrid; where is also a Bacchanal, full of wild, free joy in life, which is rightly considered one of his finest works; although injured by the addition, in later times, of drapery, added from the same motive as that in Michelangelo's Last Judgment. A representation which has been frequently

Fig. 525. The Virgin with Saints. By Titian. Dresden.

repeated, of the Discovery of the Fault of Calisto, must be mentioned here. The copy, painted for Philip II., is still in the Madrid Museum. Diana is surrounded by her Nymphs, enthroned in a joyous landscape, near a clear spring. On the other shore of the stream, other companions of Calisto are engaged in discovering her misfortune. Other copies of this are in the Belvedere at Vienna, and in the Bridgewater Gallery, London. We must not fail to mention a picture of a mysterious power, and more passionately conceived than other works of the kind. This is in the Pinakothek at Munich, and represents Venus, who is about to divulge to a young girl the mysteries of the service of Bacchus. Finally we come to a very poetical

series of pictures, all dealing with allegorical subjects. There is one in the Borghese Gallery, especially full of noble feeling, which is entitled Heavenly and Earthly Love (Fig. 526), but which should rather be styled Love and Modesty. Two female forms are seated upon the edge of a marble sarcophagus, which serves the purpose of a fountain. One is naked, of noble, delicately developed proportions, and appears to be conducting an argument with the other, who faces the spectator, completely clothed, wearing an expression of irresolution. The beautiful group is enclosed in a fair landscape. The other picture, in the Bridgewater Gallery, London, is entitled the Three Ages of Man, and breathes the idyllic happiness of a life in Paradise. There is a copy of this, by Sassoferrato, in the Palazzo Borghese at Rome.

Fig. 526. Earthly and Heavenly Love. By Titian. Borghese Gallery, Rome.

A great number of similar works might be here enumerated, generally pictures of small compass and of few figures. The artist often delineates a single female figure, entirely or for the most part unclothed, who is often characterized in modern times as a Venus. In these pictures Titian presents the ideal of womanly loveliness, sometimes as a personification of refined sensuousness, but ordinarily with an elevation of conception and with an unconsciousness which were only attained during the culminating period of Hellenic art. His coloring here attains its highest triumph. He has the skill so to round his swelling forms—almost without shading, often in the brightest light—that they seem to pulsate with glowing life. These female figures, in all their perfection of glorious maturity and physical grace, are at the same time so impressed with noble dignity that they happily escape the imputation of voluptuousness. One of

the finest of these pictures is in the Fitz-William Museum at Cambridge (though this is considered an inferior replica by some critics). A copy exists also in the Dresden Gallery, where the noble form of Venus is stretched upon a couch. Cupid is crowning her, and a young man is playing the lute beside her (Fig. 527). Of the two pictures in the Tribune of the Uffizi at Florence, one is similar to this, with the addition of a highly poetical landscape. The other is a masterpiece

Fig. 527. Venus. By Titian. Dresden Gallery. [The picture represents the Princess Eboli, the Mistress of Philip II., with the King.—*Ed.*]

of painting, but is not so pure and unconscious in treatment as its companion, as the naked form stands out from the white linen of the couch in full light. There are still two different treatments of this same subject in the Royal Museum at Madrid.

To conclude, the range and tendency of Titian's art entitle him to one of the first places among the painters of all times. In fact, very few compare with him in magnificence of conception, and in the embodiment of everything lofty, significant, and dignified. The calm sentiment of a noble, free individuality breathes through all his numerous portraits, expressed in unconstrained dignity of attitude, in vivid coloring, and in the fine feeling with which they are composed. We can name a few only of their number. Although this master is as happy in portraying age as youth, men as well as women, still there are several incomparable pictures of women which belong to the

noblest efforts of his art. They are painted with such tenderness, and, although stamped with marked individuality, are still so beautiful, that they have long been designated as "Titian's Mistresses." One of the most beautiful is the so-called Mistress of Titian in the Louvre; now known to be the double portrait of Laura dei Dianti and Alfonzo of Ferrara. The same type re-appears as Flora, in an idealized costume, in the Uffizi at Florence; and also in a precious portrait in the Pitti, full of dewy, youthful grace, and in a rich Venetian dress of velvet and silk, with gold chains and pearls. One of the noblest figures is Titian's Daughter in the Berlin Museum—a youthful portrait, converted into a striking genre picture by being represented as holding up a tray of fruit above her head. There is a repetition of this in Madrid, where the young girl is transformed into the daughter of Herodias, carrying the head of John the Baptist on a charger. The numerous works of Titian represent, in magnificent compositions, the most prominent men of his time: kings and princes, poets, scholars, warriors, and distinguished patricians, all are represented to us with bold strokes of the brush—an aristocracy in the fullest sense of the word.

Not one of his contemporaries in Venice, or in the Venetian territories on terra firma, was able to escape the overwhelming influence of the great artist. But because his art sought perpetual inspiration from nature, even unimportant painters remained free from mannerism, and maintained a fresh naturalness, recognizing that a genuine conception of life and a warm, beautiful coloring were the best gifts of the school. We will name, in succession, the most noted followers of Titian: Bonifazio, under which name the work of perhaps three artists must be included, all sturdy, conscientiously executed pictures; Domenico Campagnola of Padua, who successfully competed with Titian in the Paduan frescos; that excellent artist, Geronimo Savoldo of Brescia; also Girolamo Romanino, from the same place, who aimed at expressing in his works a profounder pathos (one of his finest pictures is the great altar-piece of the Madonna and Saints in San Francesco at Brescia, also frescos in the Church of San Giovanni Evangelista in the same city, as well as in the Cathedral at Cremona and in the ancient Episcopal Palace, now Castella Buon Consiglio, near Trent); furthermore, Lorenzo Lotto, from the province of Treviso, an artist of deep feeling, emotional, resembling his predecessor, Correggio, in many respects, and occasionally betraying affectations of manner. His pictures, remarkable for their superb coloring, are principally in Bergamo. There is an imposing painting by him, of the Madonna Enthroned (of the year 1521), in the Church of San Bernardino; another (of the same year), somewhat

theatrical in style, in the Church of San Spirito; a third in San Bartolommeo; a Betrothal of S. Catherine (of the year 1523), and a Madonna with the Sleeping Child Jesus (of 1533), in the Carrara Gallery; all at Bergamo: as well as an Ascension of the Virgin (of 1550), in the Church of San Domenico at Ancona. Callisto Piazza of Lodi also belongs in this list—a gifted artist, educated in the school of Lombardy. But all these painters are overshadowed by Alessandro Bonvicino of Brescia—better known as Moretto (about 1500-47)—in whom a conspicuous nobility of sentiment and a genuine religious feeling, foreign to the Venetians, were united to a lofty beauty of coloring. He, also, was noticeably under the influence of Titian; but in his case the glowing pomp of color of the Venetian school is translated into a milder, tranquil, silver effect, which is the apparently legitimate expression of his delicacy of sentiment. He delighted in devotional pictures, which suggest the school of Raphael in their excellent composition. Brescia, his native city, still contains a number of his most beautiful works. There is an Ascension of the Virgin by him in the old Cathedral—a fine picture of profound feeling; the coloring subdued, but at the same time vigorous and rich. He has also a large altar-piece in the Church of San Clemente—a Madonna throned upon clouds, several saints beneath—a graceful and joyous picture, at the same time of great wealth of color and delicately toned harmony. There is also the Coronation of the Virgin in the Church of SS. Nazaro e Celso, also in Brescia—one of the most admirable of pictures, noble in composition, and as it were floating in a silvery light. The Städel Institute at Frankfort-on-the-Main also owns an Enthroned Madonna, surrounded by the impressive forms of the four Fathers of the Church; as well as another beautiful Madonna Enthroned, with the Saints Sebastian and Anthony. The Belvedere Gallery at Vienna also possesses the stately S. Justina, with the kneeling giver of the picture; and, to conclude, there is in the Berlin Museum an Adoration of the Shepherds, admirable in the main, and one of his most poetical devotional pictures. The transfigured Madonna is floating in the air, with the Infant Christ, S. Anna, and the little S. John, surrounded by smiling angels. Below, two priests are kneeling—most expressive figures, beautiful in composition and full of profound devotion. A superb landscape forms the background (Fig. 528).

The Venetian school produced several other important artists about this time. Giovanni Antonio Licinio Regillo, called Pordenone from his birthplace, is conspicuous among them (about 1484-1539). He is not inferior even to Titian in the softness and warmth of his coloring, especially in his flesh tints, in the treatment of which he

successfully competes with the great master's characteristic lifelikeness and grandeur of composition. He has also executed several comprehensive frescos in the Cathedral of Cremona, where Boccaccio Bocaccino, in 1514, had begun, with the Annunciation, a series of representations above the arcades of the central nave. These pic-

Fig. 528. The Virgin, with S. Anna, the Infant Christ, and the Infant S. John, Appearing to a Bishop and a Cardinal. By Moretto. Berlin Museum.

tures are remarkable for distinct composition, even purity of treatment, and for sustained dignity. Francesco Bembo was allied in manner to this painter, and was also his contemporary; as was also Altobello Melone, whose style is less calm, and whose colors are sometimes dull, and then again gaudy. We have also to mention Girolamo Romanino of Brescia, of more intense although coarser

manner in characterization; and we finally come to the talented Venetian artist, Paris Bordone (1500-80)—a master who excelled in lifelike expression, who succeeds in imparting a mild and rosy delicacy to the glow of Venetian coloring, and who has been equally successful in large historical pictures and in portraits. Giovanni Battista Moroni, a pupil of Moretto, also deserves mention as an admirable portrait painter. There are excellent pictures by him in the Bergamo Gallery.

The other schools of painting in Italy fell almost universally, during the latter part of the sixteenth century, into mannerism and affectation; whereas the Venetian school blossomed forth afresh, eclipsed, it is true, by the old masters in purity and loftiness, but hardly yielding to them in creative power, and carrying forward the cardinal principle of the Venetian school to new and brilliant victories. Doubtless the cause of this lay partly in the uninterrupted prosperity which fostered the power and wealth of Venice; but it was attributable, to a still greater extent, to the sound foundations upon which Venetian art was built. The ideal types which the genius of Raphael and Michelangelo established for the schools of Rome and Florence only lived as long as they were quickened by the profound intellectuality of the two great masters. As soon as this inspiration ceased, the forms assumed a soulless, repulsive mannerism. The Venetians, on the contrary, grappled with the realities of nature; and although they never attained to the ideal and intellectual heights of the two great masters just named, perhaps, for that very reason, they obtained a firmer footing upon the healthful and fertile ground of lifelike reality.

Of the two masters who are the crowning glory of this later period in remarkable endowment, sturdy industry, and creative ability, the first is the Venetian artist Jacopo Robusti, called Tintoretto (1512-94). He studied at first in the school of Titian; from which, however, he soon withdrew himself with the avowed intention of devoting himself to the union of the drawing of Michelangelo with the coloring of Titian. He certainly succeeded in attaining to a more clearly defined representation of form by means of deeper shading and more vigorous drawing; but in endeavoring to make these two extremes meet, he as certainly lost the delicacy, clearness, and harmony of color of the Venetian school, in a great degree, without obtaining a compensating result. Nevertheless he is to be reckoned among the boldest and most assured painters known to the history of art. His pictures are absolutely astounding as to number and extent; a special reason for which is furnished by the fact that the Venetians did not like frescos, preferring, instead, to cover the walls and ceilings of their immense halls of state with gigantic oil paintings. Tintoretto

executed an astonishing number of works of this sort; and it is not a little to be wondered at, that during his best period he long kept himself from the danger of becoming merely a decorative painter. His style, fell, indeed, from the lofty heights of the time of Titian, since he only aimed after general effects in light and shade; and in the end his style suffered from a regrettable over-abundance of work.

There are several noble and impressive altar-pieces in the Venetian churches and galleries painted in his earlier manner. There also exist a few mythological paintings of superb treatment. Among the numerous pictures with which he decorated the Doges' Palace (Fig. 529), there are several which are excellent in conception and in exe-

Fig. 529. The Marriage of Bacchus and Ariadne. By Tintoretto. Doges' Palace, Venice.

cution. In the Great Council Chamber he painted the enormous Paradise, 30 feet high and 74 feet wide; which is, however, rather a confused conglomeration. The Marriage at Cana, in the sacristy of Santa Maria della Salute, is a more important composition; and also the Miracle of S. Mark Delivering the Slave, in the Academy. In the Scuola di San Rocca there are more than fifty oil paintings by him, a Crucifixion among the number.* He is more happy in the numerous portraits he has left behind him than in these colossal cre-

* See Ruskin, "Modern Painters," vol. ii., chap. iii., p. 175, English edition.

PAUL VERONESE

"THE MARRIAGE AT CANA," FROM THE PAINTING IN THE DRESDEN MUSEUM

ations. His portraits are often of great value on account of their truth to life and their excellent coloring.

The second of these later masters, greater and nobler than Tintoretto, is Paolo Veronese, as he was called, after his native town, although his real name was Paolo Caliari (about 1528-88). It may truly be said of him that his renown equaled that of Titian; and he upheld the banner of Venetian art, with a display of magnificent creative power and of lofty beauty, until near the completion of the century. The conception of his work has no longer the noble simplicity of the earlier masters (he also paid tribute to the age); but at all events his style is nobler, freer, and more beautiful than that of any of his contemporaries. He sets before us the old, magnificent Venetian life, in all its glory and intoxicating pleasures. A jubilant air of festivity irradiates all his larger paintings—the last mighty tone, with whose reverberations the golden age of Italian life dies away forever. It was a favorite custom of those days to place in the refectories of the wealthy cloisters and brotherhoods a painting representing some Biblical feast, the Marriage at Cana being a favorite subject. In these pictures the artist did not hesitate to reproduce his own pleasure-loving age, with its rich, gorgeous costumes, displayed in columned halls of gleaming marble; and Paolo followed this fashion with a delight in beauty and a keen enjoyment which still throw their fascination over these scenes of mere earthly pomp. But he is also capable of bringing out deep feeling and spirited expression in the treatment of more serious subjects. He aims, indeed, at enriching his compositions, and, going beyond the simplicity of the works of Titian, at cultivating more varied gradations and a grander scale of color. He sought to break up his tints and to produce a general pervading tone of color, at the same time that he laid special stress upon externals, such as splendid draperies, ornaments, and architecture. Nevertheless, the clearness, warmth, and harmony which he imparted to his pictures are so much the more admirable.

A series of the most glorious pictures, in Paolo's best manner (1560-65), are in the Church of San Sebastiano at Venice, where the master was laid to rest. S. Sebastian on his Way to Execution is certainly the finest of these. The full meaning of the scene is brought before the spectator; and the composition is replete with magnificent dramatic spirit, with its crowded yet distinct representation of the concourse of spectators. The other paintings on the walls and ceiling of this church are among his noblest compositions. There are other religious votive pictures, which are quaint in manner; but at the same time the human figures, as well as the divine, express a certain degree of internal excitement. An especially fine picture in this

style is the Adoration of the Magi, in the Dresden Gallery (Fig. 530). The Holy Family is arranged in a natural group on one side; while on the other, the might and majesty of the earth bow in adoration in the persons of the Magi, arrayed in splendor of purple and in silken raiment glittering with gold. An extraordinary wealth of intense color is here toned down to a consummate harmony; and the painting is elevated to one of the first creations of genius by the dignity of the figures, the pomp of coloring, the superb disposition of the space, and the lofty, noble sentiment with which the whole work is pervaded. Other pictures by Paolo, in different styles, in the same collection are of great excellence. The simple and yet grand land-

Fig. 530. Group from the Adoration of the Magi. By Paul Veronese. Dresden Gallery.

scape of the Good Samaritan is treated with glowing warmth, and made the dominant feature of the picture. In a small picture of the Crucified Christ Mourned by his Followers there is a profound pathos of feeling. The scriptural incident of the Finding of Moses is transformed into a graceful legend by the addition of modern costumes and a poetical landscape. Finally, his Marriage at Cana is an admirable example of the great representations of feasts, in which Paolo's art delighted. All of the above are in the Gallery at Dresden.

But the masterpiece of this kind is in the Louvre in Paris, representing the same scene. The master has portrayed on a canvas of 600 square feet, 21 English feet high, 30 feet long, the joyous pomp and festive spirit of his day. The principal figures, Christ and his Mother, are quite in the background. The painting of the Supper at the House of Levi, in the Academy of Venice, is not much smaller. The clear atmosphere and the superb, spacious colonnades give to this picture a delightful air of freedom and cheerfulness. The great Supper of S. Gregory, nearly 30 feet long, belongs to the finest works of this description by this artist. It was painted in the year 1592, and is in the refectory of the convent on Monte Berico, near Vicenza. It is in remarkable preservation considering the mutilation it underwent in 1848. A series of other works of the same order of composition are contained in different galleries, memorials of the astonishing and inexhaustible creative force of this artist, who drew perpetually from the source of actual life for new and suggestive subjects.

There are also a number of mythological and allegorical pictures in his later manner on the walls and ceilings of the Doges' Palace. These may not always be conceived in a style of equal purity and elevation; but they invariably possess, at all events, a superb coloring and a vigorous naturalness, which make us forget the coldness of the allegory.

The celebrated Family of Darius Before Alexander is undoubtedly the jewel of this class of pictures, formerly in the Palazzo Pisani, now in the National Gallery in London. The artist has represented in the antique forms the personages of the Pisani family with the free anachronism of his day, which is, indeed, at variance with the truth to costume of the antiquary; but this fault is counterbalanced by an overwhelming power of essential truth transfigured by the charm of glowing color. Thus we have followed this remarkable artist through a special province of his art, and certainly through the province most popular with his contemporaries, where the sacred histories are used only as a background, against which is presented the gorgeous manner of life of that period. Yet another admirable artist descends a step lower into ordinary life, and may therefore be said to be the founder of genre painting. This is Jacopo da Ponte, called Bassano from his native city (1510-92), who first formed his style in Venice upon the model of Titian's works, but afterward struck out for himself an altogether original method of representation. He goes down into the lower walks of life—into barn-yards and peasants' cabins, with their coarse occupants, their cattle, poultry, and farming implements. He fixes all this upon his canvas with intense

coloring and vigorous touch. Occasionally he introduces an incident from profane or sacred history; but he as often leaves out all additions of the kind, and contents himself with the simple delineation of rustic life, or even with portraying inanimate objects. In taking up these themes, which he illustrates with genuine delight, cheerful assiduity, and an equable, pure use of color, he turns his back, indeed, upon all the great artists who have preceded him; but, on the other hand, he opens the door to a new period, which, at a later epoch, made vigorous use of his example. His four sons were his assistants in his labors; and these five masters deluged the picture galleries with a flood of paintings, which atoned for lack of inventive ability by a freshness of coloring and a vigorous handling of subjects in the lower spheres of life, all of which bear a strong family likeness to each other.

Chapter V.

PLASTIC ART IN THE NORTH IN THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES.

I. *Sculpture.**

WITH the beginning of the fifteenth century there arose in the North that spirit of realism which was destined to supplant mediæval art, and complete the victory of the modern school by fixing the mind upon the study of nature. As it would appear, it was in the numerous representations of persons upon tomb monuments that the necessity of reproducing as faithfully as possible the individual character first brought about a more complete and sharply defined stamp of form. Even in the course of the fourteenth century this tendency already attained important results, as is proved by the schools of sculpture at Tournay and Dijon mentioned elsewhere. With increasing practice, the desire grew to give an equal perfection of physical appearance to the ideal figures of sacred story; and painting soon rivaled sculpture, reacting upon it so much the more decidedly since there then existed the closest connection between the two arts. If, after all, Northern sculpture did not succeed in entirely equaling that of Italy, it was partly owing to the rarity of antique models, and the lack of marble, the material necessary for the perfection of the higher class of work; but partly also, and in a much greater degree, to the too exclusive attention to detail, and a very strong inclination for the fantastic, on account of which it rarely happened that a grand calm, harmonious conception of the whole, in its essential traits, could find expression.

Numerous as the plastic productions of this period are, the attempts to classify them have, so far, been most unsatisfactory, being made

* Baudot, "La Sculpture française." Gonse, "La Sculpture française." Montaiglon, "La Famille des Juste en France." Vitry, "Michel Colombe." Bode, "Geschichte der Deutschen Plastik." Förster, "Geschichte der Deutschen Kunst." Scott, "British School of Sculpture."

more difficult by the fact that a number of local schools are contemporaneous; and it does not often happen that isolated instances of famous masters rise, like shining central points, in the midst of this general uniformity. We know most about German sculpture, having comparatively little information in regard to that of other countries; though their course of development seems to follow very much the same direction. The general scheme of idealistic Gothic art, now grown somewhat meaningless and conventional, was abandoned, almost without exception; and that tendency was pursued instead which led to individual representation, true to nature even to the extreme of one-sidedness. As inevitable results of this tendency, witness the sharply cut expression of physiognomies, the dwelling upon each little peculiarity of the form or bearing, even of the costume, and the pleasure taken in bringing out the texture and character of different stuffs. While the ideas, the compositions, the arrangements, are still, on the whole, mediæval, everything bespeaks a formation which has foresworn tradition; indeed, frequently indicates a contradiction to the ideal standard. In cases where subjects from sacred history are treated, a passionate, even a violent spirit forces itself into the representation; and in the striving for effect, no subject is handled so frequently, or with so much pleasure, as the passion of Christ and the martyrdom of the saints. The sequel of all this is an overcharged style in rilievo, inclining to the picturesque, which breaks out here, quite independent of any antique influence—purely an outgrowth of the spiritual humor of the time; the effect being so much the more striking since the remains of antique art did not here, as in Italy, furnish close at hand a standard for the treatment of individual forms.

But with the sixteenth century the influences of the new Italian plastic art began to be generally diffused. The Italian tendency to the antique first expressed itself, especially in decorative works, in tombs, and in other monuments, in their construction and ornamentation, as well as in the treatment of figures. So long as the vigorous study of nature and the characteristically individual representation of Northern art are combined with this modern ideal style, many works, pleasing and replete with life, are the issues of the reciprocal influence. But afterward, about 1550, when the natural warmth and *naïveté* of the Northern taste are weakened, and conventional, classical mannerism takes their place, the simple ingenuousness disappears, for the most part, from the plastic productions of the school, yielding place to a theatrical display, a chilling allegory.

BOTTICELLI (ALESSANDRO FILIPEPI)

"PRIMAVERA" (SPRING) FROM THE PAINTING IN THE ACADEMY
OF THE FINE ARTS, FLORENCE

A.—IN GERMANY.

WOOD-CARVING.

The wood-carving upon the altars of churches is entirely at one with mediæval tradition, so far as technical execution and subject-matter are concerned; though it bears witness in its style of expression to the dramatically active and picturesque spirit of the time, as well as to its strong realistic tendency. The construction, on the whole, does not differ from earlier work, except that the development is much freer; so that these productions, with their comprehensive designs, their sculpture varied with gilding and brilliant coloring, come down to us as the most vital expressions of the artistic activity of their time. The predilection for this peculiar association of sculpture and painting increases incredibly from the beginning of the fifteenth century, and continues in full force into the second quarter of the sixteenth century.

The vigorous realism of representation demanded, first and chiefly, a considerable depth and spaciousness in the shrines themselves, so that there might be room in the several divisions for the disposition of the various scenes. Hence each compartment presents the appearance of a little stage, with all the accompaniments of foreground and complex landscape background, upon which the incidents are depicted with all due attention to rich perspective gradations and with careful attention to details. The influence of the scenic representations, so popular at that time, is unmistakable. The figures are on a small scale; those in front not seldom stand out independently as statuettes, while the rest are executed in sharp high relief (alto-rilievo). When, occasionally, larger statues, as of the Madonna or other saints, are arranged in the principal niches, they exhibit a completely developed plastic style, essentially modified, however, by the addition of painting and gilding. The fact that in all these figures the drapery is broken up, in a singularly uneasy manner, into many angular folds, often degenerating into a wrinkled, creased appearance, is additional evidence of a picturesque tendency. The gay costumes of the day, ostentatious with splendid stuffs—velvet and silk—are in part responsible for this fancy; though the technical execution of wood-carving, and the desire to heighten the glitter of the gold and bright colors by means of the frequent folds, led, to a certain extent, to this mannerism, which for a long time obtained a firm footing in all departments of plastic art. But the richer and more luxuriously adorned

the figures became, the less compactly proportioned was the architectural framework which inclosed them; and hence the fantastic curves of the late Gothic style in decoration are retained in the frames and crowning ornaments of the separate divisions, until at last, even here, the naturalistic tendency breaks forth, and curling flourishes of leaves and tendrils are alone to be met with.

We will select for mention only a few of the most notable among the innumerable works of this class, scattered through most of the old churches in all parts of Germany. Suabia is particularly rich in early altar-pieces of this kind. The Altar of Lucas Moser at Tiefenbronn, of the year 1432, representing a S. Magdalen borne aloft by angels, may be reckoned among the oldest productions. One of the most admirable works in that region is the high altar in the Church of S. James at Rothenburg-on-the-Tauber, of the year 1466, containing only single figures of the Lord, an Ecce Homo, and several saints, all, however, in a strongly developed, genuinely sculpturesque style. A superb Altar of the Virgin in the Pilgrims' Church at Creglingen dates back to 1487; an altar of masterly execution, in S. Kilian's Church at Heilbronn, belongs to 1498. Other excellent specimens are in the Church of the Holy Cross (Kreutzkirche) at Gmünd, in Bavaria. The high altars in the Convent Church at Blaubeuren (1490) and in the Ulm Minster (1521), and one of later date—particularly fine and noble, containing a Coronation of Our Lady—in the Minster at Breisach (1526), are also remarkable examples. The Cathedral of Chur in Switzerland possesses a high altar, the work of Jacob Rösch in 1491, one of the choicest, most perfect, and best-developed productions of this class, embracing the whole cycle of sacred story, from the Passion to the Coronation of the Virgin, all combined in an ingenious manner for the glorification of the Madonna.

A great number of such works exist likewise in the provinces of Austria, several of which are attributed to the skillful hand of the wood-carver, Michael Pacher: as, for instance, the magnificent altar of S. Wolfgang in Upper Austria, of the year 1481; and the one at Weissenbach in the Tyrol. The altar in the Church at Clausen-on-the-Rhine (Eisenbach-Clausen), is famous as being one of the most vigorous productions of the latter part of the fifteenth century, with its lifelike scenes from the Passion. The two altars in the Church at Calcar near Cleves, on the lower Rhine, are of greater significance, however; also an altar in the Collegiate Church at Xanten—all valuable productions, belonging to the second half of the same century, though entirely without decoration in color. The wood-carvings of Westphalia are also numerous and fine: among them an altar at

Kirchlinde is notable for a particularly massive and noble style. The later school of representation—for the most part excessively dramatic, and with confused overloading of ornament—will be recognized in the colossal altars of the Church of S. Peter at Dartmund, and of the Church at Schwerte; the last belonging to the year 1523. By way of contrast, the high altar of the parish church at Vreden may be mentioned as one of the richest and most admirable of such works in the zenith of this style; the well-preserved color decoration making it of great interest. A masterpiece of this latest epoch may be seen farther north, in the superb great altar of the Schleswig Cathedral, upon which Hans Brüggemann worked from 1515 to

Fig. 531. Coronation of Mary. By Veit Stoss. Nuremberg.

1521, containing the scenes of the Passion, in vigorous, lifelike, realistic treatment, though not decorated with color. Pomerania, too, boasts of a series of similar carved altars: among them one at S. Mary's Church in Greifswald, with a representation of the entombment, is worthy of mention. Finally, there are a great number of such works to be found in the various provinces, and in Silesia, especially in Breslau and Cracow, extending even into Hungary.

Franconian productions of this class, most of them executed under the direction of Michael Wohlgemuth, who was also distinguished as a painter, have a special importance; also the high altar of the Church of the Virgin at Zwickau (of the year 1479), with carvings representing Mary with other saints. There is also an altar in S. Ulrich's Church at Halle (1488), containing Christ and Mary, with separate figures of saints. Toward the close of this period there flourished in Nuremberg a most admirable master of sculpture in wood, Veit Stoss of Cracow (about 1438-1533), whose earlier labors were devoted to his native town. The high altar in the Church of Our Lady at Cracow (1472-84), with a Coronation of Mary (Fig. 531), besides other Biblical representations on a smaller scale, is famous as being the masterpiece of his first epoch. In Nuremberg, where he took up his abode in the year 1496, several works of his hand have been preserved, distinguished by a tender fervor and grace, a mild

The Nativity. The Adoration of the Magi. The Coronation of the Virgin.
Fig. 532. From the Rosary of Veit Stoss, Nuremberg.

softness of form, and a clearly developed style of relief, with a great deal of lifelikeness. Though he has not succeeded in entirely throwing off the influence of the general tendency in the little wrinkled folds of his drapery, the whole effect is, nevertheless, conceived in large masses, and executed with much freedom. His masterpiece is the Rose-wreath of the Church of S. Lorenz (of the year 1518), a thoughtfully conceived, attractive production. In the center are seen the figures of the Madonna and the Angel of the Annunciation encircled by a carved wreath of roses containing in different medallions the Seven Joys of Mary—the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Birth of Christ, the Adoration of the Wise Men, the Resurrection, the Descent of the Holy Ghost, and the Coronation of Mary (Fig. 532). These reliefs are admirably clear in grouping, beautifully composed within their given spaces, and full of naïve, tender sentiment. Beneath the cross the serpent with the apple recalls the sin of the fall.

The culminating point of the whole is the figure of God the Father sitting on his throne, while round him float gracious angelic forms.

Among other works supposed to be due to this master there is the high-altar piece, formerly belonging to the upper parish church at Bamberg, with representations from the life of Christ and his Mother, as well as a great crucifix, with the figures of Mary and

Fig. 533. Supposed Portrait of Jörg Syrlin. From the Choir Stalls in the Cathedral at Ulm.

John, in the Church of S. Sebald at Nuremberg, dating from the year 1526.

Finally, a very skillful master of the Suabian school deserves mention here—Jörg Syrlin the elder, whose masterpieces are the magnificent stalls in the Minster of Ulm, his native town (1469-74)—works of the highest type of elaborate decoration; which, besides being very rich in architectural ornament, contain a large number of heads of heathen sages, Old Testament prophets and patriarchs, as well as Christian saints and apostles, ending with what are said to be portraits of the worthy master himself (Fig. 533) and his wife,

skillfully executed in a thoroughly graceful but realistic spirit. He carved in stone the fountain in the Market-place at Ulm in 1482, the so-called "Fischkasten"—a simple Gothic pyramid, with three stately figures of knights. Not less clever than his father, Jörg Syrlin the younger produced a series of very remarkable wood-carvings, among them the superb stalls and altar-screen in the Monastery Church at Blaubeuren in the year 1496, and the very richly decorated sounding-board over the pulpit in the Minster at Ulm (1510).

SCULPTURE IN STONE.

Sculpture in stone was practiced at the same time and with equal enthusiasm, being largely employed in memorial monuments (which constantly increased in number and costliness), as well as in the decoration of the churches, their doors, flying buttresses, lecterns, and choir piers. Some fine work of this class indicates a particular activity and genius on the part of the Suabian school. A statue of Count Ulrich the Well-Beloved, made in 1440, and formerly standing in the Market Square at Stuttgart, belongs to the earlier works, in which the new style is nobly and worthily displayed. The building of the Convent Church (Stiftskirche) at Stuttgart afforded, during the whole course of the fifteenth century, and especially toward its close, an ample opportunity for the employment of sculpture. The lectern and the splendid pulpit in this church, as well as the south Portal, original in its design, and richly decorated, are adorned with reliefs and statues, in which a strong, realistic execution unites with a dignified conception to produce a most pleasing effect (Fig. 534). The very admirable Christ on the Mount of Olives, on the outside of the choir of S. Leonard's Church, at the same place, dates from the beginning of the following century (1501); as also a Christ on the Cross, the size of life, surrounded by the mourning figures of the Virgin, S. John, and the Magdalen—a work in which a rare intensity of feeling shines out through its vigorous conception. Not less vigorous and versatile is the sculpture upon the gates and piers of the elegant Church of Our Lady at Esslingen, in Bavaria, in the latter part of the fifteenth century (compare Fig. 404); and also that upon the gates of the Minster at Ulm. Among the finest works of the Suabian school we may mention further the stone Sacrament House, or Ciborium, of the year 1469, in the Minster at Ulm; the Fountain in the Market-place, and the Baptismal Font in the Church, at Urach, southward from Stuttgart, the last executed in 1518 by a cer-

tain Master Christopher; as well as the Font and the Holy Sepulcher in S. Mary's Church at Reutlingen, in Württemberg.

The pulpit in the Cathedral at Freiberg, in the Erzgebirge (near Dresden, in Saxony), was carved about 1470. It is as original in design as it is masterly in execution, and belongs to the most excellent productions of this kind, which are to be classed partly with architectural, partly with sculptured works. To the same category belongs the magnificent pulpit of the Minster at Strasburg, dating from the year 1485; and the equally remarkable pulpit in S. Stephen's at Vienna, the work of a Master Pilgram, and adorned

From the South Portal. From the Lectern.
Fig. 534. Statues from the Collegiate Church at Stuttgart.

with admirably treated heads of the Fathers of the Church. Besides these, numbers of richly executed tabernacles and lecterns may be found in all parts of Germany, in a good state of preservation. A series of fine mortuary monuments in the Rhenish provinces present most excellent examples of the development of this style. The Monument of Rupert, Count Palatine (died 1410), in the Church of the Holy Ghost at Heidelberg, belongs to the earlier specimens. Several

of this class may be found in the Cathedral at Mayence.* The Monument of Diether von Isenburg (1482) shows an originality which appears more and more conspicuously in a long series of later monuments. There are many other works of the same sort in other churches.

The Maximilian Museum at Augsburg contains some stone reliefs of this epoch, which show much purity of taste.

The Franconian school produced one of the most famous masters of the time in Adam Krafft, who lived until 1507, and worked chiefly in Nuremberg. His productions are characterized by a vigorous,

Fig. 535. From the Seven Stations of Adam Krafft. Sixth Station—Christ Fainting Beneath the Load of the Cross.

lifelike conception, clear-cut forms, and a touch of tender feeling, often rising into pathos. The somewhat overcrowded grouping, and the lack of repose in the broken lines of the drapery, are a tribute that all contemporaneous masters pay, more or less, to the curious taste of those about them; and Krafft heightens this peculiarity by a certain thick-set, robust look about his figures. His earliest known works are the Seven Stations, on the road to the Churchyard of S. John, Nuremberg (Fig. 535), in which he has depicted the seven times repeated sinking of Christ beneath the burden of the Cross in powerful reliefs, with great spirit and striking energy of expression (Fig. 536). A sequel to these important productions is the representation

* H. Emden, der Dom zu Mainz und seine Denkmäler in 36 Photographien Mainz, 1858. R. v. Rettberg, Nürnberg's Kunstleben S. 50. F. Wanderer, Adam Kraft und seine Schule. Nürnberg. Fol.

of Calvary, at the entrance to the churchyard, with the crucified Christ between the two malefactors—a scene full of dramatic pathos; the form and face of the Redeemer bearing the impress of deep and noble feeling. Of the groups which formerly surrounded the cross, only the figures of Mary and S. John have been preserved, the upper portions very much weather-beaten and disfigured. Krafft's style develops an overpowering intensity of feeling in the relief of the history of the Passion, executed in 1492 for the Schreyer Monument on the exterior of S. Sebald's Church; the Entombment of Christ, especially, being filled with a fervent devotional spirit. Joseph of

Fig. 536. Head of the Saviour. Detail from the Sixth Station of Adam Krafft. From Wanderer.

Arimathea and Nicodemus have reverently lifted the body of the Lord, and are just in the act of consigning it to the sepulcher. At the sight, the grief of the desolate disciples breaks forth uncontrollably—most passionately in the Magdalen, who, wringing her hands, sinks at the foot of the tomb; but most intensely in the Mother, who once again presses her lips upon the face of her beloved Son rigid in death. Somewhat later, in 1496, there appeared, like a reminiscence of these representations, that single scene from the Passion, portraying Christ sinking beneath the Cross, which may be seen on the first southwest pier of the nave of S. Sebald's Church in Nuremberg. One of the most artistic works of this master is the stone Sacrament-House of the Church of S. Lorenz, in the same town, which was executed between

1496 and 1500. The substructure seems to rest upon three powerful kneeling figures, representing the master and two of his workmen. From this base a slender, boldly soaring Gothic spire mounts upward to the height of 64 feet from the ground, adorned with statuettes and scenes in relief, depicting the Passion, and terminating at the summit in a finial strangely curving round upon itself. While engaged on this great monument, he executed some other work for the churches, among which the Pergenstorfer Tomb in the Frauenkirche (1498) un-

Fig. 537. Relief on the Town Weighing-House. By Adam Krafft. Nuremberg.

doubtedly ranks first. This shows the Madonna, with the Child, as the Helper of Christians, crowned by two angels, while other angels spread the mantle of the Mother of God above the representatives of all Christendom kneeling at her feet, and over the figures of the family of Pergenstorfer. A ray of heavenly glory illumines the face of Mary—lovely in its majesty—and the graciously smiling Child.

The Coronation of the Virgin, at the entrance to the choir of the same church, gives evidence of the hand of this master; and he repeats the same subject in 1501 in the grand alto-rilievo of the Landauer Tomb in the Church of S. Ægidius.

He proved with what a fresh and spirited simplicity of style he could seize upon and fix the events of every-day life in the charming relief over the door of the Stadtwage or house for official weighing, executed in the year 1497. The town weigher stands in the midst, conscientiously noting the balancing of the beam, beneath which the maxim, "To thee as to every other," testifies to the strict maintenance of fair play. To the left, an attendant is in the act of adding another weight; while opposite to him the merchant whose bales of merchandise are about to have the duty settled upon them puts his hand reluctantly into his purse. It would not be possible to present the transaction more forcibly, admirably, or pleasingly (Fig. 537). In the evening of his life, Krafft went back once more to the theme of the history of the Passion; and in the very year of his death (1507), in the Hospital at Schwabach, executed for the Holzschuher Chapel in S. John's Churchyard, Nuremberg, a group of fifteen life-size figures representing the Entombment of Christ. Joseph of Arimathea, to whom the master has given his own grave and noble features, in deep agitation supports the sacred body of the Lord. The subordinate figures are of somewhat inferior workmanship—possibly by the hand of apprentices.

There lived contemporaneously with Krafft, at Würzburg, another very skillful master, by name Tilmann Riemenschneider* (about 1460 to 1531), whose style certainly does not equal in power that of the Nuremberg school, but nevertheless rises to a pathetic devoutness, and tenderness of feeling, in spite of the realistic constraints of contemporary taste. The statues of Adam and Eve and of the apostles in the Frauenkirche at Würzburg are able works, displaying, in parts, considerable dignity of character. His figures of the Madonna in the New Minster Church of the same place, and in the Pilgrims' Chapel at Volkach, unite a charming delicacy with a certain fullness of form. The artist touches a chord of deep pathos in his representation of the Disciples Mourning over the Dead Christ; one composition on this subject having been executed for the Church at Heidingsfeld, and another and more elaborate one for that at Maidbrunn (1525). From 1499 to 1513 he was engaged upon the marble Tomb of the Emperor Henry II. and his consort Cunigunde, for the Cathedral of Bamberg. The figures of both are represented

*C. Becker, "Life and Works of the Sculptor Tilmann Riemenschneider"; Leipzig, 1849.

as lying at rest upon the cover of the altar tomb, in attitudes of quiet dignity; while the sides of the tomb are adorned with scenes from their lives, done in relief, vigorously handled, in a powerfully realistic style. The marble Monument of Bishop Rudolph von Scherenberg, in the Würzburg Cathedral, just as admirable in its way, belongs to a somewhat earlier date, after 1495, and exhibits the figure of the bishop, cleverly individualized, but with rather heavy, hard drapery, lying beneath a Gothic canopy. On the other hand, the sculptor reaches a grand and dignified expression, and an especially excellent execution, in the marble Tomb of Bishop Lawrence of Bibra, in the same church, and executed after 1519; while the modern architectural style, with its tendency to imitate the antique, appears in the conception of the whole.

But decidedly the most stately monumental tomb of the whole epoch is the marble memorial to the Emperor Frederic III., in S. Stephen's at Vienna, commenced in 1467 by Master Niclas Lerch of Leyden, and carried on after his death by Master Michael (or Martin) Dichter, by whom it was completed in 1513. The whole design appears to have been conceived in a spirit as original as it is grand. A richly carved sarcophagus, on which lies extended the dignified and finely executed figure of the emperor, in full regalia, with scepter and imperial globe, is raised aloft upon a high and broadly projecting base adorned with statuettes and reliefs. Although Gothic details are occasionally introduced, the composition, taken as a whole, suggests the style of the Renaissance, in the clearness, simplicity, and comprehensiveness of its execution.

Other German memorial monuments, of the somewhat more recent date of the sixteenth century, unreservedly adopt the forms of the Renaissance in the arrangement of their entire design, having learned to combine with its forms the fresh originality and versatility of the preceding school in their figures. So, for example, the beautiful Monument of Johann Eltz and his Wife, in the Carmelite Church at Boppard (1548), and, a little earlier, the Tombs of two Archbishops in the Cathedral of Treves; again, in the year 1547, the Monument of Archbishop Albert in the Cathedral of Mayence, several tombs in the Church at Wertheim, and many others. In the latter part of this century, a decorative treatment in the spirit of the Italian Renaissance begins to prevail in works of this class, which marks them, even at this early date, as belonging to the succeeding period.

WORKS IN BRONZE AND OTHER METALS.

No school takes such a prominent position in the German metal-work of this epoch as that of Nuremberg; and, indeed, in the versatility of its artistic production in all departments, this ancient imperial city may claim almost the same rank for Germany as Florence does for Italy. Here, too, it was the endeavor to secure a thoroughly developed, typical embodiment of their ideas, which was the common, fundamental motive in the various attempts of the Nuremberg masters. But in no other department did this tendency attain to such perfection, such nobility of conception, and such refinement of execution, as it did in these works in bronze. A credible tradition of the school attributes the germ of this development to the artist family of Vischer; and the special genius of one preëminently gifted and famous master carried the ideal of this school to a point of perfect attainment, which other productions of Northern art can scarcely be allowed to have so completely reached. The earliest known work of this school is the bronze baptismal font in the Town Church at Wittenberg, the production of Hermann Vischer the elder, in 1457. Its design is Gothic, enriched with much exquisite ornamentation, the most notable feature being the figures of the apostles which encircle it—partly because one recognizes in their workmanship a happy suggestion of the simple contours of Gothic works; partly that they evince a conscious, independent adoption of the antique methods in their drapery.

The leading master of the Nuremberg school, and one of the greatest names in the whole range of German art, is the son of this same Hermann, the famous Peter Vischer, of whom we know that he became a master in 1489, and died in 1529. Among all the gifted artists of his time, Albert Dürer himself not excepted, he had the truest artistic perception, by means of which he breaks through the narrow bounds set by the taste of the time, and with untiring aspiration attains to a purity and transparency, a dignity and nobility of style, which stand alone and unrivaled, throughout that whole long epoch, in the countries of the North. The earliest undoubted work from his hand is the Tomb of Archbishop Ernest in Magdeburg Cathedral, completed in 1495—a sarcophagus adorned with figures of the apostles and other sculptures, the form of the archbishop reposing upon the top. In this, more than in any other work, the artist shows the harsh characteristics and the sharpness of treatment peculiar to contemporaneous Nuremberg art; but the figures of the apostles already give evidence of his own strong innate sense of the

beautiful. The monumental tablet of Bishop John, in the Cathedral of Breslau, of about the same time (1496), inclines toward the same type of conception. Other monuments of this earlier epoch, not positively to be attributed to this artist, exhibit, nevertheless, a free progress in the simple, pure style of his father. A good deal of this work was modeled by other artists, and only cast in the foundry of the Vischers; for instance, the Monument of Bishop George II. in

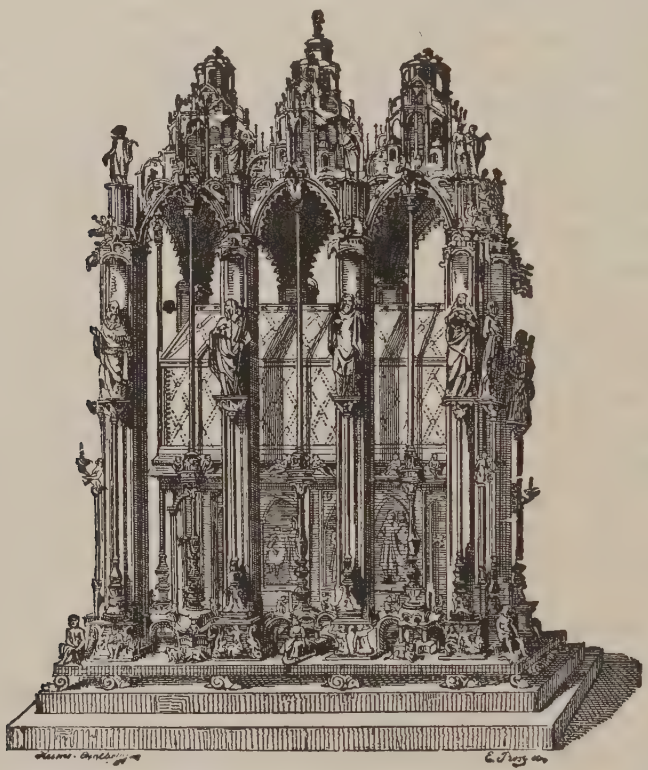

Fig. 538. The Tomb of S. Sebald. By Peter Vischer and his sons. In the Church of S. Sebald, Nuremberg.

Bamberg Cathedral, completed in 1506, and conforming in its general conception to the older style.

The famous masterpiece of Vischer, the Tomb of S. Sebald, in the church of that saint at Nuremberg, executed by the master and his five sons (from 1508 to 1519), marks a decided turning-point in his artistic career. A sketch of its plan had been made as early as 1488, by his hand, as it appears, though it has been groundlessly ascribed to Veit Stoss. According to that, the monument was to have been a slender structure in the conventional Gothic manner, tapering

to three pyramidal points. If it were true, as has been asserted without the slightest grounds, that only economical reasons defeated the execution of this project, favoring thereby the present design, we should certainly regard this as a most fortunate circumstance, since to it, next to the matured and fully developed artistic spirit of the artist, we are indebted for a work which stands alone, differing from all others, while the original project, if carried out, would have resulted in pure commonplace. The very conception of the work exhibits the master in all his freedom and originality of thought. The sarcophagus, which is of an earlier period, rests upon a base, the sides

Fig. 539. Relief from the Tomb of S. Sebald. The Saint Warms Himself at a Fire Made of Icicles.

of which are decorated with representations, in relief, from the life of the saint. This central feature of the tomb is inclosed within a graceful structure, rising with eight slenderly soaring piers, and crowned by three rich canopies. While this last feature is freely modeled upon the plan of the monuments of the thirteenth century, where such crowning canopies are usual, the design of the whole edifice is in the light, slender style of the Gothic; and the construction, in its details, suggests the daintiest beauty of the Renaissance (Fig. 538). These varying elements, however, are interblended after so intelligent, free, and spirited a fashion, that in this regard alone the work is worthy of the highest admiration. But the versatility of the

master's genius is more splendidly exemplified in the singularly opulent plastic decoration with which he has invested the tomb from top to bottom.

The reliefs on the sides of the basement under the shrine (compare Fig. 539) are treated with a simplicity enlivened by a charming grace and *naïveté,* and are unequaled in the North—one might almost say in Italy—in their accurate conception of the rilievo style. The broad platform supporting the shrine rests—a happy idea of the artist—

S. Matthias. S. Bartholomew.

Fig. 540. Figures from the Tomb of S. Sebald.

upon twelve gigantic snails, who carry it upon the backs of their strong shells; while the richly ornate base resting upon the platform exhibits a multitude of admirably executed little figures—lions, couchant, all manner of mythological and fabulous creatures, nymphs and genii, antique heroes, Old Testament worthies, and the allegorical forms of the cardinal virtues. The surbase immediately beneath the shrine, the curved galleries above, and every available corner

of the structure, are likewise peopled with countless tiny beings. There are sconces for lights at the four corners, in the shape of the fabled mermaidens, which, like everything else on the monument, exhibit a perfect grace and lightness in conception and execution.

In small niches upon the finely wrought piers stand the figures of the apostles, in the design of which the master has reached the highest freedom and grandeur of style. In the noble flow of the drapery we see traces of the idealism of the fourteenth century, though in a purified and exalted fashion, and joined with a classic simplicity and refinement of feeling, and with a complete knowledge of the human form, which lend a lofty beauty to the marked individuality of the figures, such as is equaled only by Lorenzo Ghiberti (compare Fig. 540). At one end of the base the artist has delineated the unpretending but dignified figure of S. Sebald; and at the other he appears himself in his everyday dress as a workman, with his cap and leather apron (Fig. 541). The piers do not run into finials as in Gothic architecture, but are crowned with twelve statues of prophets; while upon the middle baldachin —the culminating point of the entire structure—stands the Christ-Child, holding the globe. And thus the master has succeeded in blending the mediæval cycle of deep thought and idealism on the one side, and the aspiration of his own era toward a method which is more true to nature on the other, with the grace of antique forms and ideas; so that he produces a charmingly harmonious whole.

Fig. 541. Peter Vischer. From his Tomb of S. Sebald.

Vischer identifies himself still more emphatically in his later works with the tendency toward the antique, which had already spread far beyond the borders of Italy, diffusing itself in countless artistic influences of all kinds; though he stands apart among those rare spirits, who, however much they may borrow here and there, yield up no whit of their own originality, or of the *naïveté* and vital energy of their native art. He was just enough akin in soul to that art to have saved himself, from the very beginning of his artistic life, from

the eccentricity, the fantastic caprices, and the often clumsy singularities of his German contemporaries. One of his most finished works is his splendid relief upon the Tucher Monument in the Cathedral at Regensburg (Ratisbon in Bavaria), dating from the year 1521—Christ comforting the mourning sisters of Lazarus—pathetic in its truthful simplicity, full of expressive intensity, and of fine, distinct grouping; less studied in the style of its rilievo than Ghiberti, though nearly as noble and free in every other way. A relief of the Coronation of the Virgin, dating from the same year, set up on a nave pillar of the Cathedral of Erfurth, and repeated in the Palace Chapel at Wittenberg, is not less remarkable for noble sentiment and ideal beauty. Besides these, two tombs among the master's last works are worthy of mention: that of Cardinal Albert of Brandenburg, in the Collegiate Church at Aschaffenburg, prepared while this prince was yet alive, in 1525; and the Monument to Frederic the Wise, Elector of Saxony, in the Palace Chapel at Wittenberg, executed in 1527, especially fine and masterly in its finished execution. Minor works alone are left to show this master's treatment of the antique. Thus, a statuette of Apollo, at Nuremberg, spirited and vigorous, though somewhat hard in its modeling; a rilievo of Orpheus and Eurydice in the Berlin Museum, of which there is a free replica in the possession of Mr. Dreifuss in Paris, and another in the Monastery of S. Paul in Carinthia. Furthermore, two inkstands with a graceful nude female figure, formerly the property of Mr. Fortnum, in London, are specimens of his original way of handling such subjects. Of the highest significance in this respect, however, was a bronze gate, originally made for a tomb of the Fuggers in Augsburg, and then fitted for the assembly room of the city hall in Nuremberg, in which the master has given proof of his thorough understanding of the Italian Renaissance, probably through studies of his son Hermann. Demolished by the Bavarian government in the beginning of the nineteenth century and disposed of for the mere value of the metal, this incomparable work has disappeared without leaving a vestige.

Besides these works of undoubted authenticity there are a few others to be added to the list, which undoubtedly originated in the studio of this master, but do not bear the stamp of his hand quite so unmistakably, betraying at times a certain inequality of treatment. Among these are the Tombs of the Counts of Henneberg in the Church at Römhild, near Meiningen; the one of Count Otto IV., executed after 1480, being, perhaps, a juvenile production of the artist; while that of Hermann VIII. and his consort Elizabeth, finished after 1507, exhibits Vischer's characteristics very prominently in the principal figures, and should undoubtedly be ascribed to him.

There is also the double Tomb of the Electors John Cicero and Joachim in the Cathedral at Berlin, bearing the date 1530 and the name Johann Vischer; but the older portion cannot be considered the production of the great master. Finally, we may mention the tablet representing the Entombment of Christ, in the Church of S. Ægidius at Nuremberg (1522), some portions of which are very beautiful; while the design, as well as the execution, of the incomparably beautiful body of Christ, foreshortened in flat rilievo, betrays the master's own hand. Johann Vischer, above alluded to, executed in 1530 the noble bronze relief of a S. Mary preserved in the Foundation Church at Aschaffenburg. But the fine Tomb of the Elector John in the Palace Chapel at Wittenberg (1534) must be assigned to another son, Hermann Vischer the younger. The treatment of drapery in this work is no longer quite free from mannerism; and this tendency appears still more strongly in the Tomb of Bishop Sigismund of Lindenau (died 1544), in the Cathedral at Merseburg—the work of the same artist, according to the monogram it bears. Besides, we know of Hermann that he had been in Italy, and had brought thence a number of designs; so that from this side as well came a direct familiarity with the art of the South. The Tomb of Count Eitel Friedrich of Zollern and his consort Magdalena of Brandenburg in the Town Church at Hechingen (1570) seems to point to Peter Vischer as its artist. It is nearly allied to the later Tomb at Römhild, and quite its equal in beauty and freedom of treatment. It is impossible to decide at present as to whether the contemporaneous Monument of Cardinal Frederic in the Cathedral of Cracow was a production of the Vischer workshop.

However, there can hardly be a doubt that the two colossal bronze figures of King Arthur of England and Theodoric the Goth, forming part of the Monument of the Emperor Maximilian, in the Church of S. Francis at Innsbrück, are the work of Peter Vischer's hand. This tomb, embracing one of the most extensive and magnificent collections of associated sculpture in the world, was begun in 1508 in pursuance of an idea of the art-loving emperor, and under the direction of his court painter, Gilg Sesslschreiber of Augsburg. The twenty-eight colossal bronze statues of the ancestors of the imperial house and of half-legendary mediæval heroes which surround in formal rows the monument proper, were the first to be begun. The noblest of these are the statues of Arthur and Theodoric, executed in 1513. Their superb bearing, delicate proportions, and perfect execution (the last applying especially to Arthur), prove them the work of Peter Vischer's hand. Besides these, the greater number of the female figures are remarkable for graceful pose and richly figured and softly

flowing drapery. Of these, according to Schönherr's investigations, the nobly simple Eleanora, Cimburgis, Cunigunde, and Mary of Burgundy are attributed to Gilg; and among the male statues he executed King Philip, Duke Ernest, Theodobertus, King Rudolph, and the kneeling figure of the Emperor Maximilian, which was recast at a later period; and the same artist prepared, besides, the models for the figures of Duke Charles and Philip of Burgundy. These works all belong to the most admirable of the series; while the other figures, and especially the statues of knights, generally less successful in treatment—some being clumsily thick-set, some insipid or too fantastic, but all in wonderfully rich costumes—were executed by other hands, after the gifted but too frivolous artist had been discharged in 1518. Steffen and Melchior Godl, as well as Gregor Loffler, are particularly mentioned as the casters of these figures. The last-named cast in 1549 the statue of Chlodwig, modeled by Christoph Amberger. On account of the vastness of the work, it made but slow progress, and was not completed before the second half of the century; for in addition to all the rest, there were twenty-three bronze images of the patron saints of the House of Austria, each about two feet high, intended at first to be a part of the monument, but now separate from it, and ranged in the so-called Silver Chapel of the Church. These, too, though without any special delicacy of conception, were skillful, lifelike productions. The whole work was brought to a close with the superb marble cenotaph, upon which kneels the noble and spiritual bronze statue of the emperor in prayer. This, as well as the statues of the four cardinal virtues which surround the emperor, finely treated in a style inclining to the antique, was designed by Alexander Colin of Mechlin, and cast by Hans Lendenstrauch of Munich (1572). The emperor's statue was soon after recast (in 1582) by an Italian—Lodovico Scalza, called Del Duca. Colin finally executed twenty of the marble reliefs which cover the monument, the first four of which are from the hand of Gregory and Peter Abel of Cologne. These productions, setting forth heroic deeds and famous events in the emperor's life, are composed, according to the ideas of the time, in a purely picturesque style, with crowded grouping. Nevertheless, they are pleasing on account of their elegant and dainty miniature-like execution, as well as because of many fresh, lifelike traits, and the brilliant technical excellence of the carving. As a whole, this colossal monument is unique of its kind.

The Tombs of the Saxon Princes in the choir of Freiberg Cathedral form a grand monument of the sculpture of this period. They begin with Henry the Pious (died 1541), and contain, in a setting

of the rich marble architecture of the Renaissance, six gilded bronze statues of princes and princesses, as well as the figures of Charity and Justice—vigorous productions, of highly spirited and original conception, though inclining, even here, to the prevailing ideal style. Thus, in the later decades of the century, there appeared in the department of bronze work the forerunners and heralds of that revolution which we have indicated above as a turning-point in the history of German sculpture, and the description of whose monuments will be reserved for the following chapter.

The goldsmith craft of the times is represented mainly by two masters, whose creations rise to the level of high art: Wenzel Jamnitzer of Nuremberg, known particularly through the magnificent Merkel table service recently acquired by Baron Rothschild in Frankfort, and pieces in public collections in Dresden and Vienna; and Anton Eisenhoidt of Warburg, who was only lately rescued from oblivion.* Of the latter's work, Count Fürstenberg at Castle Herdringen in Westphalia owns the entire sumptuous furnishing of a chapel, executed by the master from 1588, by order of Theodor von Fürstenberg, prince-bishop of Paderborn. These works bear testimony to a high artistic skill and a complete mastery over the forms of the Italian art of that period, which the artist, who was also active as an engraver on copper, had acquired during a sojourn in Rome, without entirely turning, on that account, from native traditions.

B.—IN FRANCE.†

The sculpture of the fifteenth century is still closely connected with the architecture of the time. This late Gothic architecture has been touched upon in Chapter IV. of the Third Book (2, B). The porches of cathedrals were not as uniformly adorned with statues, nor was there such a superabundance of small statuettes in niches on the curve of the arch, nor so elaborate and rich a system of sculpture in relief on the tympanums; but the figure sculpture which we have of this time is singularly vigorous and in a way realistic. Thus, the essential characteristic of Gothic figure sculpture—its significance of gesture and pose; the way in which drapery and costume, although enjoyed, are made subordinate to the telling action of the body which

* Compare J. Lessing, "Die Silberarbeiten von A. Eisenhoit"; folio, Berlin, 1880.

† Gonse, Louis, La Sculpture française depuis le xiv. siècle, 1895. Koechlin, Raymond, et Marquet de Vasselot, J. J., La Sculpture à Troyes et dans la Champagne méridionale au 16e siècle, 1900. Tremblaye, M. de la; Solesmes, Les Sculptures de l'Eglise abbatiale, 1496-1553, 1892. Vitry, Paul, Michel Colombe et la Sculpture française de son temps, 1901.

they conceal and modify—increases rather than diminishes. At the very epoch, 1420 to 1480, during which Italian sculpture was becoming more and more classic in its guiding spirit, the sculpture of the North was tending in a different direction, and this partly under the influence of Flemish art; for although the artistic workmen of France were numerous and excellent at this time, there seems to have been room for the employment of many sculptors coming in from provinces which were then, and from some which still are, outside of the domain of France. This influence lasted through the sixteenth century, and it was during the years from 1520 to 1560 that there was

Fig. 542. Reliefs in Cathedral at Amiens.

the most strenuous conflict between the influences coming from Italy on the south and the old and still mediæval artistic spirit of the northern provinces.

The growth of fine art in France at this time cannot be understood at all unless it is constantly kept in mind that the classical Renaissance in Italy was exactly contemporaneous with the great development of florid Gothic in the North. Thus, the well-known porch of S. Maclou at Rouen is of the same date (1470) as the front of the Church

of the Certosa near Pavia; the Hôtel de Cluny at Paris is of the same date (1490) as the severe Renaissance front of S. Zaccaria at Venice. The Church of Brou at Bourg-en-Bresse, with its extraordinary elaboration of Gothic form run wild, as it seems, until its intricate system is grasped, is contemporaneous (from 1511 to 1515) with the very simple and altogether classically meant Church of S. Biagio at Montepulciano. The sculpture is of an equally surprising difference in character when equal dates are put side by side. The statues which adorn the west front of S. Wulfran at Abbeville are of about 1490, and they are as absolutely non-classical as statues of a time two hundred years earlier; whereas in 1490 Donatello had been dead twenty-four years, Mino da Fiesole had been dead four years, a lull had come, the great men of the Renaissance were gone, and the workmen of the second race, Michelangelo and Jacopo Sansovino, were vigorously inaugurating the style of the cinquecento.

In 1490 was begun the chapel of S. Blaise, on the edge of the terrace of the great Château of Amboise. This is the chapel which is generally called that of S. Hubert, because of the sculpture representing the miracle of S. Hubert which crowns the door of entrance. There is no doubt that this sculpture was completed before 1495. There are three human figures besides the two angels, the miraculous stag, the horse and four hounds—and all these combined with a singularly effective background of trees, with a charming little vaulted building standing for the hermit's cell. This is mediæval simply in the absence of the classical influence. The story is told in the most vigorous manner, and the costume of the epoch is treated with realism and with perfect success. The carved screens of S. Maclou at Rouen, with the delicate little figures accompanying the elaborate tracery, as if the architectural forms in their fanciful richness had become infused with a life beyond their own, are a little earlier than the Amboise piece. The carved oak stalls of Amiens Cathedral, with their thousands of little figures combined in exquisite groups, are known to have been begun in 1508; and these have retained, of Gothic art, the controlling principle of design, unmatched in any other school of art, by which figures in vigorous action are combined into harmonious designs; while they add to this so much realism as consists in the old care for pose, action, and the accessories of dress and arms. Between 1500 and 1510 Michel Colombe carved the bas-relief of S. George, which was brought from the ruined Château of Gaillon to Paris, and is now in the Louvre. This is as Gothic and as purely Northern in the character of the figures and their action as are the pieces named above. The great tomb of Francis II. of Brittany and his wife in the Cathedral of Nantes has

the recumbent effigy, the four renowned figures of embodied virtues, and the smaller figures in the niches all by the hand or from the models of Michel Colombe; and these are of the Northern French and semi-Flemish type, although adorning an architectural structure of almost complete neo-classic design, and composed of colored marbles in the South Italian way, and white and ornamental adjuncts in red, green, and black marble. This peculiarity of classic form given to the small monument, altar tomb, or door-piece, while the sculpture remains Northern in spirit, is common at this epoch in France, in Flanders, and in Germany, and points distinctly to the importation by ship of the massive marble-worked block or more elaborate stonework which composes the base, while the statuary was still kept in the hands of the French or Flemish sculptors of the day. As early as 1475, but in the very Southern church of S. Lazare at Marseilles, there is a monument in which the body of the altar tomb is absolutely that of an Italian altar of the developed Renaissance, while the recumbent statue is Gothic in all its characteristics, and in 1506 the tomb of the children of Charles VIII. was put up in the ancient Church of S. Martin of Tours (since removed to the Cathedral); and here the whole body of the tomb is studied from an Italian jewel casket, all architectural form being abandoned, the large hollow curves utilized to afford a perfectly natural place for winged nude boy angels and scrollwork of ultramontane type, while the recumbent figures and the angels at their heads and feet are Northern in every essential peculiarity. The sculpture in the south transept in the little conventual church of Solesmes, thirty-five miles southwest of Le Mans, is of the latest years of the fifteenth century. It is wholly separate from the church, but has an elaborate architectural setting of its own; the exquisite Renaissance pilasters being dated 1496. The pose of the figures, the facial expression, the heavy and rich stuffs used in the costume are all as mediæval as the general scheme of the monument—a wall tomb two stories high and elaborately adorned with florid tracery. Apparently of the same date is the statue of S. Peter in the same church, a piece which has lost its connection with the combined display of architecture and sculpture in the south transept, but is still evidently of the same class of work. The tombs of the Church of Brou are commonly said to date back to 1505 or thereabout, and if we give them the more probable date of 1512 or 1513, their astonishingly firm retention of the Gothic type of sculpture becomes even more notable. The great altar tomb of the Duke Philibert of Savoy stands in the middle of the choir, and the recumbent statue is a perfect embodiment of all the spirit of mediæval figure sculpture. The tombs of the Duchesses

Margaret of Bourbon and Margaret of Austria are set against the wall, one on either side; and these, though little later in date, are of the same general style. In all there exists the perfect combination, familiar to us by this time, of the most elaborate lacework of Gothic tracery and the most delicately and sparingly used floral sculpture, united to figure sculpture of the boldest and most realistic character, as non-classical as fine and masterly sculpture can be. The same is true of the retable dedicated to the Seven Joys of Mary, which is of the same date as the earliest tombs.

In 1523, Ligier Richier, born 1500, put up the retable at Haton-Châtel, southeast of Verdun (Meuse), in which three compartments of very bold architecture of the complete classical Renaissance are filled by the most vigorous groups of statuary; representing, on the left, Christ Bearing his Cross, with S. Veronica; in the center, the Crucifixion; on the right, the Entombment. A few years later, in the Church of the Dominican Friars at Nancy, in Lorraine, the same artist completed the admirable recumbent statue of Philip, Duke of Gueldres. About 1535 was completed the wonderful entombment of Christ in the Church of S. Étienne at S. Michel, close to Haton-Châtel, and due south of Verdun (Meuse). This piece would of itself assert the claim of its creator to a very high place among the Renaissance sculptors of Europe. The Burial of Christ, in the Church of Notre Dame at Le Grand Andely, in Normandy, is of the same epoch; but the handling of the nude parts expresses a greater familiarity with Italian design on the part of its sculptor. In the north transept of the Solesmes Church (see above) are several important groups which are partly in the style of Ligier Richier, and which have been assigned to Jehan Texier, Charlot, Courtois, and others, and even to Germain Pilon. They are of a style less "Italianate" than his; and if of about 1530, as usually stated, are the most remarkable instance of the lingering French and Flemish spirit in sculpture. The groupings are: on the east wall of the transept, above an altar, the Fainting of the Virgin, with ten figures, and above it an extraordinary allegorical composition combining free statuary with alto-rilievo and bas-relief; on the north wall, the Burial of the Virgin below, and above, the half-length portrait statues of four ecclesiastical personages, and above these again the Assumption of the Virgin—a triple group, including in all fourteen life-size figures, with two additional statues in niches at the wings.

Finally, a transition in sculpture as well as in architecture becomes visible. The famous double monument of the two cardinals, George I. and George II. d'Amboise, was built between 1515 and 1525, and presents the most curious mixture

of Renaissance details and mediæval arrangement and scheme of design; while the only one of the two portrait statues which is of this date is itself a transitional work, and the alto-rilievo of S. George and the Dragon in the background is nearly as mediæval as the one by Michel Colombe mentioned above. The Tomb of Louis de Brézé, erected after 1531, retains even at that late date some of the same transitional character. The structure is a wall tomb three stories high; and at its foot, on a sarcophagus which projects from the wall surface, the nude body is shown in a not entirely composed attitude, but rather as if death had come suddenly with suffering or at least agitation. At the head kneels his widow, Diane de Poitiers, a life-size statue of white stone (alabaster); at the foot stands the Madonna holding the Divine Child; while on the wall above are panels bearing the long inscription in Gothic letters. The second story includes two advanced masses (*ressauts*), each supported by two caryatids of classical design, and even of an Italian school as late as the epoch would seem to require—pieces undoubtedly brought from Italy as they are, in their completed state. But between them is the armed and mounted knight, with all the details of the harness and of the barding of the horse rendered with minute care, and even the armorial bearings carefully worked. Above this is an entirely classical frieze of alabaster, forming part of the great entablature; and above this, again, is a separate structure, framing and inclosing the symbolic figure of Prudence. The whole is marked by this peculiarity, that the ideal subjects are treated in the Italian or neo-classic manner, while the statues that approach portraiture are nearly as realistic as they would have been fifty years before. Of about the same date is the Monument of Louis XII. and his Queen, Anne of Brittany, which stands in the basilica of S. Denis, near Paris on the north; and the statues here are admitted to be the work of Jean Juste and his brothers. The men of this family, though always spoken of as sculptors of Tours, were probably of Italian origin; and if so, it seems surprising that the portrait statues should be so little classical in their character. It seems established that they came at an early age from Florence into France. This is the first of the great tombs in which the kneeling and draped figures above—protrait statues of the men and women as they were seen by their contemporaries—are repeated, as it were, by the nude bodies laid upon the bier below, and partly shadowed by the roof-like canopy upon which the kneeling statues are placed, and by the piers which support it, but still plainly visible. The idea was repeated in the altar tombs of Francis I. and Henry II. We are brought back, however, to the mediæval style of composition, and even to the mediæval treatment of single figures, by

certain works executed after the accession of Francis I., or during the epoch generally considered that of the triumphant classical Renaissance in France. The sculptures on the blind wall of the Hôtel Bourgtheroulde at Rouen include even a representation of the meeting of the kings at the famous Field of the Cloth of Gold (1520); and these are more like a miniature of the fifteenth century than they are like anything that ever came from Italy into France. The famous choir screen of the Cathedral of Chartres, with its magnificent free statues under florid Gothic canopies, dates from the same epoch in all its essential parts. These, however, are but exceptions in an age which had already become finally committed to the classical revival. The oak doors of the south transept of Beauvais Cathedral are of the reign of Francis I., and may be dated 1535; and these are entirely neo-classic in taste, both the architectural forms and the treatment and arrangement of the sculpture absolutely of the Renaissance. The tomb of Francis I., erected immediately after his death in 1547, shows an entirely Italian framework, with Ionic columns flanking round arches, according to the strictest method of the "Roman order"; and the statues above them—the drapery as well—characteristically studied from life, are modeled and disposed according to the Italian standard of work in such things. It is only the small bas-relief representing the Battle of Marignano which is mediæval in its treatment. The splendid marble urn carved to receive the heart of Francis I. is entirely neo-classic in style, though the work of the Frenchman named Pierre Bontemps.

The Fountain of the Innocents in Paris has gone through many changes; but the famous bas-reliefs by Jean Goujon are what interest the student the most, and these are of the years from 1547 to 1549. They are nymphs, or at least draped girls, of delicate sculpture and holding water-pots. The drapery is an elaborate study of the Greek chiton and upper garment, but modified in the way it is put on, and also in the way it is adorned by little affectations of delicate sewing, in a way which marks a certain independence in the sculptor, who had retained his decorative sense from an earlier epoch. His famous Diana, in the Louvre, is a goddess seated beside a stag and accompanied by her hounds; but this, in pose, and even in the modeling of the parts of the body, is far from being a careful study of classical conventions. Goujon's caryatid figures, in one of the great halls on the ground floor of the Louvre, are more nearly Italian in their taste; having something of that innovating spirit which the Italians of a hundred years earlier were showing in their time, but still on the whole inspired by the Roman work of the time of their execution. The famous semi-recumbent statue of Admiral Chabot, in the Louvre, and

the very similar one completing the Tomb of Langey du Bellay, in the Cathedral of Le Mans, cannot be absolutely identified with any sculptor, but they are admirable semi-classic works of this same transitional period. In the bronze statue of Henry II., placed upon his tomb at Saint-Denis—the work of Germain Pilon—we have the note of the transition. It is accompanied by a similar inlaid bronze figure of his Queen, and by four decorative statues of personified virtues; and the whole structure dates from 1560 and the following years. These are in a singular way the beginning of the sculpture of our own time. We shall have occasion to see that this art went off into a certain mannerism during the seventeenth, and still more during the eighteenth century; but when the most worthy and important pieces of the nineteenth century are compared with these bronze statues in Saint-Denis, a very close affiliation is seen between them at once. It is a little too much the custom to ascribe the inspiration of nineteenth-century French sculpture to the Italian Renaissance; and it is well to look nearer home, and to find at least some part of the strength of the latest revival in study of French work just three hundred years earlier, instead of the Italian, a century older still.

C.—IN THE NETHERLANDS.*

In the Netherlands the varied and expressive figure sculpture which was closely connected with the late Gothic style continued through the earlier years of the fifteenth century, and so passed into our present epoch without important change. Here also, as in France, there was a certain pause in the amount of the art product during those years which we identify with the most rapid growth of classical art south of the Alps. During these years, 1420 to 1480, the extremely unsettled state of the neighboring realm, the subjects of the King of France, and the constant wars caused by the invasion of the English king and by struggles of the states to throw off such principal or feudal control as was asserted with regard to them, prevented an active development of the art; but here, as in France, a magnificent development of rich architectural decoration combined with sculpture is found to be nearly contemporaneous with the beginning of the sixteenth century. Thus at Dixmude is a carved choir screen in the parish church, a piece of superb lacework of stone, combined with bronze balusters and adorned by statues of about half life size wrought in marble, and combining perfectly with the architectural framework. As this work is nearly contemporaneous with the won-

* Van Ysendyck, Jules Jacques. Documents classés de l'art dans les Pays-bas du 10e au 18e siècle-recueillis et reproduits. Antwerp, 1880.

derful porches of Saint-Riquier, and of the transepts of Beauvais, so its architectural character nearly corresponds with them, and its sculpture is of the same class and spirit. As a curious contrast to this is the admirable monument of alabaster in the church at Enghein, of which the known date is 1521. This is as purely neo-classic in the spirit of the Spanish modification of the Italian Renaissance as the sculptures last named above are Gothic in character, however modified. The tomb is an important historical monument as recalling the Spanish control at that epoch of the Catholic Netherlands which are now included in Belgium. It commemorates an archbishop of Toledo of Flemish descent. At the same epoch there was erected in Ghent so much of the Hôtel de Ville as retains its partly mediæval character; and this, again, had admirable sculptures, which, however, have been largely restored. In Audenarde the Hôtel de Ville, entirely in the florid Gothic style, was begun in 1525, and finished within a very few years. Here, although the figure sculpture is in entire harmony with the tracery and the floral sculpture, which is abundant though not elaborate, the figures are all of bronze, now perfectly harmonized by time with the weathered stone. In the same building there is a superb chimney of stone, with draped figures, and entirely decorated in polychromy; and doorways, doors, ceilings, and panelings throughout the interior admirably carved in the style of the epoch. Also in Courtrai are two chimneys in the late Gothic Hôtel de Ville, which in itself is not important. These chimneys are covered with statues of half life size; and smaller imaginary portraits personify virtuous Biblical personages, while panels are filled with legend and incident in very high relief. All these are of the years following 1527, and it is only with the similar work in France that they should be compared, on account of their grace and fluency of design. The most superb of all the chimneys of Belgium, however, is the famous chimney in Bruges, in what is now called the Palais de Justice; it is known to have been designed by Launcelot Blondeel, and the sculpture worked by Guyot de Beau Grant, between 1529 and 1531. A cast of this exists in London, and other replicas are in the Trocadéro Palace and elsewhere in Europe, for it is an admittedly supreme work of art. The statues are recognized as portraits of the Emperor Charles V. and his ancestors, Flemish and Spanish. This chimney fills the whole end of a large room, and is a marvel of elaboration, though less perfectly successful as a design than it is in the details of the sculpture. In Hal (or Halle) is one of the most exquisite pieces of cast and chiseled metalwork in Europe, the font of latten and movable cover of the same material signed by "Wilaume de Febvre fondeur à Tournai, l'an Mille CCCCXLVI." (1446).

This piece, although it is so early, and although the purely architectural adornments in the way of niches and parapets in the metal are still florid Gothic in character, has in the drapery of the figures a classical character strongly suggestive of the work of Peter Vischer (see Germany, above). The retable in the Church of S. Martin in the same town is of 1533, and is wrought in alabaster, with circular panels deeply sunken and filled with legendary sculpture in high relief, all relieved by gilding. In Hoogstraten, the tomb of the Count Antoine, in the church of S. Catherine, is dated 1540; and this has the sides of the altar tomb adorned by a Roman order, attached columns alternating with round arches of almost pure Italian style. It can only be considered as a direct importation from Italy, for the later monuments about to be named are still Gothic in character. These are, at Alost, the tabernacle in S. Martin's Church, with crowds of figures exquisitely carved; and in Bruges, in the Church of Notre Dame, the celebrated tombs of Charles the Rash, Duke of Burgundy, and his daughter Mary—of which the first was erected about 1558 by the order of Philip II., in close imitation of that of Mary, which dates from 1495, and was the work of Peter (or John) de Beckere of Brussels. On the other hand, the tomb of John III., Baron of Mérode, in the Church of Gheel, and dated 1554, is entirely Italian in form; the whole scheme exactly that of the sixteenth-century altars of Italian churches, and completely out of the contemporaneous Flemish style. Here, again, the sculptured allegorical figures, which are of half life-size, and the magnificent recumbent statue upon the tomb are still Gothic in character, with that realism of treatment which we have found characteristic of French work of the same epoch. At Antwerp the beautiful gable of the Hôtel de Ville has statues in niches, closely resembling in their style and their disposition those of the admirable front of the Church of S. Nicholas at Munich, although the Flemish examples are dated twenty years earlier, or about 1564. They are ascribed to Corneille de Vriendt, called Floris. By the same versatile and powerful artist is the noble Jubé in the Cathedral of Tournai, a work of 1566, with six round and six square panels filled with legend and Bible story in high relief, and three statues of sacred personages.

The individuality of the sculptor is hard to establish in the case of most of these monuments. Even where it is on record that a certain master was employed upon the tomb or jubé, or even that it was confided to him, it still remains uncertain, in almost every case, how far the general disposition and how far the separate details were his work. We are inevitably reminded of the undetermined relation borne by Phidias to the work upon the Parthenon and other build-

ings of that time; our only information being that he was given charge of them by Pericles. In France, the labors of those recent archæologists whose books are cited have partly cleared up the confusion, and have determined the share which each artist may be considered to have had in the work of these centuries; but in the Low Countries there has been little, except for what is furnished by the brief descriptions of Van Ysendyck.

D.—SPAIN—SCULPTURE; 1450-1580.

The sculpture of Spain remains closely connected with architecture until a very late epoch; nor did there ever grow up there a great school of figure designing in the abstract, for its own sake as art in pure form, and removed from decorative purpose. Immense portals, in which the combined carving of vegetable and animal forms intermingled with scrollwork leads up to figure sculpture, usually on a small scale, adorn the great churches. Thus, in the Church of S. Pablo, Valladolid, the whole west front, between two very plain towers, is incrusted with such elaborate carving; and S. Gregorio, in the same town, is equally remarkable for a façade wholly unlike anything to be found outside of the peninsula. These are of the last few years of the fifteenth century. Of the same time are the two tombs in the Chapel of S. Ildefonso of the Cathedral at Toledo; that of Inigo Lopez Carillo de Mendoza (d. 1491), and of the Archbishop Juan de Contreras; and, in the Chapel of the High Constable (Capella Conestabile), two other tombs of florid Gothic character with noble sculpture. The high altar of the Cathedral at Toledo is famous for its combination of polychromy with rich sculptured decoration. In the same great church, the Tomb of S. Juan de la Penitencia, and the chapel of S. Ildefonso, with a noble classic altar tomb of Alonzo, bishop of Avila, who died 1514, are worthy to be ranked with the wall tombs of Italy of a somewhat earlier period. A niche above the greater arch of the principal story contains an admirable statue of the Madonna. The Hospital de Santa Cruz, also in Toledo, has one of the finest portals in Spain, sculptured richly in and around the tympanum of the great arch; and in the Hospital de Afuera is the Chapel of Cristo de la Luz, which contains the superb Tomb of Cardinal Talavera (1557), said to be by Alonzo Berruguete. The Church of S. Juan de los Reyes, in Toledo, has on the interior wall on either side of the great doorway of entrance, a horizontal band of great heraldic shields alternating with statues of about life size, and forming a decorative feature of extraordinary richness and variety. But this is the essential peculiarity of this Spanish work, its

style of sumptuous adornment, unfamiliar to Northern-bred or too exclusively Italianate students, which on further study proves as tasteful and permanently valuable as they are startling at the first meeting. The pulpit of the same church is of severer style, and of noble design; but the cloisters are adorned with statues of saints whose disposition and arrangement reminds one of the Romanesque cloister of S. Trophime, at Arles, while these are of very florid design. In the Church of S. Tomé is a colored statue of S. Simone;

Fig. 543. Relief. By Alonzo Berruguete at Valladolid.

and at Valladolid, now in the Town Museum, to which it was brought from the Convent of S. Francisco, is a life size painted statue of Christ of great value. These fully painted statues are not to be neglected because of any too hasty association with the very tawdry and trivial statues, draped and crowned, and carried in procession in the nineteenth century. The Spanish painted sculpture of the sixteenth century and following years gives us the best means in Europe of partly judging the effect of the colored statues of the Greeks in antiquity. These pieces, too, are more nearly complete in themselves as free statuary. Other mortuary monuments are the tombs of

King John II. and the Infante Don Alonzo, in the great monastery of Miraflores—the work of Gil de Siloê. At Valladolid, lately in the Convent of S. Pablo, but now removed to the Museum, are the bronze kneeling statues of the Duke and Duchess de Lerna, the work of Pompeo Leoni. So the large alto-reliefs in square panels in the Respaldo, or choir screen of the old Cathedral (Seo) of Zaragoza, are noble sculpture, as well as of decorative value. The font of S. Eugracia, in the same town, has a noble system of three broad niches above the great door, each filled with figure subjects, while a niche crowning the whole is filled by a sculptured crucifix of great beauty. The Church of Santa Cruz, at Coimbra in Portugal, has a great system of statues arranged between the towers—a lingering reminiscence of Gothic church fronts, admirably used in the later style; and the pulpit of the same church is of the most delicate transitional character, with seated statues in niches.

E.—ENGLAND.

The Gothic style in architecture kept its influence much longer in England than on the Continent; but in England, as in France, there was a notable diminution in the amount of figure sculpture in church porches, or galleries of the exterior. Moreover, as there were no buildings of the time, in England, approaching in cost and splendor the cathedrals of Beauvais or Abbeville, so there was no call for such statuary as the ecclesiastical buildings of the time might naturally have had. The French sculptures, as at Solesmes and Andelys, had no equals in England. There are, however, the very fine statues of the interior of Henry VII.'s Chapel, Westminster, which date from 1505 and following years: such as those upon the wall above the modern tombs of Dean Stanley and the Duc de Montpensier.

In tombs, however, much fine work was done. The altar tomb was popular in the island, and the tomb with canopy may be thought even to have had a specially great and interesting development there. The tombs of the fourteenth century were copied, with changed details, or expanded and glorified with the new system of design. Thus there are two important late Gothic tombs in the church at Warwick (Warwickshire), the one of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (d. 1499), with a dignified bronze recumbent statue cast by William Austen—the records giving also as the names of master workmen employed upon the body of the tomb, Thomas Stevyns and John Bourd. As yet no research into the artistic records of England has given us the names of artists with such frequency or certainty that

a workman can be followed from place to place. The brass screen in the middle of Henry VII.'s Chapel at Westminster Abbey is thought to show no foreign influence, but to be traditional Tudor Gothic. The altar tomb within is admitted to have its recumbent statues Italian in their general character, no longer architectural and severe, but the evident work of a school of sculpture much emancipated from restraint by conditions of general decorative effect. These statues are thought to have been the work of Pietro Torrigiano, born in Florence in 1472. The flanks of the tomb are sculptured with six groups of two saintly personages each, in rondels, framed by classic wreaths and alternating with Renaissance pilasters. All the figure sculpture is free and southern in its character, and the drapery is semi-classic. Torrigiano was at work upon the tomb for some time before the death of the King, in 1509, and he was employed upon that work for a number of years later; as also upon the tomb of the Countess of Richmond, mother of the King, whom she survived for a few months.

Of about the same epoch, but of earlier style because in a far-away country, and without even remote foreign influence, are the late Gothic tombs in the churches of the north of England. Little by little these are invaded by the new spirit. The arcaded Gothic tracery of the flanks becomes less important, and the figure sculpture more free from the architectural disposition; as in a tomb of the Cokayne family (given by Gotch) in Ashbourne Church, Derbyshire, the date of which must be about 1480. In Bakewell Church, Derbyshire, is the large altar tomb of Sir George Vernon and his two wives; the three recumbent figures very nobly designed, but the mass of the tomb plain but for escutcheons in panels.

The great wooden screens which in churches divide the choir from the nave, and in public and private halls shelter the interior from the doors of entrance, are very characteristic of English architecture from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century. That which adorns King's College Chapel at Cambridge is a magnificent piece of associated sculpture; its date is assumed as that of the completion of the splendid building itself, 1530. It is a perfect Renaissance design—rather French than Italian in its general character. The sculpture is limited to ornament and heraldic devices, but is free and noble in character. A monument in S. Michael's Church, Coventry, is of 1556; it shows much Italian influence. Of 1578 is the very dignified and simple Tomb of Margaret Douglas, mother of Lord Darnley and grandmother of James I. of England. The draped recumbent figure shows some reminiscence of Gothic design, and the kneeling statues around the tomb are even more completely non-Italian in treatment.

2. *Painting.**

In the North, as in Italy, painting was the favorite art of this epoch, and attained the greatest importance, especially in Germany and the Netherlands. But although the same tendency of the age found expression in this art as in the others, there was a vast difference both in the manner of its manifestation and in the results to which it led. The beginning of modern painting in the North with Hubert van Eyck is so glorious, so untrammeled and magnificent, that the corresponding period in Italy, under Masaccio and Mantegna, cannot be thought to surpass it. The founder of modern painting in the North stands upon as lofty a height as that of any other pioneer genius—a height which he has reached not only by the adaptation and improvement of the ancient discovery of oil painting, and its subsequent perfect and masterly application and employment, but also by his elevation of style, which united the ancient lofty ideal with the youthful freshness of a quickened feeling for nature. He even goes a step in advance of the Italian masters. Without doing violence to the sacred character of a subject—which, on the contrary, he holds to steadfastly—he transplants his figures into the realities of a cheerful life. He releases them from the bondage of the invariable gold background, and in its stead surrounds them with the springtide glories of nature. All of this he accomplishes with a vigor and intensity such as the contemporaneous Italian art hardly attained to. At the same time he never lost sight of any essential features throughout the whole endless variety embraced by his artistic vision, and never permitted himself to degenerate into mere pettiness.

If, with such beginnings, Northern painting never reached the height of development attained by that of Italy; if it afterward did penance for the great genius of Hubert van Eyck, and in some respects retrograded rather than advanced—the reasons for this are very diverse. To begin with, it was of great consequence in this development that painting in the North had long been deprived of the opportunity offered by the extended wall-surfaces, upon which it could have set forth larger cycles of thought, and gained practice in connected historical compositions. To the exclusive culture of the

* Hotho, H. G., "Die Malerschule Hubert's van Eyck." Schnaase, "Niederländische Briefe." Crowe and Cavalcaselle, "The Early Flemish Painters." Waagen, "Ueber Hubert und Jan van Eyck." Michiels, J. A. X., "Histoire de la Peinture Flamande." Schauer, G., "Van Eyck's Altar von Gent." Jubinal, A., "Les anciennes Tapisseries historiées." Kinkel, G., "Die Brüsseler Rathhausbilder" (reprinted in author's "Mosaik zur Kunstgeschichte"). Förster, E. J., "Geschichte der deutschen Kunst"; "Denkmäler der deutscher Baukunst, Bildnerei, und Malerei."

Gothic style, more than to anything else, it is owing that Painting in the North was deprived of opportunities for extensive exercise of her powers, and that the very fountain of her life was dried up. The artists of the time were thrown back upon the painting of illuminations and panel pictures, and were thus deprived more and more of the opportunity to depict life-size figures, and to represent life in its broader phases. What is more, the passion for wood carvings upon the altars, which we have already considered, limited the opportunity of painting even in this narrow field, and confined it almost entirely to the adornment of the wings of the triptychs, or even merely of the outsides of the wings. It therefore follows, that, as a rule, the wood carvings upon these altars possessed more artistic value than the paintings.

It is true that, in such small panel pictures, the art could develop in the direction of delicacy and refinement; the inexhaustible charms of nature could be set forth *con amore;* in Germany the old love for trees and plants and flowers, and blades of grass, and leaves, could find hearty satisfaction, and, where humanity was the theme, could lay most stress upon depth of sentiment, upon what was spiritual and emotional. In all these respects, Northern painting had its undoubted advantages; but it belittled them by losing all taste for broad effects and for what was great and essential, by going into an over-realistic style in the treatment of the least important details, and often degenerating into mere trifling, and all manner of extraordinary pettiness. The figures represented lack naturalness. The faces, to be sure, in their delicate perfection often have an expression of life which is the result of a sharply-marked individuality; but the imperfectly drawn bodies, with their angular movements, cannot properly interpret this spiritual elevation. We must add to this the rich dress of the time, which appears cumbrously heavy because of the prevailing fondness for stiff stuffs—for velvets, silks, brocades, and satins. This produces those hard, angular, involved folds, which were exaggerated to the last degree by the popular bad taste of the day, and the fancy for everything fantastic and overloaded, which made simplicity and even beauty in a high sense impossible.

In no respect had the life of the community in the North, at that time, assumed the noble, liberal proportions which the influence of a cultivated aristocracy, and the splendor of modern princes, had imparted to it in the powerful Italian cities. The wealth of the commercial cities of the North had resulted in an almost barbaric display, which had found its appropriate tasteless expression in the gaudy elaborate, overladen costume of the period. The accomplished grace, the courteous manners, innate in the Italian, and possessed alike by

all classes, were then, as now, unusual at the North; besides which, the Southern races were then, even more than now, superior to the Northern nations in personal beauty. These circumstances were most directly reflected in their works of art. There was a general lack, in the North, of that culture which regarded art as the highest adornment of life. Magistrates and princes attained but seldom to that lofty standpoint which, in Italy, called forth those vast monumental productions on which Italian art was nourished into greatness. It followed, as a matter of course, that the Northern artist was not allowed the independence which he enjoyed in Italy. Albrecht Dürer gives us a most trustworthy evidence of this in writing from Venice to his friend Pirkheimer: "Oh, how I shall freeze up again when I turn my back on this sunshine! Here I am a lord; at home I am a nobody." The mercantile and mechanical way of life of the North, with its narrowness, fettered the artist, and made free progress almost impossible even to the boldest spirits.

It was due to all these causes that Northern painting clung to the standpoint of the fifteenth century, with all its narrowness, degenerated very generally into a mere mechanical dryness, and so put almost insurmountable obstacles in the way of even those great masters who were given to Northern art about the beginning of the following century, even in that of an Albrecht Dürer; so that they expended their best time and strength in combating them, without succeeding in freeing themselves from the thraldom of the narrow tendency of the age. And at this crisis Luther's great revolution swept over the land, and, taking hold of all earnest and thoughtful souls, turned them aside from calm, artistic effort. To gain the highest good of liberty of conscience, the North had to sacrifice, for many years, the fairest gifts of art.

But although painting in the North fell so far behind that of Italy in merit, owing to these manifold causes working both from without and from within, still it possessed its own peculiar merit, which gave it an independent significance in spite of all its formal constraint of manner, and its predisposition to exaggerate things unessential and petty details. Chief among these are the warmth and depth of sentiment which glow even through the imperfect forms; simplicity and truthfulness, united with an inherent singleness of purpose and genuineness. These are qualities which, to be sure, cannot supply the lack of beauty, but which, by their strong moral excellence, may have a strengthening effect, and may atone for much. But, above all, we are impressed with the truly inexhaustible wealth of individuality which appeals to us in the works of Northern painters with a force and versatility such as is not found in those of any other

school or epoch. Besides this, there was the popularizing tendency, which was characteristic of Northern art, and which was especially instrumental in the splendid development of the reproductive arts—engraving on copper and wood engraving. By their means the artists could speak intelligibly to the whole people, and diffuse their ideas far and wide, so that they were received by all and appropriated by all; and thus, by this constant interchange of thought, they were confirmed in the vigorous, popular form of expression which was originally inherent in them. Thus it may be said that Northern art was essentially democratic, whereas the art of the Italians was more aristocratic; and we recognize in this fact an analogy which also holds good in other departments of intellectual life. Especially the German intellect inclines at this period, more strongly than ever before, toward the domain of the fantastic, and in many of its productions, especially the celebrated Dances of Death, and works of that nature, reaches a climax of powerful and effective humor to which no other people has attained—not even the Italian.

A.—THE SCHOOLS OF THE NETHERLANDS.*

Flanders, the great commercial country, was destined to be the birthplace of modern painting in the North. Trade and manufactures of all kinds flourished in its ancient and wealthy cities from an early date, and foreign commercial nations found a market here for the exchange of their products. Moreover, here was a court which was one of the most remarkable of that age for splendor, display, and influence, and which carefully encouraged this new revival in art. It is not improbable that the ancient and long-celebrated school of missal-illuminators on the shores of the Maas bore a prominent part in the development of Flemish painting; while, on the other hand, the sculptures on the tombstones at Tournai had already produced a direct influence in another direction—toward a natural and lifelike conception and treatment of the human figure. And if once the artist's eyes were opened to a realizing sense of his surroundings, the brilliant, rich, and manifold life that reached its height in the Flemish cities could not fail to have a strong influence on the de-

* Conway, Will, "Early Flemish Artists," 1887. Crowe, J. A., "Handbook of Painting: The German, Flemish, and Dutch Schools," based on the "Handbook" of Kugler, 2 parts, 1889. Crowe, J. A., and Cavalcaselle, G. B., "The Early Flemish Painters," 1872. Fromentin, Eugène, "Les Maîtres d'Autrefois," 1896; the final chapter "Belgique" (translated into English as "The Old Masters of Belgium and Holland"). "History of Painting," from the German of the late Alfred Woltmann and Dr. Karl Woermann, 2 vols., 1885. Wauters, A. J., "La Peinture Flamande," Paris. Schnaase, "Geschichte der Bildenden Künste," vol. viii.

velopment of such a tendency. It was not in vain that the artist saw here the representatives of the most diverse commercial nations—Germans, Italians, Slavs and Prussians, Spaniards and Portuguese—engaged in busy traffic in the market-places of Bruges and Ghent. The observation was quickened, and the eye educated, by the endless diversity in physiognomy, bearing, dress, and manners.

A new and decided impulse, under these favoring circumstances, was given to painting by an artist who exerted a more direct influence upon his whole epoch than has almost any other painter, and who carried with him the whole art of painting of his century to new and surprising developments. Hubert van Eyck was born, as far as can be ascertained, somewhere about the year 1366, and probably in the little village of Maaseyck. He seems to have belonged to an ancient family of painters; and not only his brother, but his sister as well, was an artist. Very little, however, is known of the private life of the great master; and we can only be sure of the one fact, that he was engaged during the latter part of his life in executing the masterpiece of his career in Ghent, whereas he probably spent the intermediate portion of his life in Bruges. But there can be no possible uncertainty as to his claims to consideration as the founder of an entirely new school of painting. In the character of his subjects he identified himself with the thoughtful, symbolic art method of the Middle Ages, and he succeeded in enlarging and deepening this method by his own intellectual force; but at the same time he threw himself boldly into the study of actual life. He placed his sacred scenes amid natural surroundings as fresh and beautiful as the springtime, and reproduced with careful accuracy the characteristics of his time and country in the features and apparel of his sacred characters, and in their dwellings and domestic surroundings. For the novel requirements of his art he invented new aids in the preparation and employment of colors. He made marvelous progress in the use of oil as a medium, through which it now became possible to secure a depth and clearness of tone heretofore unknown, and an incomparably delicate gradation of colors. The addition of an excellent varnish aided to give to his coloring a freshness and brilliancy; so that his pictures amazed all his contemporaries by their complete resemblance to reality. Thus, as always, the development of mechanical methods grew out of the increase of intellectual requirements.

The importance of this artist is early indicated in a picture formerly in the Museum of the SS. Trinidad at Madrid, now in the Museum of the Prado. A noble and richly proportioned Gothic building, with arcades and slender turrets, forms the frame and the divisions of the whole, so as to resemble the altar-pieces

of mediæval times. Above, under a light and graceful canopy, God the Father is enthroned, majestic yet mild in look and enveloped in voluminous, flowing, and splendid robes. The Lamb lies upon the steps of the throne. The Virgin is on the right, reading in a book of prayers, in an attitude of meek humility. On the left, the graceful, youthful figure of the Evangelist S. John is in the act of transcribing his Revelation. Lower down, angels of pure and holy mien are play-

Fig. 544. God the Father, the Virgin Mary, and John the Baptist. The three central panels in the upper half of the altar-piece in Ghent, when opened.

ing upon instruments, on a broad terrace; while other angels, looking out from the open arches of the side arcades, are joyously uniting their voices with the notes of the instruments. The water of life flows in a shining stream from the central slender canopy into a fountain, toward which a crowd of the elect are devoutly hastening, the Pope at their head; while, on the other side, the Synagogue, represented by the high priest and his retinue, is turning away with tattered banner, and with despair and horror. The magnificent architectonic

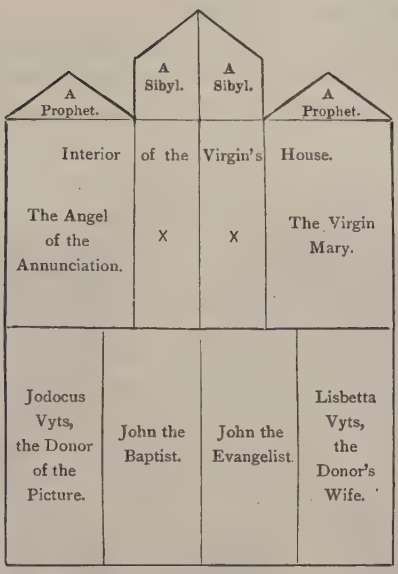

Fig. 545. I.—Disposition of the Subjects on the Outside of the Altar-Piece in Ghent.

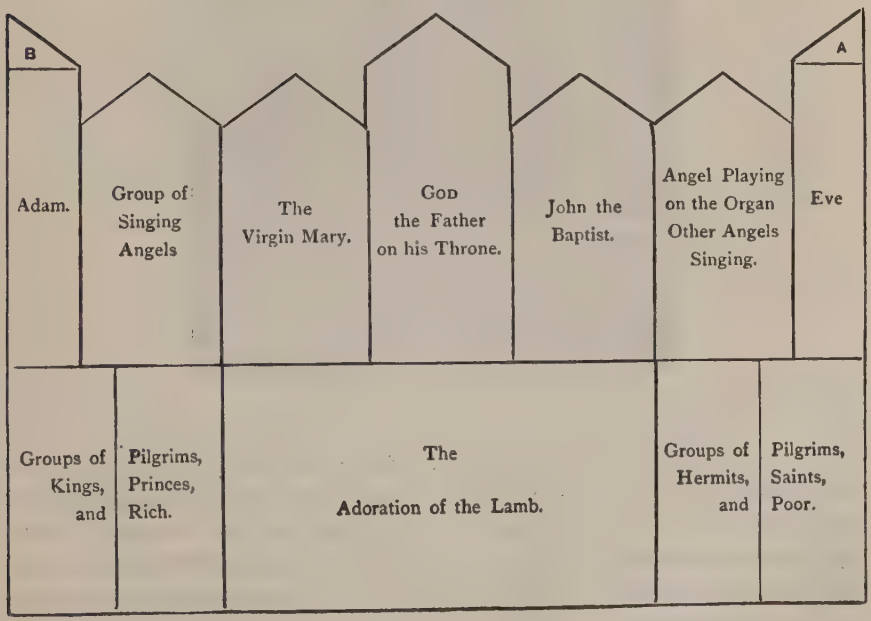

Fig. 545. II.—Disposition of the Subjects on the Inside of the Altar-Piece in Ghent.

arrangement of the whole work, comprehending also, as it does, the most spirited action, justifies the belief that the composition at least is to be ascribed to Hubert van Eyck.

His masterpiece, however, is the celebrated Adoration of the Spotless Lamb, which he painted at the order of the patrician Jodocus Vyts, and his wife Lisbetta, for their burial chapel in the Church of

Fig. 546. Group of Anchorites: the panel next the center, on the right, in the lower half of the Ghent altar-piece, when open.

S. Bavon at Ghent. The whole central framework of the picture, including the principal panels, is still to be seen in its original position; but all the side pieces are at present in the Berlin Museum, except the two which have Adam and Eve on one side and a part of the Annunciation on the other.

When the wings are opened (Fig. 545 II.) the enthroned Creator is seen, crowned with the triple Papal diadem, and bearing a scepter and a globe. He is enveloped in the magnificent folds of a superb crimson mantle, and forms one of the most impressively solemn figures in all the range of Christian art. On either side, in attitudes of adoring reverence, are seated S. John the Baptist and the Madonna (Fig. 544). Next these, upon the wings are angels playing and singing; while upon the outer edges of the panels are Adam and Eve, the

Fig. 547. The Annunciation. The two end panels of the upper half of the altar-piece in Ghent, when closed. [The two panels that separate these (see diagram) are omitted here; though they are interesting as giving an idea of a room in a wealthy citizen's house in Flanders in Van Eyck's time.]

representatives of the human race, praying for aid and salvation. These have been recently removed to the Museum at Brussels. The lower division exhibits the fountain of life, with the Lamb upon a flowery meadow; while detached groups of saints and angels, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and martyrs, are seen devoutly approaching on either side. These are continued on the side wings by an assemblage of hermits and pilgrims (Fig. 546), soldiers of Christ, and just judges, all of whom are wending their way to the healing waters.

Upon the outside, and visible when the shutters are closed (Fig. 545, I.), is the Annunciation (Fig. 547), and also the admirably executed kneeling figures of the donor and his wife, besides those of S. John the Baptist and S. John the Evangelist, painted in chiaroscuro to look like statues.

This grand work was begun in 1420, and it takes the lead in the modern development in painting, just as the building of the dome of the Cathedral of Florence, commenced about the same time, marks the beginning of the revolution in architecture. Hubert is accredited as the true originator of the group of paintings by the contemporary inscription; and, indeed, to no one else could be attributed such depth of thought, added to such wealth of imagination and impressive force of treatment. But the work was completed by his younger brother Jan after the master's death (1426), and brought to an end in 1432. There has been much debate as to the amount of work done by Jan; but finally it has been agreed upon to assign about half of the panels to him. It is certain, however, that only the hand of Hubert can have portrayed the principal figures; for they have a dignity of expression, a majestic and yet softened flow of drapery, a free breadth of treatment, with all their delicacy added to a warmth of coloring in the flesh tints (almost running into a brownish tone), which Jan never attained to in other works which are known to be his by the signature.

Hubert's most eminent pupil was this brother Jan, twenty years his junior, born about 1390, and living until 1440. He seems to have fallen heir to all his brother's renown; so that Hubert was utterly forgotten for a season. Jan was installed in 1425 as court painter for Duke John of Bavaria. Subsequently he won the favor of Philip the Good of Burgundy, who sent him in 1428 to Portugal in order to paint the portrait of the Infanta Isabel, the duke's affianced bride. He develops the style of his brother with greater delicacy in details; goes a step farther in extreme daintiness of finish, preferring the miniature-like mode of treatment, and abjuring figures of very large dimensions. In spite of great sincerity and softness, which made him especially successful in representations of the Virgin enthroned, one misses in him the grand earnestness, the profound thoughtfulness, of his brother; and while he devotes himself to the imitation of nature even in the smallest details, he leads the school which follows him into a method by which a wonderful delicacy in small matters may be attained, but in which freedom in figure-drawing and grandeur of imagination are for a long while together lost sight of.

Of the accredited works of Jan Van Eyck, the earliest is the Consecration of Thomas à Becket as Archbishop of Canterbury (1421), in the gallery of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth, which is

signed, but of which the authenticity has been doubted. The scene lies in the interior of an admirably delineated church of the round-arch style of architecture. Sometimes the Madonna is represented in the midst of quiet domestic scenes; as in the exquisite little picture of the year 1432 at Ince Hall at Liverpool, and in the so-called Ma-

Fig. 548. The Madonna of Lucca. By Jan van Eyck. Frankfurt.

donna of Lucca (Fig. 548) in the Städel Museum at Frankfort; or in the midst of a charming landscape, as in a little picture, erroneously attributed to Hugo van der Goes, in the Belvedere at Vienna. Sometimes, as in the majority of cases, she is enthroned in a magnificent church, as in the picture of the Academy of Bruges (Fig. 549), dated 1420, introducing its donor, the Canon van der Pael; and in the

precious gem preserved in the Dresden Gallery—a triptych, the center of which is occupied by the Virgin and Child in a rich Gothic shrine, while the wings are painted within with St. Catherine and St. Michael presenting the donor, while the outside of both wings is painted with the salutation in monochrome. And again she appears in an open colonnade, as in the magnificent painting in the Louvre at Paris, with the Chancellor Rollin as donor; and also in the fine picture in the possession of the Marquis of Exeter, in London. But

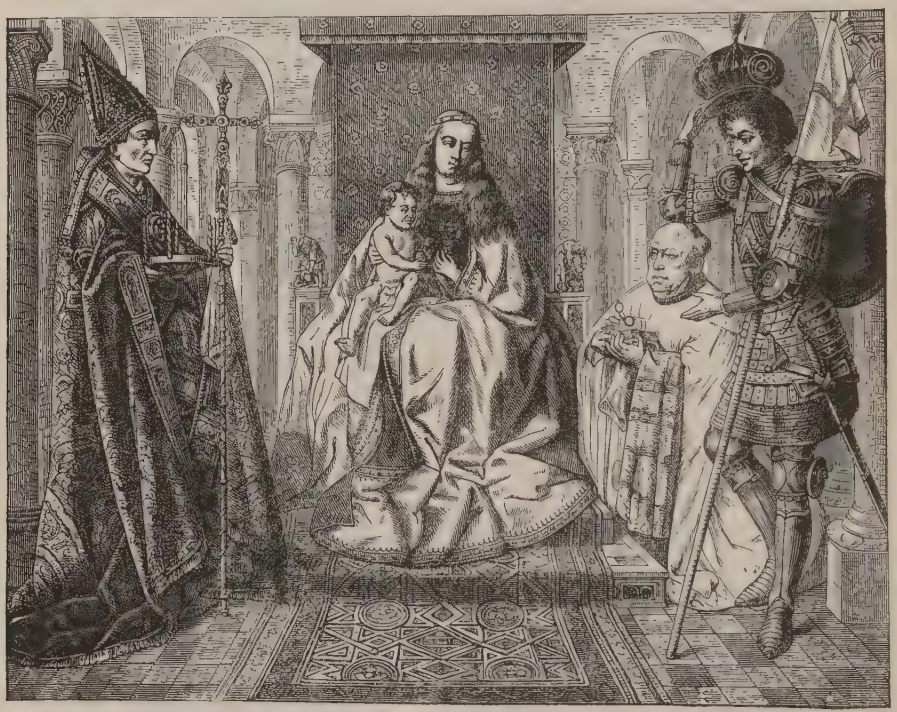

Fig. 549. Altar-Piece of the Canon Van der Pael. By Jan van Eyck. Bruges.

whatever may be her surroundings, we find everywhere the same tender, idyllic traits and poetic sentiment shown in his pictures of this class. Unusually attractive, too, is the unfinished St. Barbara in the Antwerp Museum (1436); only the ground colors having been laid in. A lovely girlish figure is seated upon the ground; while the tower, which is the special symbol of this saint, rises behind her in the form of a strong Gothic structure. The artist has gratified his taste for the portraying of real life by introducing a number of tiny figures and groups in the center, admirably representing the bustling work of mechanics about an unfinished building. In some of his por-

traits, this artist has displayed a wonderful degree of delicacy and sharpness of characterization. This is especially conspicuous in the two fine male portraits painted in 1432 and 1433, and in the unusually beautiful double portrait of a married pair—Jean Arnolfini and Jeanne Chenany by name—dating back to 1434, all of which are in the British National Gallery; also in the strong, lifelike head of the Man with the Pink (called also the Man with the Anthony's Cross), lately transferred from the Suermondt Gallery to the Berlin Museum. The same traits appear in the portrait of an old man (thought to be Jodocus Vyts), and of the Dean Jan van Leeuw, of the year 1436, both in the Belvedere Gallery at Vienna; and, finally, in the portrait of his own wife (1439), in the Academy at Bruges. On the other hand, the head of Christ in the Berlin Museum (1438), and the similar one (1440) in the Academy of Bruges (the latter perhaps only a copy), exhibit a certain lack of expressiveness, which apparently shows us the limits of Jan's talent. The recognition of this master's productions is made particularly easy by the circumstance of his usually having attached his name and the date of its execution to all his pictures—a proof of the growing pride of the individual artist in his work, which stamps Jan as a pioneer of the new age in this respect.

The admirable illuminations in the prayer-book now in the National Library at Paris, painted for the Duke of Bedford, Regent of France, in 1424, bear the impress of the Van Eycks. As the work of three different hands is apparent here, one is inclined to attribute part of the production to Margaretha van Eyck, sister of the two masters, who is also known to have been an artist. The participation of a third brother, Lambert, who is likewise rather indistinctly alluded to, is, on the other hand, more than doubtful. In this connection we should say that the Flemish school, inclining as it did to the most minute daintiness of representation, was frequently engaged upon the illumination of costly books—a kind of art most popular in that splendor-loving epoch. The most important undertaking of this description was the "Breviarium Grimani," preserved in the Library of San Marco in Venice, adorned with over a hundred pictures, one sometimes filling up a whole page. The final influence of the Van Eyck school as it was in the beginning of the sixteenth century is recognized in these productions. The masters by whom they were executed were, perhaps, Mabuse (whose name has been mentioned), Lievin de Witte, and Gerhard Horenbout, a famous illuminator of that day. Other valuable works of this class may be seen in the Imperial Museum at Vienna, in the National Museum at Munich, and in the Libraries at Berlin, The Hague, and elsewhere.

The style originated by the Van Eycks exercised an irresistible influence upon all their contemporaries; and in Flanders a great number of artists followed in their path, of whom, however, too little is certainly known to enable us to refer accurately to any particular artist. We will select only a few undoubted or fairly supposable facts.* There is a Madonna, with the date 1447 (formerly read incorrectly 1417), in the possession of the Städel collection at Frankfort, painted by Peter Cristus (formerly called Peter

Fig. 550. Annunciation. By P. Cristus. Berlin Museum.

Christophsen); and in the Berlin Museum are two panels by the same artist (1452), with the Annunciation, the Adoration of the Magi, and the Last Judgment, remarkable for splendor of coloring (Fig. 550). Like this artist, Gerhard van der Meere, who has an altarpiece with the Crucifixion in the Church of S. Bavon at Ghent, seems to have been a pupil of Hubert. We may also add the name of Justus of Ghent, whose Last Supper, in the Church of Sant' Agata at Urbino, is considered his masterpiece. Also the highly esteemed artist, Hugo van der Goes, ascribed to whom is a Nativity formerly in Santa Maria Nuova at Florence, now in the Uffizi; a double por-

*W. H. J. Weale, in his catalogue of the collections of the Bruges Academy, and in his periodical *Le Beffroi* (Bruges, 1863-76), has given important facts as to the masters of this school.

trait in the same gallery; and a Madonna and Child, which is more likely to be authentic than either of the above, has also a S. John (said to date from 1472), in the Pinakothek at Munich.

Rogier van der Weyden (about 1400 to 1464) is more original in his work than any of the preceding. Indeed, he was the most famous and important among the followers of Van Eyck. Born in Tournai, he became the pupil of an otherwise unknown master in that place in 1426, and was received as a master in the guild of painters in 1432. He was nominated painter for the city of Brussels in 1436, and painted four pictures, by the order of the town, for the hall of the Council House, having for his subject the Administration of Justice by the Emperor Trajan and the Burgundian Count Erkenbald—pictures which were destroyed by fire, with the building, at the time of the French siege in 1695. About the middle of the century, Rogier spent a long time in Italy, where he was detained by numerous commissions, especially at the court of Ferrara. He surpasses even Jan van Eyck in the realistic faithfulness and exactness of his representations, and in minuteness of delineation; but the sharpness of his figure drawing amounts to harshness and angularity. In spite of this, he notably enlarges the sphere of his art by his treatment of the most varied scenes of sacred story, in which he produces altogether new effects by the depth and strength of his expression. Though his figures are apt to be hard, angular, and emaciated, his faces have great power and intensity; the coloring being somewhat lighter and more subdued than with the other masters.

One of his most celebrated pictures was the one erroneously called the traveling altar-piece of Charles V., lately bought by the Berlin Museum. It is known that this picture was executed before 1445, because in that year King John II. presented it to the Carthusian Monastery at Miraflores. The centerpiece shows the dead body of Christ on the knees of his sorrowing Mother, while the side panels represent the Nativity and the Resurrection—all three scenes enframed in richly decorated architectural surroundings. A work of the same character, also in this gallery, represents events from the history of John the Baptist: his birth, his baptism of Christ, and his beheading; the whole in a rich architectural border, upon which other scenes bearing on the subject are represented as sculptured groups. A copy of this small altar-piece, on a somewhat diminished scale, is in the possession of the Städel Institute at Frankfort-on-the-Main. While in these works the chief pictures display all the distinctness of the fully developed realistic style, the sculptures represented still preserve the mild ideal style of the earlier era almost unchanged. The great triptych of the Last Judgment, in the Hospital at Beaune in

Burgundy, executed between 1443 and 1447, commissioned by the Chancellor Nicolas Rollin, also belongs to the artist's earliest period (although long ascribed to Jan van Eyck); while, on the other hand, another triptych in the Museum at Berlin, painted as a commission from the chancellor of the exchequer, Bladolin, for the Church at Middleburg, may be regarded as one of the most finished works of his later years. This represents, with charming grace and sweetness, the Nativity. The Child is receiving the adoration of the donor of the picture, together with that of the Virgin and St. Joseph; while the side panels tell the story of how the new Light of the world comes "to lighten the Gentiles." The one side shows the three kings offering their tribute; while on the other (Fig. 551), the Emperor Augustus, to whom, according to an ancient legend, the marvelous event is shown in a vision by the Cumæan Sibyl—kneels and devoutly swings a censer of incense. There is another work of a similar class in the Pinakothek at Munich, representing the Adoration of the Magi, the Annunciation, and Christ in the temple, which is closely related in style to this admirable picture. Among the worshiping kings, Rogier has immortalized Philip of Burgundy and Charles the Bold. The S. Luke painting the Madonna and Child, in the same collection, and probably originally from the Chapel of the Painters' Guild at Brussels, is likewise a worthy production of this artist. Each of these pictures has been catalogued in the Pinakothek as the work of Van Eyck. In the Städel Institute at Frankfort-on-the-Main there is a very beautiful Madonna, with S. Peter, John the Baptist, and SS. Cosmo and Damian, splendid in coloring, and delicately

Fig. 551. Roger van der Weyde, Augustus, and the Sibyl.

finished in execution. This picture, one of the master's very noblest works, was a commission of Cosmo de' Medici; given, most likely, during the sojourn of Rogier in Italy in the middle of the century, when he worked for the court of Ferrara, and for other princely personages visiting Rome during the jubilee of 1450. In the Museum at Madrid there is another important composition of his—the Descent from the Cross—the figures almost life size, strikingly forcible, and even exaggerated in their intensity of expression, but at the same time showing great vigor of characterization and a strong, deep coloring. A good reproduction of this (dated 1488), in the Museum at Berlin, was formerly ascribed to a supposed Rogier the younger. To conclude the list, the Museum at Madrid possesses a triptych, with the Crucifixion as a centerpiece, and the Fall and the Last Judgment on the side panels, which has been recognized as having been ordered for the altar of the Abbey of S. Aubert at Cambrai in 1455.

A follower of Rogier, and probably his pupil, is the much-admired Hans Memling (formerly erroneously called Hemling), whose career ended about 1495—one of the most gifted and charming artists of his day. Little is known of the circumstances of his life; but his name of Hans would seem to indicate a German origin. The tale of his having come as a wounded soldier to Bruges, after the battle of Nancy, in 1477, and having been nursed in S. John's Hospital there, is nothing more than a pure myth. On the contrary, we find him an established and well-to-do citizen of Bruges, offering a voluntary loan to the city during the stress of war in 1480; and in 1495 he is spoken of as dead. In his works he carries miniature-like daintiness of treatment to a still further extreme, and at the same time attains to a higher degree than ever of lifelikeness and realistic perfection. His pictures are also pervaded by an atmosphere of charming sentiment that finds expression in a wealth of poetic ideas. Such subjects as the life of Mary are enriched by him in every possible way, and elaborated with a most attractive fervor and grace. A special point about his pictures is the way in which the landscape is extended, and made to include in the same picture a number of scenes generally conceived as following one another in order of time. It is as though those ancient altar-carvings in wood, which were divided into so many compartments, had been remodeled to harmonize with the realistic demands of the time.

Of the works at present ascribed to this charming artist, the greater part—without name, or other means of identification—have been assigned to him simply because of their resemblance to his style. Among these, the earliest seems to be the Last Judgment, in S. Mary's Church at Danzig, painted in 1467, and captured from the Dutch by

a Danzig sea-captain, as part of the freight of a richly loaded galley. This picture is likewise arranged as a triptych, and exhibits one of the most elaborate and thoughtful representations ever produced by Northern art of the Last Judgment, Paradise, and Hell. The S. John's Hospital at Bruges has preserved the most important works of his middle life, among them the only two pictures existing on which

Fig. 552. Martyrdom of S. Ursula. By Memling. Hospital of S. John, Bruges.

his name is inscribed. The first is the triptych (1479) with the Adoration of the Magi, the Nativity, and the Presentation in the Temple (of which there is a repetition in the Museum at Madrid); and the other, the Altar of S. John, of the same date (1479), having as its centerpiece a representation of Mary enthroned, with the Child, who is placing the ring of betrothal upon the finger of S. Catharine, according to the old legend; and, as side scenes, the

martyrdoms of the two S. Johns. There is also a later production—the series of paintings on the famous Châsse of S. Ursula. Her story is one of the most graceful of all the saintly legends; here painted in exquisite, flowing, delicate style, and full of tender sentiment. In six panels we are shown the arrival of S. Ursula with her companions in Cologne, her arrival in Basle, and then in Rome; finally, her journey home, her return to Cologne, and her martyrdom (Fig. 552).

Besides these, we have from this artist two tablets depicting the Seven Joys and the Seven Sorrows of Mary—the first in the Pinakothek at Munich, and the second in the Gallery at Turin. Both exhibit in a clear and simple arrangement a great number of scenes, with many figures, on a rich landscape background, all of them showing deep sentiment, tender depth of expression, and, at the same time, wonderful delicacy of treatment. Finally, we have one of the most notable masterpieces that have been ascribed to him, in the great triptych of Lübeck Cathedral (1491)—a singularly rich representation of the history of the Passion as far as the Crucifixion, with the Annunciation and some figures of saints on the side panels. Memling exhibits in all these pictures the very highest perfection which the Flemish school in its peculiar direction was able to reach; but, at the same time, he betrays the limitations which necessarily checked its progress. Since the rich imagination of the most gifted among its artists was always confined to the limited surfaces of small panels, it was impossible for this school to attain to that full understanding of the human form, in its free, vital strength, which is shown so grandly in the master-works of Hubert van Eyck. Its artists were more and more urged into an over-delicacy of execution; and in spite of all its warmth and refinement of feeling, acuteness of observation, and charming depth of characterization, this school of art remained in the bondage of formalism, and by virtue of its own strength was not able to gain that high freedom and perfection which brought Italian painting to its really classic supremacy.

Toward the end of the fifteenth century, however, the Flemish masters began to feel this lack, especially as they became acquainted with Italian paintings. Their studies were now directed toward a more thorough knowledge of human anatomy; toward a more striking and impressive conception of the human figure, and a more lifelike presentation of it. An example of this tendency is Gerhard David, a most talented artist, who has only recently become known.* He was a native of Oudewater, but in 1487 established himself in Bruges, where he died in 1523. The Academy at Bruges possesses

* Compare Weale's "Beffroi," cited above; see also his "Gerhard David, Painter and Illuminator," 1895.

two pictures by him, dated 1498, which were painted for the Hall of Justice. They represent the Judgment of Cambyses and its Execution, in figures two-thirds the size of life. They are vigorously painted in warm coloring, with painstaking and delicate elaboration of details; and the faces are exceedingly expressive. But they are somewhat confused in composition, and the second picture is marred by the ghastly hideousness of its subject. Recently the hand of this

Fig. 553. From the Altar-Piece by Gerhard David. Rouen. After E. J. Förster.

admirable master has been recognized in several other works, notably in the magnificent large altar-piece in the Rouen Museum, where the Madonna is represented surrounded by a number of very graceful figures of female saints, of which we give an example in Fig. 553.* She holds in her arms the Christ-Child, who is playing with a bunch of grapes. The figures are very nearly the size of life, executed

* These ascriptions are given on the authority of E. J. Förster, in the book above named.

in a delicate golden tone of color, and in admirable drawing. They are full of sentiment, and are characterized by a beauty such as is seldom seen in Northern art. The attitudes alone are somewhat constrained, and the movement of the bodies artificial. The hands, which are invariably delicate and thin, are stiffly treated, especially the left hand of the Madonna; but the drawing leaves nothing to be desired in point of anatomical knowledge. The faces of the virgins are lovely, graceful, and delicate: the chin, however, is apt to be too pointed. The coloring is harmonious and clear; the treatment of the draperies is free and flowing. Investigations have established the identity of this masterpiece with the votive painting given in 1509, by this master, to the Church of the Carmelite Nuns in Bruges. E. J. Förster has also recognized the hand of the same artist in a triptych in the Municipal Palace at Genoa, which contains in its centerpiece the same Madonna as the Rouen picture, and on either side impressive figures of S. Jerome and S. Anthony. These two saints reappear again, with the addition of a S. Michael doing battle with the Dragon, upon a small triptych in the possession of Herr Artaria in Vienna, which approaches Memling's work in delicacy of execution.

The excellent Quentin Matsys (Messys) is distinguished by a similar tendency, added, however, to a more independent breadth of thought, and, at the same time, to great delicacy and depth of feeling. He was born at Louvain in 1466, and lived until 1530. According to tradition, he was originally a blacksmith; but he exchanged the occupation for that of a painter, out of love for the daughter of the artist Franz Floris. The masterpiece among his works which have been preserved is a Descent from the Cross—a powerful work, full of dramatic energy, at present in the Antwerp Academy. The side panels represent the martyrdoms of S. John the Evangelist and of S. John the Baptist, and display an intense force of expression bordering upon the horrible. Infinitely more pleasing is the great altar-piece, representing the Genealogy of Christ, in the Church of S. Peter at Louvain. The Madonna in this picture belongs to the loveliest creations of Northern art; the draperies also are drawn with admirable freedom. The coloring alone, as is generally the case with this artist, is dull, pale, and almost entirely deficient in depth; so that we see in it a decided falling off from the old vigorous manner of this school. The wings—upon which are represented the expulsion of Joachim from the Temple, and the impressive scene of the death of S. Anne—are more vigorously treated. There is a gentle, graceful Madonna kissing her Child, by this painter, in the Berlin Museum. And, finally, we have genre pictures by him, in which characteristic traits are brought out with great distinctness; such as the Money-

Changer and his Wife in the Louvre—an uncommonly spirited work, with the name of the artist, and the date (apparently 1514); and also the two Misers (a subject frequently repeated), of which the original is in Windsor Castle (Fig. 554).

Johann Gassaert, surnamed Mabuse (1499-1562), followed a similar tendency in the beginning of his career, and until he took a journey into Italy, and fell into the mannerism of the Roman school. The large altar-piece at Prague in the picture gallery in the Rudolphinum (formerly in the Cathedral of the same town), is one of his

Fig. 554. The Two Misers. By Quentin Matsys. Windsor Castle.

best efforts. It represents, in a superb architectural setting of the Renaissance style, S. Luke painting the portrait of the Madonna. We have already alluded to his participation in the work on the "Breviarium Grimani." The trace of Italian influence upon his later works is less pleasing: for instance, in his Danaë of 1527, in the Pinakothek at Munich; and in the Madonna Enthroned, of the same date, and in the same collection. This was also the case with Bernardin van Orley, afterward a pupil of Raphael, as well as with Jan van Schoreel, a pupil of Mabuse (1495-1562), and Michael Cocxi and several other artists. These men attempted to carry out an independent development of the traditions of their rational school. But

the Flemish school had, as it went on, become so thoroughly realistic as to have utterly lost sight of the fundamental principles of a good style as they existed in Hubert van Eyck. It followed naturally, therefore, that the artists of this school attached themselves to the perfectly developed idealistic style as they found it in the school of Rome. The product of the national art growth of a century could not, however, be transplanted to a foreign soil, without betraying its character as an exotic product.

At the same time, the work of these artists, unpleasing in itself, and hampered by the influences associated with all periods of transition, is not entirely without merit; and they certainly paved the way toward the independent position subsequently attained by Netherlandish art. The principal artists of this transition period are Lambert Lombard (or, properly, Lambert Suterman), whose career ended in 1560; Franz De Vriendt, nephew of the sculptor Cornelis De Vriendt, named above, and like him known by the surname Floris. This Franz Floris was an artist in great repute among his contemporaries, but his fame did not survive the epoch during which he lived (1520-70). Otto van Veen, otherwise called Venius, who lived until 1634, and who, as the master of Rubens, may be said to have formed the link between the preceding period and that now coming into being. There are also other artists, such as Anthonis Mor, called in Spain Moro, and in England Sir Anthony More, and Frans Pourbus, who, even at this period, preserve in their portraits a fresh and simple vigor of composition.

In Holland, as early as the middle of the fifteenth century, the school of the Van Eycks, especially as it was represented in the works of Jan van Eyck, had made a decided impression upon art. There is no well-authenticated painting in existence by Albert van Ouwater, who lived in Haarlem, and may be regarded as the founder of the school in that city. However, his pupil Gerhard von Haarlem, sometimes called Geertgen van S. Jans, has left behind him—in his Lamentation for Christ, and his legend of the Bones of John the Baptist—two altar panels in the Museum at Vienna; proofs that he was a faithful adherent of the Van Eyck style, though he unfortunately exaggerates its realistic tendencies in his frequently unlovely faces and angular figures, as well as sometimes in some singularly fantastic and distorted feature. He devotes especial attention to the landscape of his pictures. Another Haarlem artist may also be named among the most decided followers of Hubert van Eyck—Dierick Bouts, whose original name was Stuerbout (1439-78), who subsequently moved to Louvain. The glowing depth and transparent clearness of his coloring are almost unequaled even in this school; and

the delicacy of personification and tenderness of execution are only marred by the stiff attitudes of the exaggeratedly long and slim figures. His masterpieces, as far as they can be identified, are the altar panels representing the Martyrdom of S. Erasmus, in the Church of S. Peter at Louvain, the delicacy of execution of which is unequaled. The attitudes are awkward, it is true; but the expression of the faces, and the velvety softness of the coloring, are most admirable. There is also an altar-piece by him, of the year 1467, in the same church, representing the Last Supper, which is equally painstaking in execution, but less vigorous in coloring, although the figures are of larger size. Two of the wings of this altar are at present in the Pinakothek at Munich, representing the Shower of Manna and Abraham before Melchisedec. The other two, representing the Feast of the Passover and the Feeding of Elijah by the Angel, are in the Berlin Museum. Two other paintings by him, of the year 1472, illustrating the legend of the Emperor Otto III., have less merit. These are at present in the Brussels Museum, although they were formerly contained in the collection of the King of the Netherlands.

Cornelius Engelbrechtsen of Leyden (1468-1533) should also be mentioned here, by whom there are two triptychs in the Municipal collection of Leyden. The Crucifixion is represented upon one of these; and upon its wings are delineated the Scourging of Christ and the Mocking of Christ, represented as an "Ecce Homo." There is a suggestion of the Flemish school, as well as an effort after fuller expression, in the vigorous treatment of this altar-piece, in spite of a certain rigidity in the forms. The paintings on the wings are coarse 'prentice-work. The other altar-piece has a Descent from the Cross, apparently of an earlier period, which belongs more unmistakably to the Flemish school. The two small paintings inclosed in an architectural framework, as well as the figures of saints, similar in treatment on the outsides of the wings, recall the elder school, especially Rogier and Memling. But, in the main, Engelbrechtsen's reputation rests more upon that of his pupil, Lucas van Leyden (1494-1533), than upon his own special excellence. Lucas Jacobsz, called Lucas van Leyden, one of the most precocious geniuses in the history of art, distinguished himself when only in his ninth year as an etcher, and soon after as a wood-engraver and painter. Of versatile talents and tireless energy, wonderfully skilled in the technicalities of painting, he nevertheless was sadly lacking in profound and noble conceptions, generally falling into the lower genre style which is so peculiar to many of his fellow-countrymen, or else indulging in a curious and fantastic grotesqueness (Figs. 555 and 556). Among his pictures we should mention a large representation of the Last Judgment in the

Museum at Leyden, quite at variance with the old fundamental principles of the Netherland school, in the thin and liquid way in which the coloring is laid on, the iridescent play of tints, and a certain inharmonious hardness of tone, reminding one of Dürer in occasional

Fig. 555. Eulenspiegel. By Lucas van Leyden.

fantastic touches, as well as in its admirable heads, which are full of character. Peter and Paul, on the side scenes, are, on the other hand, superb figures, remarkable for depth and brilliancy of coloring. Besides these, there is a Madonna, of the year 1522, in the Pinakothek in Munich, which is among the very best of the works from his hand.

The portrait of the Emperor Maximilian in Vienna cannot be ascribed to him.

While the fantastic taste of the time led some Dutch artists to such grotesquely horrible pictures of devils and infernal scenes as those of a Hieronymus Bosch (a masterpiece of this class is in the Museum at Berlin), the growing tendency toward simple delineation

Fig. 556. The Temptation in the Wilderness. By Lucas van Leyden.

of real life induced other artists to take up new fields of work which were destined to a great future. It was Joachim Patenier, or Patinir (1490-1550), who for the first time made the background—always such a favorite subject of treatment with the Netherlanders—the most important part of the picture, giving the sacred story a merely subordinate position, and so became the founder of the modern Northern school of landscape painting. In his pictures, however, the predilection for variety, richness, and brilliancy preponderates, which,

at times, he counterbalances by a rather monotonous, blue-green coloring. This innovation of his was taken up still more decidedly by his contemporary, Herri de Bles, and prepared for further development; and thus the painting of the Netherland school, where left to follow its own devices, ends in a half-austere, half-fantastic realism.

Under the influence of the Flemish art of the Van Eycks and their school, painting on glass also entered upon a new prime, in which the naturalistic tendencies of that art as well as its striving for glowing exuberance of color combined with the decorative forms of the waning Gothic and the dawning Renaissance to produce a brilliant total effect; for example, in the glass paintings of the church at Brou, in the imposing cycle of the church at Gouda, but above all in those of S. Gudule's Cathedral at Brussels, unsurpassed in their kind.

We must not fail, at this point, to refer to the superb tapestry for which Flanders was at this time so widely famous; even Raphael's celebrated cartoons for the Sistine Chapel having been sent to Arras to be woven. The Flemish masters also produced many designs for such work; and nothing, perhaps, gives so vivid an idea of the strength with which painting influenced and interpenetrated the whole life of the time in the Netherlands as the great number of costly productions of this description still preserved to us, in spite of such quantities having been destroyed. Executed in brilliant colors, and with an occasional rich use of gold, they witness not only to the technical perfection, but to the artistic spirit as well, which, in this case, ennobled manufactures. At the same time they are a faithful reflection of the development in style, as well as the progress in thought, of contemporaneous painting. Indeed, in the last respect they afford a welcome supplement to the themes of the panel pictures, since these are confined almost exclusively to such subjects as devotional pictures and portraits; while the tapestries include much of secular history, antique subject, mythological and allegorical matter, and furthermore, not infrequently, in point of function, occupy the place of wall painting; all of which accounts for the many-sided artistic and historic interest which attaches to this peculiar class of productions. The most splendid and extensive specimen of this work extant, formerly in the possession of the Treasury at Vienna, is now in the Art Museum of that city—the so-called Burgundian Mass-vestment — a complete so-called Kapelle, or equipment for the celebrant of the mass and the assistant deacons. Completely covered with ideal representations, with single figures, and architectonic borders, these vestments are remarkable not only for the wonderful splendor and purity of their technical execution, but also for artistic delicacy of design and treatment. The style har-

monizes with the completely developed forms of the Van Eyck school. The tapestries in the Minster at Berne, taken among the spoils of the battle of Granson by the Swiss confederates in 1476, are still more interesting on account of the subjects which they treat: four among them depict scenes from the life of Julius Cæsar, with verses in the French language, and are probably productions of the Arras looms. There is, besides, an Adoration of the Three Kings, of especially beautiful execution, also in the style of the Van Eyck school; further, four representations which have been recognized as copies of the lost pictures in the Brussels Council House, by Rogier van der Weyden; and, finally, some having for subjects incidents illustrating Trajan's love of justice. Some other tapestries, formerly owned by the Burgundian dukes, are preserved in the Museum of Lorraine in the ancient Ducal Palace at Nancy.

Such tapestries, however, are to be found in greater profusion in the Royal Palace and the Archæological Museum at Madrid than in any other place. There are whole series of them, from which an idea may be gained of all the gradations in the development of Flemish art. The six scenes from the life of the Virgin belong to the earliest of the series—compositions rich in figures, and with architectonic framing and background, whose design is attributed to Van Eyck, but too hastily, since their style bears unmistakable evidence of the latter part of the fifteenth century. The series representing the Passion, in five pictures, which have also been referred to Rogier, belong to the same century, and are characterized certainly by that spirited dramatic expression which is the characteristic mark of that artist, and of his school. The remaining tapestries, on the other hand, are all productions of the sixteenth century; indeed, most of them exhibit that attractive stage of development which, in the matter of figures, holds fast to the tradition of the old school, only aiming at more grace and softness, while in the architecture so lavishly employed in framing and background the elegant forms of an early Renaissance predominate. The transition to this tendency is betrayed by the tapestries containing the history of King David and Bathsheba. In its architecture the later Gothic forms preponderate, with some Renaissance sparingly introduced. In the figures, especially in the female forms, the unusual grace and soft flow of contour, as well as the lovely expression, recall Gerhard David. The tapestries which give illustrations of the history of John the Baptist mark about the same stage, though making more extensive use of the Renaissance style. Most of the remaining specimens, however, exhibit the imaginative style and the abundant use of the Northern Renaissance, as illustrated by Mabuse and his contemporaries. Among

these may be counted the rich allegorical compositions of the Virtues and Vices, and of the Road to Honor, the variety of their subjects making them of high interest; also the Founding of Rome, and the somewhat earlier representation of the Obsequies of Turnus; and, furthermore, the highly remarkable scenes from the Apocalypse. The last series worthy of our notice comprises the famous tapestries after Jan Vermeyen (1546), which depict in thirteen illustrations the expedition of Charles V. to Tunis. Another copy of the same series may be seen in the Museum at Vienna.

B.—THE GERMAN SCHOOLS.*

The great results of the style of representation of which the Van Eycks were the pioneers were first directly observable in the neighboring region of the Lower Rhine. The typical idealism of the ancient school of Cologne, which developed such great beauty even so early as the time of Meister Stephan, waned and altogether vanished, leaving no trace behind in the light of the brilliant and quickly spreading Flemish realism. The first master to bring this tendency into prominence in these regions was the artist formerly erroneously called Israel von Meckenen, but now styled, after his masterpiece in the Town Museum at Cologne, the Master of the Lyversberg Passion (see L. A. Scheibler, Die Meister der Kölner Malerschule). This picture, in eight compartments, sets forth the Passion of Christ in the manner of Rogier van der Weyden, with an equal decision of modeling and character, combined with great power, and glow of coloring. The conception, however, is not a great one, inclining, indeed, to caricature and exaggeration. The work of Bartholomäus de Bruyn, who in 1536 painted in the Collegiate Church at Xanten, on the Rhine below Düsseldorf, proves, as does that of many other artists, how long this tendency was exclusively dominant in Cologne. Another master of this earlier period, Jan Joest, who lived at Calcar, not far from Nimeguen, seems, judging by his masterpiece—the high altar in the church there, and a series of pictures representing the life of Christ—to have been one of the most skillful and original imitators of Flemish art. In Westphalia, however, it proved possible to preserve, simultaneously with this, the high ideal of the older school; and in the so-called Master of Liesborn there appears a rare combination of that impressive style, with its harmonious beauty, and the more realistic character and more lifelike development of the new tendency.

* See E. J. Förster, "Geschichte der deutschen Kunst," and "Denkmäler der deutscher Baukunst, Bildnerei, und Malerei."

This is shown in the altar-piece once belonging to the Cloister of Liesborn, painted in 1465, and portraying the Life and Passion of Christ, the remains of which belong to the British National Gallery.

Fig. 557. The Betrayal of Christ, by the Master of the Lyversberg Passion, Cologne Museum.

The schools in Northern and Central Germany absorb the Flemish influence in a far more significant, original, and unrestrained fashion. They do not so entirely abandon the mild and beautiful sentiment.

or the ideal spirit, of the earlier time; neither do they employ the same sharpness of execution: but they succeed in obtaining a thoroughly original character by pursuing a middle course, in which, occasionally, a successful blending of both fundamental elements is attained. One cause of this lay in the extensive employment of mural painting in Suabia more than elsewhere in the North; many important traces of this way of painting being still found in the numerous late Gothic churches of that region.

Prominent in the Suabian school was a pleasing master, Lucas Moser, from Weil-der-Stadt, of whose works there has been preserved an altar-piece in the Church at Tiefenbronn, in Würtemberg west of Stuttgart, done in 1432. It presents, in several compartments, the stories of Martha, Lazarus, and Mary Magdalen (Fig. 558), and, furthermore a representation of Christ between the Wise

Fig. 558. From the Altar by Lucas Moser, in the Church at Tiefenbronn.

and the Foolish Virgins. The ideal, typical spirit of beauty of the elder time is brought into almost exclusive prominence here, combined with a profounder brilliancy of coloring, and occasional traits of a more realistic tendency. Upon the frame, following the name of the artist, may be read the naive ejaculation: Schrie, Kunst, schrie, und klag dich ser, din begert jecz niemen mer so o we! ("cry, Art, cry, and bewail thyself sore, since no one regards thee now, alas!")—perhaps a witness to the fact that the world was ceasing to take an interest in the representatives of that elder school. In the second half of the century, Friedrich Herlen (called also Hörlin and Herlein) appears in this region as an enthusiastic follower of the Van Eyck style, without, however, attaining to much importance, or ex-

ercising any lasting influence. Pictures of his may be seen in the Church of S. James (Jakobskirche) at Rothenburg-on-the-Tauber, in the churches at Nördlingen, and at Bopfingen, and in the National Museum at Munich. On the other hand, Martin Schongauer (also called Martin Schön; that is, Martin the handsome), may be reckoned among the most distinguished painters of his day. He belonged, as it appears, to an Augsburg family, and was born about 1420. He went to study with Rogier van der Weyden in Brussels, and afterward settled in Colmar, in Alsace, where he died in 1488. Besides the hardly authenticated great pictures at Colmar, the Madonna of the Rose-Hedge (Fig. 560) in S. Martin's Church there, not precisely a beautiful creation, but conceived in grand, significant style; two side altars in the Museum of the same town, with figures exhibiting a fuller and more ideal type; together with his numerous engravings on copper (of which one hundred and sixteen are known) —give a spirited idea of his artistic worth (Fig. 559).

Engraving on copper plays so important a part in the history of German art, that we must devote a few words to its origin and early growth.* From earliest times the work of the goldsmith and the silversmith includes the use of designs engraved on metal plates, and filled in with a black, melted substance, a mixture of sulphur and borax with several metals, called in latin *negellum,* whence the Italian term, *niello.* These plates (nielli) were used for taking impressions upon paper before finally filling up the lines with the black substance in order to enable the artist to judge better of the design. In the fifteenth century, when the taste for art began to spread so rapidly, the custom soon came up of engraving metal plates simply for the purpose of multiplying the engraved picture by striking off copies, and thus giving it as wide a circulation as possible. There has been much dispute over the claims for priority in this invention, so important in its consequences. After it had been awarded to the Italians (a goldsmith called Maso Finiguerra having, according to Vasari's report, made the first impressions of this kind in 1460), further investigations made it seem much more probable that to Germany belongs the precedence; for in Germany not only are the first creations of the art of copper engraving to be found, but German productions far surpass the Italian in elaborateness and technical skill of execution

* A. Bartsch, "Le Peintre-Graveur"; 21 vols., Vienna, 1803-21. J. D. Passavant, "Le Peintre-Graveur"; 6 vols., Leipzig, 1860-64. A. Andresen and J. E. Wessely, "Handbuch für Kupferstichsammler," etc.; Leipzig, 1870-73. J. E. Wessely, "Anleitung zur Kenntniss und zum Sammeln der Werke des Kunstdrucks"; Leipzig, 1876. W. H. Willshire, "An Introduction to the Study and Collection of Ancient Prints"; 2 vols., London, 1877. Adam von Bartsch, "Anleitung zur Kupferstichkunde"; Vienna, 1821.

until into the sixteenth century. To the oldest German prints belong seven ancient coarse sheets of a history of the Passion, of which the scene of the Scourging bears the date 1446. A sheet representing a Madonna surrounded by choirs of Angels, done by a Master P. in the year 1451,* carries the art still further. The date 1457 may be found upon an ancient representation of the Last Supper, belonging to a series of twenty-seven scenes from the Passion. Of great importance in the history of the art is a master from the Lower Rhine, of 1464, called the "Master with the Scrolls," *Maître aux Banderoles,*† who has left a considerable number of engravings. The

Fig. 559. Crucifixion. By Martin Schön.

Master E. S., whose work is dated 1466, and who probably belonged to North Germany, shows still higher technical progress. We offer as a specimen, in Fig. 561, the Madonna of Einsiedeln, enthroned in her chapel under the protection of the Trinity. While

* Copied by photolithography, with other rare early pieces, in Weigel, "Die Anfänge der Druckerkunst in Bilderschrift"; Leipzig, 1866. The collection of copies by the heliogravure process of M. Armand Durand contains many specimens of the early engraving from the time when it becomes interesting as an art.

† These descriptive names are used to distinguish prints, since the artists have not given any clue to their names beyond an initial letter, or occasionally a baptismal name.

at the same period Franz von Bocholt and Israel von Meckenen worked in Westphalia. These last-named artists in their copper en-

Fig. 560. Madonna of the Rose Hedge. By M. Schön.

graving added a light shading to the nearly bare outline drawing of the earlier work, and obtained a picturesque effect by a more frequent change in the direction of the strokes—a progress unques-

tionably due to the influence of Flemish art. Of the last-named artist we show, in Fig. 562, the Head of a Prophet, in which the firmness and delicacy of the burin have already reached high grade of perfection. At this point of development Schongauer enters the

Fig. 561. Madonna of Einsiedeln. After an Engraving by Master E. S.; 1466.

arena, and does much to bring to perfection the art of copper engraving by his richly executed, highly finished, though not deeply shaded plates. In these works, Martin seems, in some respects, to ally himself closely to Flemish art, while, again, he is evidently making

progress toward an original style of his own, the external marks of which style are a certain lack of repose in the treatment of the drapery, with its folds and creases, a sharp, angular, meager style of drawing, and a strong leaning toward the introduction of North German costumes. His intrinsic excellences, however, consist in a composition almost always noble, sometimes even grand, a profound spirituality of expression, and a refined, thoughtful beauty in

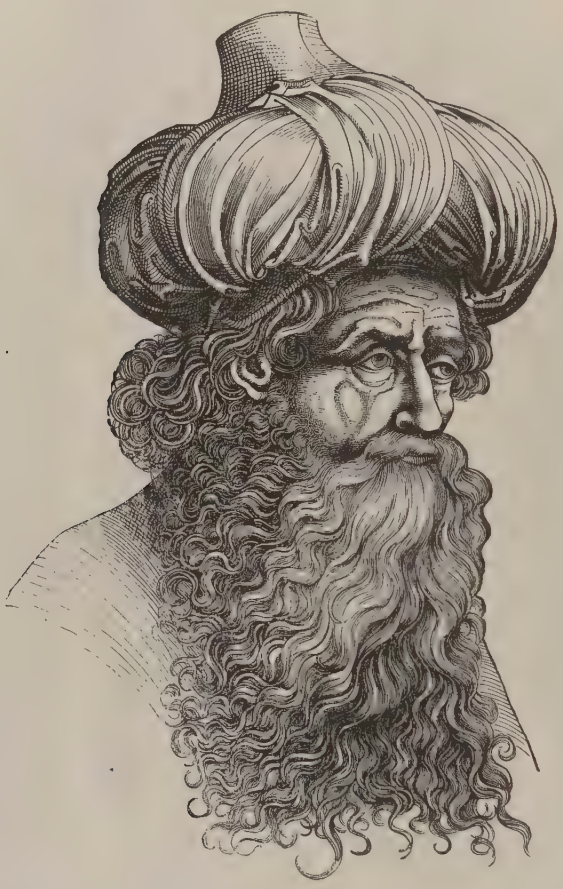

Fig. 562. After an Engraving by Israel von Meckenen.

his ideal heads (Fig. 563). Besides religious subjects, he often handled scenes from peasant life, with much fresh and even coarse humor, by virtue of which he stands as one of the earliest masters of genre.

One of the most considerable artists of the Suabian school is Bartholomäus Zeitblom of Ulm, probably born about 1450, and active

as an artist until after 1516. In him, to a higher degree than in any of his contemporaries, lived again that lofty, ideal spirit of antique art. His figures have a nobler bearing, more largeness in the forms of the body, and simpler drapery than in the case of most artists of his time. The modeling is soft, the coloring light and mild, almost recalling fresco painting. His heads have an expression of sweetness, though they are somewhat heavy in shape; for, as a rule, this master does not lose himself in sharpness of detail. His earliest known picture is an Ecce Homo, of the year 1468, in the Church at

Fig. 563. After an Engraving by Martin Schongauer.

Nördlingen. The altar-piece of Hausen, in the collection of National Antiquities at Stuttgart, dates from the year 1488. His most important pictures are preserved in the Art Museum at Stuttgart, more notably the leaves of an altar-piece of the year 1496, containing the Annunciation and the two S. Johns, while the center, painted with two angels holding the sudarium (the handkerchief) of S. Veronica —is in the Berlin Museum (Fig. 564). This is a work of simple grandeur and genuine pathos of expression. Besides these, there is

an altar-piece, formerly belonging to the Church on the Mountain, near Gaildorf (1497), now in the collection of antiquities at Stuttgart, with the name and likeness of the master on the outside, which belongs to his very best productions. Then the Gallery at Augsburg possesses four admirable altar panels, with the legend of S. Valentine; and at Sigmaringen, in the collection of the Prince, eight pleasing subjects from the life of the Virgin (Fig. 566). The inside pictures of the magnificent triptych of the high altar at Blaubeuren give most unmistakable evidence of the style of this master, and in some places are undoubtedly by his hand.

Another excellent artist of the school of Ulm is Hans Schüchlin, known chiefly through the altar-piece in the Church at Tiefenbronn in Baden (1469) (Fig. 565). As is often the case, the center of the altar piece consists of a carving representing the Descent from

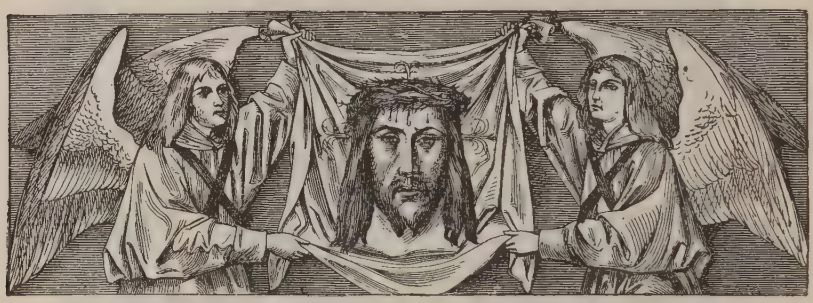

Fig. 564. Angels Supporting the Sudarium of S. Veronica. By Zietblom. Berlin Museum.

the Cross, and the mourning over the body of the Lord, while four saints stand at the sides. Four painted scenes from the Passion and the life of Mary fill up the outside of the wings—the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Nativity, and the Adoration of the Magi. The gold background is still used; but the coloring is toned down to a tender softness, as was customary with the artists of Ulm of that time. The drapery, especially the white mantle of the Madonna, is nobly disposed. In the whole composition a great sense of beauty is displayed, noticeably in the heads. In Schüchlin we may have to recognize the master of the noble wall-painting of the Last Judgment in the Minster at Ulm, dated 1471, which was of late cleaned of its coating of whitewash, and is conspicuous for solemn arrangement, dignified figures, and a number of lifelike traits, especially in the depiction of the Damned. At all events this work may lay claim to a prominent place among the monumental paintings of Germany.

Less excellent, but withal noteworthy, are the wall-paintings in the church at Weilheim near Munich, which prove again what lively ac-

Fig. 565. By Hans Schüchlin, in the Church at Tiefenbronn.

tivity the Suabian school developed in this field of pictorial technique also. The subject here is likewise the Last Judgment, though of inferior artistic merit; added to it there is a large rose-garland with

scenes from the Life of Mary, inclosed in medallions and distinguished by many an attractive feature. The well-preserved decoration of the vaulting is also quite valuable. Toward the end of the century Master Michael Pacher of Bruneck appears on the scene as an able artist in the spirit of the Van Eyck tendency. In 1481 he finished the altar-piece at Saint Wolfgang in upper Austria; this

Fig. 566. Nativity. By Zeitblom. Sigmaringen.

mighty work contains, besides the principal figures in wood-carving, no less than sixteen large pictures, on both sides of the wings, on the wings of the predella, and on the entire rear. The Life of the Holy Virgin and the chief moments from the Life of Christ, excluding the Passion, and finally the Legend of S. Wolfgang, are here depicted, not all by the same hand, but on the whole with great artistic power

and independence. A most characteristic painter, at last, is met in the four panel pictures of the former high altar of the church at Gross-Gmain near Reichenhall. Entirely unfounded attempts have been made to identify this painter with Zeitblom. They represent the Offering in the Temple, dated 1499, the Disputation of Christ with the Scribes, the Descent of the Holy Ghost, and the Death of the Virgin. Evidently they are the work of a South German master, who was acquainted not only with the art of the Netherlands, but also with that of Italy. His energetic figures with their expressive heads betray a striving after dramatic animation, which is certainly yet biased through stiff and angular attitudes and motions, resulting from the restraint in the display of the bodily frame peculiar to almost all the contemporaneous German masters.

Finally, there should be mentioned as belonging to the Ulm school the amiable and sensitive Martin Schaffner, whose artist life has been authentically traced from 1508 to 1535. Like Zeitblom, he starts from an ideal standpoint, and in his later years learns to allow the influence of Italian art to work most happily to a further refining of his own style. Among his most admirable works are the four panels of the year 1524, with the Annunciation, the Presentation in the Temple, the Descent of the Holy Ghost, and the Death of Mary, preserved in the Pinakothek at Munich. Noble grouping, delicacy of sentiment, and great sense of beauty unite in almost entirely overcoming the narrowness of conception peculiar to all contemporaneous German art. There are other pictures of this master in the Galleries at Stuttgart, Sigmaringen (Fig. 567), and Berlin, and in the Minster at Ulm.

Next to Ulm, ancient and wealthy Augsburg was the headquarters of Suabian art; and here we first meet with the artist family of Holbein. Hans Holbein the elder, probably born in 1460, began his career in his native town, where he remained until 1499; thence he went to Ulm, and subsequently to Frankfort-on-the-Main, in 1501. He painted a large altar-piece for the Abbey of Kaisheim, near Donauwörth, in 1502; then he was summoned back to Augsburg with important orders to execute, where he lived, however, in wretched circumstances, and is mentioned on the tax-lists there until 1516. After that he goes to Isenheim in Alsace, in 1517, to paint an altar-piece. The year 1521 finds him again in Augsburg, where he finally dies in 1524. He pursued the idealistic tendency of the Flemings according to Schongauer's precedent, without therefore putting aside the tradition of his native land, the ideal sentiment of beauty, and the mild yet warm and strong harmony of color. His earliest picture seems to have been the exquisitely finished little panel painting of the

Madonna with the Child in the Chapel of S. Maurice at Nuremberg, with the date 1492. In the Cathedral at Augsburg there are four admirable panels of the year 1493, from the Abbey of Wein-

Fig. 567. The Birth of Christ. By Martin Schaffner. Sigmaringen.

garten—Joachim's Sacrifice, the Birth of Mary, her Ascent to the Temple, and her Presentation in the Temple. His master-works are in the Gallery at Augsburg—such as his contributions to the curious series of paintings of Roman churches, which the nuns of the ancient

Convent of S. Catherine commanded as a means of avoiding the actual pilgrimage to Rome—Holbein's pictures of the basilicas S. Maria Maggiore and S. Paul should be compared with those by Burgkmaier, mentioned below. Furthermore, there is a votive picture of

Fig. 568. S. Barbara and S. Elizabeth. By Hans Holbein (attributed by Prof. Lübke to Holbein the elder). Wings of the altar-piece of St. Sebastian in the Pinakothek, Munich.

the Walter Family (1502), with the Transfiguration, the Feeding of the Four Thousand, and the Healing of the Man possessed by Devils, with admirably painted portraits between the two first-named works, having, in common with the first, the tender loveliness of the

heads, and with the last the sharply defined execution of forms and the refined versatility of coloring. The extensive altar-piece painted for the Church of the Dominicans in Frankfort-on-the-Main, in 1501, is now divided, and to be found in three places in Frankfort. The central figure of the triptych, representing the Last Supper, is in S. Leonhard's Church; while the side leaves, as well as seven out of the eight leaves of the principal shrine, portraying scenes from the Passion, are in the Städel Institute; and finally, two leaves, containing the genealogical tree of Christ and a record of the Dominican Order, are in the collection of the Saalhof—these last pictures of special value, on account of the delicately drawn, harmoniously colored heads. Sixteen altar-pieces from the Abbey of Kaisheim, now in the Pinakothek at Munich, belong to the year 1502; the interior pictures indicating, by the spirit of beauty which permeates them, the master's own hand, and presenting scenes from the youth of the Lord; while, on the other hand, the scenes from the Passion betray the cruder work of apprentices. In surveying these proofs of the vast industry of this tireless master, one is overcome by regretful astonishment on learning of the unpropitious fortune with which he struggled toward the very end of his life. Stories of legal executions repeated year after year, from 1515 to 1518—when, for the most part, only the smallest sums were in question—are painful to listen to. Even in 1521 he underwent a seizure for a debt of two florins and forty kreuzer ($1.10). In such a condition of affairs, it is no wonder that his great son, so soon as his wings were plumed for flight, deserted the nest, and never again revisited Augsburg.

Finally, a restitution must be made to the father of the four altar-leaves in the Augsburg collection (1512), long attributed to the son owing to a falsified inscription. They present the legends of SS. Ulrich and Wolfgang, besides giving the Madonna seated with S. Anne upon a bench along which the Christ-Child is taking his first steps. In these paintings the art of the fifteenth century is already rising to a maturer beauty and freer grasp of nature—a development destined to unfold itself in noble completeness in the splendid Altar of S. Sebastian, painted in 1516, and now in the Pinakothek at Munich. In the center one gazes upon the Martyrdom of the Saint; while on the leaves appear the pleasing forms of S. Barbara and S. Elizabeth (Fig. 568), and on the outside the Annunciation. The master comes out here entirely free, in a noble, even grand handling of forms, in lofty refinement of drawing and modeling, and in brilliantly clear coloring. It is indeed one of the most genuinely beautiful works ever brought forth by elder German art.

Next to this master, his brother Sigmund Holbein—who appears

upon the Augsburg assessment-rolls from 1505 to 1509, but who died in Berne 1540—must have been a most admirable artist, to judge by a little painting of the Madonna now in the Castle at Nuremberg, which must be ranked among the finest productions of German art for miniature-like perfection of finish, melting softness of coloring, and general loveliness.

At first, Hans Burgkmair, born in Augsburg in 1472, and living until 1531, evinced a similar tendency. He was a doughty, dexterous master, to whom are attributed a great number of designs for works in wood-carving, especially the Triumphal Procession of the Emperor Maximilian, and the Weisskunig, a poetical glorification of that prince. As a result of his sojourn in Italy, whence he returned about 1508, he introduced the ideas of the Renaissance into his native place, and exercised a decisive influence upon the development of the younger Hans Holbein. Besides those numerous drawings already mentioned, the industrious artist has, as a painter, left behind him a series of works, unequal certainly in merit, but of which the best are distinguished by force of characterization, spirited delineation, and a warm, harmonious coloring. There is a decided line of demarcation between his earlier works and those pictures produced after the Italian journey. While they first evince the influence of the old Suabian school in the sharply defined folds of drapery, the lavish use of gold, and the character of the heads, in the last may be traced the results of Italian studies, in the superior softness and strong accentuation of the forms of the Renaissance. But the action of these influences never so preponderates as to obliterate the German character of his art. He likewise ranks among the earliest of the masters who began to work out more carefully the landscape background of their pictures, bringing it into relation with the figures in the composition. In the Augsburg Gallery one becomes best acquainted with the master in his various styles. There is one great picture of Christ and the Madonna upon a background of gold, enthroned in the midst of a sumptuous architecture, half Gothic, half Renaissance, surrounded by many adoring saints, whose ranks are continued upon the two leaves. The characters are full of grace and noble dignity, in deep, warm, golden coloring. The treatment is bold and easy, even seeming too slight and sketchy. The pictures of the nuns of S. Catherine, mentioned above, include several by Burgkmaier. The painting of S. Peter's Basilica, with the Pope enthroned and many saints, Christ in the upper portion, praying upon Gethsemane, dates back to the same year. To the year 1502 belongs the Basilica of S. John with the Scourging; to the year 1504, the Basilica of Santa Croce, with the Crucifixion, and the Martyrdom of S. Ursula, particularly

noticeable for many charming youthful heads. Among his later pictures, already exhibiting some mannerism, may be reckoned a Crucifixion, with the two Malefactors (1519); and on the outside of the leaves S. George and the Emperor Henry the Saint. The representation of the Rout of Cannæ, painted 1529, and the Victory of Scipio, at Munich, give an idea of the way in which he handled secular subjects. In the Pinakothek at Munich, S. John on Patmos is remarkable for the delicate working out of the landscape.

So far as the limited amount of investigation in the matter will allow us to judge of the tendency of art in Bavaria, it appears there to have deviated from the direction taken by the whole North German school, and to have adhered more strictly to Flemish methods, while yet indulging in reminiscences of the more ancient art, biased throughout, to be sure, by great coarseness of form and feeling. The works of this school in the National Museum at Munich produce no gratifying impression, and even the most esteemed artist of that group, Hans von Olmendorf (mentioned about 1492), who is credited with a large altar-piece in that collection and another in the chapel at Blutenburg, is greatly inferior to artists of other schools. By far the ablest master is the miniature painter Berthold Furtmeyr, to whose excellence the richly adorned Old Testament in the Library of Prince Wallerstein at Maihingen, and a Missal in the Royal Library at Munich, bear testimony. A similar dependence upon Flemish models is shown likewise by whatever has come to be known of painting in Austria; though even here, among inferior productions, stand forth the works of Master Michael Pacher, whose magnificent carved altar-piece with paintings by unknown hands at Sankt Wolfgang near Salzburg (named above, p. 284), proves himself a worthy and skillful artist in the spirit of the Van Eyck school. The contemporaneous productions in Austria stand on a somewhat higher plane than some of those of South Germany; especially in Salzburg and the Tyrol, where Flemish realism made its entry at a remarkably early period. Specimens of this work are the Trinity altar-piece in the Hospital Church at Aussee, dated 1449, and the Crucifixion by D. Pfenning in the Vienna Museum, bearing the same date, and even Jan van Eyck's motto, "Als Ich Chun." More important are four great altar panels, now in the Town Hall at Sterzing, formerly belonging to the high altar of the parish church there, which was finished by Hans Mueltscher of Innsbruck in 1458. On the face are scenes from the life of Mary, on the back from the Passion of our Lord—works of finished realism, which in the Mary pictures is combined with nobility and depth of expression, while the Passion pictures are less refined in tone. In the same place may be seen two smaller

panels with the Visitation and the Flight into Egypt, both betraying Italian influences.

The Franconian school of the same period attains to far more important manifestations; Nuremberg, its capital, having been already

Fig. 569. Altar-Piece in the Church at Gross-Gmain.

introduced to our notice as the seat of a thoroughly stirring activity in all departments of sculpture. The feeling for sculpture dominates here, now as earlier, over the development of painting; though the fact must not be lost sight of, that the sculpture of this whole period was overwhelmingly picturesque in character. The characteristics of the Nuremberg school are a strikingly defined delineation of form

and an energetic modeling, combined with a striving after individuality, degenerating into one-sidedness and ugliness. No master, probably, bears so blunt and unpleasant a stamp of these peculiarities as Michael Wohlgemuth, who lived from 1434 to 1519, and, being at the head of a large company of journeymen, executed with the readiness of a job-workman a number of altar-pieces, in which wood-carving and panel painting are combined. Among his earlier works we note particularly the Hofer altar of the year 1465, in the Pinako-

Fig. 570. The Birth of Christ. By Michael Wohlgemuth. Zwickau.

thek at Munich, in which the influence of Rogier van der Weyden may be traced. It contains Christ's Prayer on the Mount of Olives, the Crucifixion, the Descent from the Cross, and the Resurrection, and is conspicuous for its deep, lustrous coloring and rich landscape backgrounds. His masterpiece (Fig. 570) is the altar-piece in S. Mary's Church at Zwickau* (1479), an extended delineation of the Life and Passion of Christ, wherein the realistic tendency nearly always falls into the mean and ugly; though, at the same time, one cannot but acknowledge the accurate skill of a well-directed workshop; the whole

* J. G. von Quandt, "Die Gemälde des Michael Wohlgemuth in der Frauenkirche zu Zwickau"; 2d ed., 1839.

work undeniably producing, spite of many crudities, a grand effect, and showing an harmonious strength in coloring. In his better works the master often pleases by the almost ideal beauty of his heads and his strong, harmonious color. The extensive altar-piece in the Church at Schwabach (1508) belongs to his latest works. The pictures with which he was commissioned to decorate the hall of the Council House at Goslar, in 1500, prove the esteem which the worthy master enjoyed in a large part of Northern Germany. Other works of his may be seen in the Abbey Church at Heilsbronn, in the Chapel of St. Maurice at Nuremberg, and in the Pinakothek at Munich. Wohlgemuth rendered noteworthy service likewise in the development of wood-engraving; for he prepared designs for the "Treasury of Eternal Salvation," which appeared in 1491; and soon after, with the help of his stepson Wilhelm Pleydenwurff, illustrated Hartmann Schedel's "Chronicle of the World." He also distinguished himself in engraving on copper, if the impression be correct that a number of plates bearing the letter "W" are to be attributed to him.

It was a momentous fatality for the development of German art, that precisely this school and this teacher should have bred that genius who, in richness of endowment, in creative wealth of imagination, in all-embracing grasp of thought, in the moral energy of a fundamentally earnest endeavor, must assuredly rank first among all German masters. Albert Dürer* need fear comparison with no master in the world, not even with Raphael or Michelangelo, so far as inborn artistic ability is concerned; and yet, in all that concerns the peculiar means of expression in art, the clothing of the thought in the vestment of glorified beauty of form, he is so closely fettered by the narrow limitations of his native surroundings that he seldom rises to that height of art where thought and form find equal expression.

Dürer is rightfully the darling and the pride of the German people; but we should not allow ourselves to forget that, being the high-

* Joseph Heller, "Das Leben und die Werke Albrecht Dürer's"; Leipzig, 1831. Three volumes, of which only one, the second, was ever published. The first was to have contained the Life. Friedrich Campe, "Reliquien von Albrecht Dürer." Nuremberg, 1828. A. Von Eye, "Leben und Wirken Albrecht Dürer's"; Nördlingen, 1860. Moriz Thausing, "Dürer, Geschichte seines Leben und seiner Kunst"; Leipzig, 1876. Charles Narrey, "A. Dürer à Venise, et dans les Pays-Bas"; Paris, 1866. Mrs. Charles Heaton, "History of the Life of Albrecht Dürer." William B. Scott, "Albert Dürer, His Life and Works"; 1869-70. The reproduction of Dürer's engraved works, and the books in which his principal works are copied, either by engraving or photograph, are too many to mention here. The most remarkable of all these is the "Œuvre d'Albert Dürer, reproduit et publié par Amand Durand"; Paris, 1877. There has also been a good reproduction of many of the woodcuts, including the sets of the "Apocalypse," the "Great Passion," and the "Life of the Virgin," published in Nuremberg. "Dürer Album, herausgegeben von W. v. Kaulbach and A. Kreling." A useful compendium of the artist's principal works, reproduced by photography, is the "Dürer Album" of G. Schauer (Berlin), with text by H. G. Hotho.

est expression of German excellences and virtues, he is at the same time the representative of their weaknesses and deficiencies. Blind idolatry is never seemly, least of all in connection with so genuinely true, so severe, a master. We are not permitted to hurry over the austere, rugged technicalities of his style either with indifference or pretended rapture. It is difficult rightly to estimate his worth; but when we earnestly seek to understand him, then we learn to love him best.

Dürer has sounded the depths of reality in all its manifestations as few other masters have. His knowledge of the human organism, his observation of the life of nature in every aspect, are as astonishing for accuracy as the wealth of his ideas appears to be inexhaustible, the strength of his imagination unlimited. But he seldom attains to perfect beauty of form. He is so possessed by his grand aspiration after a reality, which grasps and holds one, that a higher style, even for ideal themes, does not seem to him of supreme value. As with intense conviction he followed the struggles for reformation which were everywhere shaking the world during his lifetime; as, in his clear-sighted, acute intellect, the traditional symbolic conception of the divine resolved itself into the human—so, too, everywhere in his representations he gives evidence of this revolution. His sacred figures are the Nuremberg burghers of his time, and, for the most part, from the sphere of common life, caught and fixed by his pencil with all the accidental surroundings of their daily existence. He took the matter of his pictures from his own environment, and never sought after types of dignity and beauty, but rather after strongly marked and characteristic heads, which are oftener coarse than noble or graceful.

And even this motley crowd, full of rude individuality as it was, he usually presented in such wise in the treatment of form, that an arbitrary, knotty mannerism in the drawing of heads and hands, as well as in other portions of the picture, became a necessity, and even broke up the large, fine masses of his drapery into wrinkled, uneasy folds. His appreciation of form, too, recognized hardly any distinction, whether he represented the sacred personages of religious belief, the rude manifestations of every-day life, or the wondrous images of his fancy. They are all taken from the same sphere, and never attempt to seem more than they really are.

This curious propensity of Dürer's is not satisfactorily accounted for by the fact that he was surrounded by a motley, fantastical life, by the commonplace figures of the townsmen of his native place, instead of a beautiful, nobly developed Southern type of humanity. Neither is it sufficiently explained by the fact that in the wrinkled,

uneasy fall of the folds of his drapery he yielded to the influence of the wood-engraving of his time. His countryman, Peter Vischer, was able gradually to overcome both influences in his creations, and to work his way to a purer style replete with beauty. It is most apparent that there existed in Dürer a spiritual affinity with those characteristic features of life. It is the fantastic tendency of his time, which in him reaches its culminating point of expression, making necessary not only all those extravagances of form, but also the inexhaustible wealth and depth of his productiveness. Both in him are inseparable; and both must, of necessity, be simultaneously accepted. Harsh and repellent as much may appear to us at first sight, it is exactly here that the power that dwells in truth, depth, and fervor of sentiment compels our admiration; and if even Italian masters, like Raphael, could not refrain from offering their homage to the greatness of the German artist, it will not be impossible for us to arrive at a comprehension of his artistic manner, so genuinely national, in spite of its deficiencies. We shall then find that hardly any master has scattered with so lavish a hand all that the soul has conceived of fervid feeling or pathos, all that thought has grasped of what is strong or sublime, all that the imagination has conceived of poetic wealth; that in no one has the depth and power of the German genius been so gloriously revealed as in him.

Dürer was born in 1471 in Nuremberg, and was at first bred with a view to his following his father's craft of goldsmith; but in 1486, on account of his strong inclination for painting, he was placed under the instruction of Wohlgemuth. He remained three years in Wohlgemuth's workshop; started on his travels as a journeyman in 1490; returned in 1494, and settled as master in his native town. Unfortunately, one cannot ascertain whither his years of wandering led him. We only know so much: that he was on the Upper Rhine; was kindly received in Colmar by the relatives of Martin Schongauer (then only lately deceased); and, without doubt, traveled as far as Venice. After his return home, he was actively engaged for ten years in his native town, not only as a painter, but likewise in engraving on copper and wood, until 1505, when he made a journey to Italy, where, however, he became familiar with only Venice, Padua, and Bologna. Toward the close of the year following he returned to Nuremberg, where he plunged anew into a tireless and most productive round of labors, occupied not only with paintings, drawings, engraving on copper, and wood-cutting, but also produced a few admirable carvings in boxwood and soapstone. He did not make a second journey before 1520—this time to the Netherlands, whence he returned in the following year; after which time he lived and

labored uninterruptedly in his native city until his death, in 1528. To these latter years belong, besides his artistic works, several scientific writings, essays on geometry, fortification, and the proportions of the human body, which give evidence of his extensive and thorough culture.

Germany had no Julius II. or Leo X., no Medici or Gonzaga, no art-loving aristocracy, no high-minded municipal governments. Venice offered our master two hundred ducats yearly income if he would remain there; in Antwerp they strove to detain him by similar offers. But the true German man returned to his native place, notwithstanding that the city "had never given him five hundred guldens' worth of commissions in thirty years," obtaining, after much petitioning, from the council of the great imperial city, as his sole reward, that it would allow him five per cent. interest upon his capital of one thousand florins earned with remarkable patience and industry. The Emperor Maximilian, sincerely as he regarded the admirable master, could not employ him upon anything more important than the decoration of a sword-hilt and of a prayer-book, together with the designing of the Triumphal Car, and the execution of the colossal woodcut of the Triumphal Arch—rather an insipid allegorical glorification of the monarch, upon which Dürer, however, certainly lavished all the charm of his imagination. To be sure, the emperor awarded him an annuity; but it was years before the arrangements were completed; so that the payments only began to come in to him a short time before his death. And the exemption from municipal taxation which the emperor himself, by letter to the city council, endeavored to bring about, was of just as little advantage; for the city fathers prevailed upon the good-natured artist to give up his privilege, "so lamentable and ignominious" were circumstances for him, as Dürer himself says, giving vent, for once, to his righteous indignation. So much the higher stands the moral earnestness with which he unweariedly lived for his art.

In consideration of the master's many-sidedness, we will begin the survey of his most important works with the representations of religious subjects. In them Dürer has broken through the limitations of ecclesiastical conception, and portrayed the sacred incidents, no doubt with all the petty details peculiar to the age, but at the same time in purely human fashion, and with overwhelming power. All the sublimity of a fancy as yet unbridled, which wanders into the regions of formlessness and extravagance, unfolds itself in the woodcuts of the Apocalypse of St. John, which appeared in 1498. Among the sixteen sheets there are some—for example, that of the angels, who are slaying the third part of mankind; or the battle of the Arch-

angel Michael and his hosts with the dragon (Fig. 571)—which exhibit a power hardly ever surpassed over non-natural subject. Others of these cuts, with all their grandeur, run into formlessness

Fig. 571. St. Michael Fighting with the Dragon. From the Apocalypse. By Dürer.

and want of proportion; as in the image of the Judge of the world, enthroned, who, with flames darting from his eyes, and a sword proceeding from his mouth, is holding the stars in his outstretched right hand. But, above all, we should not forget how much the great

master accomplished, through these and numerous other works, for the development of wood-engraving.* The art of cutting stamps with a raised design in wood, or even in metal, and which was then employed for many practical purposes—was already known far back in antiquity. In mediæval times, such stamps were made use of, among other things, for stamping tapestry or cloth patterns of various kinds;† and the initial letters of manuscripts were frequently printed in this way. But the most frequent application of this kind of wood-engraving was made after the fourteenth century, for supplying single leaves, which were offered for sale to the faithful at the places of pilgrimage. The great monasteries, skilled in the practice of every art, also took up this, and sent forth whole series of engravings —such as the Biblia Pauperum, the Ars Moriendi, the Apocalypse, etc.—which belong to the very earliest productions of wood-engraving. The cut which bears the earliest date is that of St. Christopher at Buxheim, in Upper Suabia, of the year 1423. Playing-cards also, which had been introduced into Germany as early as the close of the fourteenth century, were soon struck off from blocks, though at first prepared by the "card painter." When, with the fifteenth century, the great desire for the multiplication of works of art arose, the primitive mechanism was made to work out quite novel effects, becoming an important agent after the discovery of printing, and soon usurping the place of the illuminator, just as printing did that of the copyist. But the traditions of the old relation were still so powerful that the wood-engraver was fain to content himself with simple outline drawings, which were painted with gay colors. Wood-engraving retained this childishly primitive character until artists of note took it up, and made drawings for this purpose, often no doubt upon the block itself, or rather upon the plank, for it appears that engraving upon the end-grain of the wood was not introduced till much later. Instead of the former imperfect modeling, the forms being expressed by outline, and largely for the purpose of later coloring by hand, gave them a higher artistic effect, even the charm of painting—a revolution not without its reciprocal influence upon the contemporary development of engraving upon copper. Dürer was the first who, by a perfect artistic mastery, raised wood-engraving to the height of its mission, and made it a powerful means of culture for the whole

* J. Heller, "Geschichte der Holzschneidekunst"; Bamberg, 1823. J. E. Wessely, "Anleitung zur Kenntniss und zum Sammeln der Werke des Kunstdrucks"; Leipzig, 1876. Compare the woodcuts issued by Soldan, 1875, from old blocks in possession of the German Museum in Nuremberg. Jackson and Chatto, "A Treatise on Wood-Engraving," etc.; London, 1861.

† See Weigel's book already cited, "Die Anfänge der Druckerkunst," etc., for examples of the earliest known specimens of block-printing on textiles.

people; and he endeavored, above all, to develop its grand power, rich fullness, and breadth, and, in these respects, brought it to an unrivaled perfection.

In his paintings, Dürer aims at highest completeness, with an execution which often borders upon a miniature-like minuteness. Painting in Germany, at that time, had degenerated almost to a manufacturing business; since, in the great workshops—and this was especially true of Wohlgemuth's—the preparation of the altar-panels was intrusted, in a great degree, to the hands of apprentices. One of Dürer's earliest works, the Paumgärtner altar-piece, probably executed in 1500, now in the Pinakothek at Munich, and representing the Nativity, with two stately figures of knights on the leaves—no doubt, likenesses of the donors—shows evidence of having been painted under similar conditions. But the master speedily adopts the modern idea, prevalent in the Flemish school as among the Italians, according to which the artist, by executing his whole work with his own hand, brings the entire force of his individuality to bear upon it. An original painting, and at the same time one of the earliest of this kind, was the small picture of Hercules fighting the Stymphalian Birds, of the year 1500, in the Castle of Nuremberg; which, however, having been entirely painted over, can only be judged of now by the sketch in the Museum at Darmstadt. The Tribune of the Uffizi at Florence contains a glorious painting of the year 1504—the Adoration of the Magi, one of the most lovely and most devout of all his works, full of poetry, with a beautiful landscape, and executed in warm, harmonious coloring. Following this is the picture of the Feast of the Rosary, painted in Venice in 1506, now in a wretched state of preservation in the Strahof (Strahow) Monastery at Prague —a deeply poetic composition, conceived with much freedom and spirit, and which was much admired by the Venetian masters. What is probably the most finished of Dürer's paintings dates from the same year—1506. It is the little Crucifixion in the Museum at Dresden, of wonderful depth of expression and incomparable softness of picturesque treatment; singularly impressive, as much because of the surrounding landscape as through the magic power of the light. As a contrast to this miniature creation, in which he wished to exhibit to the Italians the perfection of art manifesting itself perfectly within the smallest compass, appears the wonderful picture of the Child Jesus among the Doctors, in the Palazzo Barberini at Rome, and painted the same year, which, according to the inscription, was painted in five days—a rather unsuccessful attempt to astonish the Italians with large forms and bold breadth of treatment. On the other hand, one recognizes in the panels representing Adam and Eve

(1507), now in the Pitti Gallery at Florence (old copies in the Mayence Museum and that of Madrid), the vigor with which the master, visibly moved to it by the influences of Venetian art, had already begun to make the study of the nude human form one of the principal tasks of his life. Dürer was also glad to accept aid from the Italians in his aspirations after fullness of knowledge in his work; for he expressly made the journey to Bologna because some one there had promised to give him instruction in "secret perspective." In the same way he strove to make himself familiar with the architectural forms of the antique, as understood by the Renaissance men; but, to the salvation of himself and of his art, he remained, in everything essential, true to himself and to his native land. And though it cannot be denied that he never entirely got rid of many hard, unlovely mannerisms, still persisting in the harsh, angular treatment of drapery, as well as in his predilection for forms less remarkable for beauty than for sharply defined characteristics, yet, in spite of such shortcomings—the tribute paid by him to his age and environments—he stands for us much higher than he would if he had sacrificed his peculiar individuality to the imitation of a foreign style.

The Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand, in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna, painted in 1508, is far less pleasing in its stern and terrible truthfulness. The picture of the Assumption and Coronation of Mary, commissioned by the merchant Jacob Heller of Frankfort-on-the-Main, in 1509, has unfortunately been lost; but a copy of it by Juvenal, in the Gallery of the Saalhof at Frankfort (Fig. 572), affords us an idea of its magnificent composition and dignified beauty. Another grandly solemn delineation of heavenly glory has, however, been preserved in the Vienna Gallery, in the painting of the Trinity, of the year 1511. Surrounded by choirs of angels and of the blessed, as well as by ranks of adoring believers, God the Father is enthroned on high; above him, the Dove of the Holy Spirit; while in his arms he holds the body of the Son stretched upon the Cross—assuredly one of the most profoundly spiritual conceptions of this theme ever presented. This, like other pictures of the master belonging to this middle period, is clear, light, and fresh in coloring, though not free from a certain lack of harmony, owing to his fondness for a glittering play of various colors in his drapery. Among this series of important paintings, executed with all possible artistic care and pains, the beautiful Madonna picture of the year 1512, in the Museum at Vienna—one of Dürer's best creations in composition, expression, and charm of coloring—is worthy of a place. However, in the interval of finishing one, and beginning another, the admirable master tells us himself that he had grown weary of his "laborious fussing," as he, not without

reason, called his way of painting. The patrons of art in Germany were accustomed just then to the low prices demanded for the panels

Fig. 572. The Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin. By Dürer. From the copy by Juvenal.

manufactured by the wholesale in workshops; and so, when Dürer was paid only two hundred florins for such a work as the Heller Altar, on which he labored diligently for nearly a year, he was certainly

justified in complaining that "it was well-nigh enough to wear one out." We do not wonder that he came to the conclusion "to bide more steadily by his engraving"; for he really was able to earn more by his engravings on copper and his woodcuts, which his wife carried with her to dispose of occasionally when she visited the fairs, than he could by his painting. He only returned to the occupation of painting now in exceptional cases, as in the Lucretia of 1518, in the Pinakothek at Munich—not altogether pleasing as a picture, but otherwise

Fig. 573. Vignette on Title-Page of the Great Passion. By Dürer.

worthy of admiration as a study of the nude and of foreshortening. Other paintings will be mentioned further on; but we have now to do with his numerous productions in other departments of art.

From the year 1511 to 1515 we find the master pursuing his labors in religious fields with amazing industry; publishing, closely one upon another, the consecutive and comprehensive series of woodcuts—the Great Passion in twelve sheets, and the smaller series of the same subject ("the Little Passion on wood") in thirty-six; the life of Mary

"ADORATION OF THE MAGI"
FROM AN ENGRAVING BY ALBERT DÜRER

in nineteen. There are also engravings on copper ("the Little Copper Passion") in sixteen sheets. It is impossible to give the titles of these subjects separately; suffice it to say, that in them all the depth,

Fig. 574. Madonna Enthroned. From a woodcut by Albert Dürer, of 1518.

fervor, and power of the master reveal themselves in exhaustless profusion.

He knows well how to introduce with true poetic feeling the

charms of nature into his delineations; conceiving his landscape in the old German spirit, with mountain and valley, rivers and forests, with all the charming variety of castles, hamlets, and towns, and especially rejoicing the heart by a world of enchanting, naïve, pleasing traits in his Madonnas (Fig. 574). The immense woodcut of the Triumphal Arch of the Emperor Maximilian (1515), the smaller Triumphal Car, which he was employed upon with Burgkmair, and the great Triumphal Car of 1522, give splendid proof of the wealth of his imagination in the invention of attractive decorations and magnificent architectural designs. The last-mentioned work served also as model for the great wall-painting in the hall of the Council House, which the town caused to be executed at that time, as it appears, by George Pencz. Near by there is painted a gallery with the Town Pipers; and finally to the left, the Calumny, after Lucian's description of a painting by Apelles, the design for which, by Dürer's own hand, may be found in the Albertina collection at Vienna. Unfortunately, these pictures were subsequently entirely painted over.

Toward the close of his life, Dürer embodied his profoundest profession of faith in one of his last works (1526). This was the Four Pillars of the Church, which he painted to honor his native town, and which, having been given away by the city to the Emperor Maximilian, is now in the possession of the Pinakothek at Munich. In the accompanying letter, the artist declared that he regards the four personages of his representation as the corner-stones of the original Christian doctrine in its purity. John and Peter, Paul and Mark, are portrayed upon two panels. They are presented to us with such distinct characterization, and each with so marked an individuality that they have sometimes been designated the Four Temperaments. Dürer has, in these works executed near the end of his life, exhibited grandeur and simplicity of style, depth and harmony of color, and perfect freedom of form; and has overcome all trivial mannerism even in his wonderfully magnificent draperies.

Dürer's portraits are remarkable for faithful, exact conception of life, and for incomparably fine drawing and pure modeling. The first portrait of his father, in Sion House, England, dates from the year 1497. There is a copy of this in the Pinakothek in Munich. There is an earlier portrait of his father, probably of the year 1490, in the Uffizi in Florence. The artist painted his own portrait several times. There is one of 1498 in the Museum of Madrid, of which there is a copy in the Uffizi. But the finest of all is the superb bust-portrait in the Pinakothek at Munich—one of the noblest figures of German art, professedly of the year 1500, but doubtless of a several years' later date. In this same collection there is a portrait of his

master, Wohlgemuth. In the Art-History Museum of Vienna there is a remarkable portrait of a man, of unspeakably delicate execution, dated 1507; upon the back, strangely enough, is represented the repulsive allegory of Avarice. In the same gallery is the portrait of the Emperor Maximilian, of the year 1519, free and broad in treatment; and in the Museum of Madrid is a superb portrait of a man, dated 1521. To conclude, there is the splendidly executed portrait of Jerome Holzschuher, which is owned by the Holzschuher family in Nuremberg, but is deposited in the German Museum there; this is the ideal representation of a doughty German gentleman, true, upright, and firm.

There are also in existence several bold compositions, both drawings and engravings, in which the artist has frequently expended a wealth of imagination and a marvelous intellectual force, often with transcendent poetic power. The greater part of the drawings in question are in the Albertina in Vienna. There are, however, occasional specimens to be met with in other public collections; for example, in the Kunsthalle of Bremen, in the British Museum, and in the Louvre. It is, above all, in these drawings that we learn to admire the great master's depth, strength, and beauty of sentiment, and the unrivaled freedom, ease, and accuracy of his drawing. He generally makes use either of a pen or pencil; and he frequently employs a greenish or grayish paper, obtaining a highly picturesque effect by the deep black of the drawing, brought out by the introduction of white lights. Perhaps the earliest drawing we have of his is in the Albertina collection, dated 1484—the artist's own portrait, he being then a lad of thirteen. The Passion, in twelve sheets, drawn on green paper with pen and pencil, is one of the most precious memorials of his genius. This is also in the Albertina, and is a proof, when compared with the three Passion series engraved by Dürer, both on wood and on copper, how persistently, and with what profound religious sentiment, the great artist recurred to this most striking theme of Christian art.

Dürer had an especial preference for copper engraving;* and his artistic qualities are nowhere more perfectly illustrated than in these drawings, in which he carries to the highest perfection what had already been begun by earlier masters, especially by Martin Schön. The variety, freedom, and certainty displayed in his use of the graver; the fine gradations from the deepest shading, through chiaroscuro, to the clearest light—all this imparts a genuine picturesque effect to Dürer's engravings. The landscapes in these drawings are of incomparable beauty, occasionally, perhaps, overladen with motives, but at

*R. Von Rettberg, "Dürer's Kupferstiche und Holzschnitte, ein kritisches Verzeichniss"; München, 1871.

the same time full of the poetry of nature and of an individuality of meaning which entitle Dürer to be regarded as the founder of Northern landscape art. We will only mention a few of the most remarkable out of the great number of these precious works. There are the Four Witches of the year 1497, the Adam and Eve of 1504, the S.

Fig. 575. Knight, Death, and the Devil. By Dürer.

Jerome of 1512, the S. Jerome in his Cell of the year 1514, the S. Anthony of the year 1529, and the S. Eustatius. These are all charming poems of solitude, and of the idyllic life of the woods. Then we have the Rape of Amymone; Hercules, or Jealousy; the Great Fortune, or Nemesis; the Shield with the Cock, and the Shield with the Death's Head (1503); the Portraits of Albert of Branden-

burg (1519), of Frederick the Wise (1526), and of Erasmus of the same year; but, above all, the highly poetical Melancholy of the year 1514—one of the most finished productions of his brain. There is also a print, dated 1513, which represents a knight in armor, who is pursuing his way through a gloomy forest, unterrified and calm, although surrounded by threatening shapes of terror (Fig. 575). Nor should we omit to mention the designs for the prayer-book of the Emperor Maximilian,* of the year 1515, which are preserved in the Royal Library of Munich. In these there is a lively play of imagination and humor. Nature and human life, the realm of fable, and the wide domain of poetical invention are here expressed in cheerful arabesques, which, in this sense, must be designated as a wholly original creation of the great master, in which a new phase of his glorious genius is presented.

Contemporary with Dürer is Hans Holbein† the younger, the son of that elder Holbein who was a representative of the school of Augsburg, and one of the greatest and noblest masters of German art. He was born in 1497 at Augsburg; removed in 1515 to Basle; was working in Lucerne, in Switzerland, in 1517; and two years later settled in Basle, where he remained until 1524, when he went to France, and then to England, where, through the influence of Sir Thomas More, he entered the service of Henry VIII. In 1529 he returned to Basle, where he spent many years, executing important commissions‡ intrusted to him by the town council. He afterward returned to England, where he died in London, in the autumn of 1543. He is not only one of the most precocious geniuses in the history of art, appearing as an excellent painter in his eighteenth year, but he also belongs to the small class of painters of the North who were imbued with the qualities of the Italian school, and at the same time developed them in an independent manner. He is the sole Northern painter of that day, not even excepting Dürer, who attained to a free, and noble manner, broke away from the petty and tasteless style of his contemporaries, and portrayed the human form in its truth and beauty. In many respects he may be compared to the great sculptor Peter Vischer, who in the same way burst the narrow bounds of the art of his fatherland, without sacrificing the strength, depth, and freshness of the genuine German artist. Holbein found, moreover,

* Published in facsimile by N. Strixner. New edition by F. Stöger; Munich, 1850.

† U. Hegner. "Hans Holbein der Jüngere"; Berlin, 1827. A. Woltmann, "Holbein und seine Zeit"; 2 vols., Leipzig, 1866. New edition, 1874. R. N. Wornum, "Some Account of the Life and Works of Hans Holbein"; London, 1867. Ch. de Mechel, "Œuvres de J. Holbein"; folio, Basle, 1870.

‡ According to recent investigations of the town-archives by Mr. His-Heusler in Basle, who has also given to the world his important discoveries in regard to Holbein in the "Jahrbücher für Kunstwissenschaft," iii. year, parts 1, 2.

that the art of his native city had attained a higher ideality of sentiment and a better appreciation of form, which he was destined to blend together through his own cultivated feeling for nature.

Holbein's well-authenticated works begin with the year 1516, in Basle. As the earliest must be indicated a table-top, rediscovered lately in the city library at Zurich, which was painted by Holbein before 1515, or at least in the beginning of that year, for Hans Bär of Basle, who fell in the battle of Marignano in 1515. On it are to be seen merry scenes, illustrative of the chase, hawking and

Fig. 576. The Mocking of Christ. By Holbein. Basle.

fishing, a tournament, and in the center the sleeping shopkeeper whose goods are purloined by monkeys who play all sorts of pranks with them; opposite, surrounded by a variety of broken household stuff, the "Nobody" of the folk-tale who has to answer for every adversity. Here already the delicious freshness of Holbein's humor is apparent.* The other productions of this early period are contained in the rich museum of the artist's drawings and pictures, owned by the city.

* Published by the Gesellschaft für vervielfältigende Kunst in Vienna, with text by Professor S. Vögelin.

Among them there are several portraits, and a fearfully realistic dead Christ, of the year 1521, which reveal his mastery in suggestion, conception, and representation of nature. There is also a Last Supper, only a portion of which is preserved, in which Christ is represented

Fig. 577. The Madonna of the Burgomaster Meier. By Holbein. Darmstadt.

with nine Disciples, remarkable for vigor of characterization and coloring. There are also two excellent panels in the Minster at Freiburg, representing the Birth of Christ and the Adoration of the Magi. There are besides, in the Basle Museum, a series of admirable portraits—those of the Burgomaster Meier and his wife, painted in the year 1516; the portrait of his friend Boniface Auer-

bach, dated 1519, warm and tender in execution, and striking as a composition; also the remarkable family portraits of his wife and children, where a commonplace subject is ennobled by the highest art; finally, the two exquisite portraits (1526) of a Fräulein von Offen-

Fig. 578. The Madonna of the Burgomaster Meier. Copy of Holbein. Dresden.

burg. Also at Basle, eight pictures of the Passion (1520-25) are of special value, and establish his reputation as one of the first masters of religious painting. The series opens with the Prayer on the Mount of Olives, followed in the regular order by the Betrayal of

Christ, Christ before the High Priest, his Scourging and Mocking, the Bearing of the Cross, the Crucifixion, and the Entombment. The whole depth and strength of German art is in these thoroughly dramatic, bold, and vigorous compositions, softened, however, by the influence of Raphael and other great Italians. The transparent sim-

Fig. 579. The Madonna of Solothurn. By Holbein.

plicity of the composition, which tells the whole story in a few meaning touches; the free, broad drawing; the distinct modeling of the figures; and the powerful, intense coloring—all these impart an imperishable value to these representations. But there is an even more important series, of ten pictures, of the Passion, executed in masterly style in India ink, in which the dramatic force

and the talent for composition of the artist are still more conspicuous (Fig. 576).

As Holbein has succeeded admirably in representing in these pictures the intensity of passionate action, so also in another celebrated picture, painted about 1524—the Madonna of the Burgomaster Meier (Fig. 577), which is in Darmstadt, in the possession of the Princess Elizabeth of Hesse, and of which there is an admirable copy, thought by some to be another original, a replica (Fig. 578), in the Dresden Gallery—he appears as one of the first among the painters of simple votive pictures. It is not the ravishing force of lofty beauty, not the spirited nobility of important characters, but the fervid devoutness, genuine sentiment, which will always endear

Fig. 580. Meeting of Saul and Samuel. By Holbein. In the Rathhaus at Basle.

it to all hearts as one of the most profound and truthful delineations of German home life. A memorial picture which has recently come to light in Solothurn, in the possession of a private person, bearing the monogram of our artist and the date 1522 (Fig. 579), is scarcely less remarkable, and equally attractive in its gentle beauty, strong individuality, and fine-toned harmony of coloring. It represents the Madonna enthroned—one of the loveliest of Holbein's creations—her arms clasped about her child seated in her lap. On either side are S. Ursus and S. Martin: the first, a stern warrior in glittering armor; the other, in the rich habit of a bishop, giving an alms to a

HOLBEIN

"THE MADONNA OF THE BURGOMASTER MEYER," FROM THE PAINTING IN THE DARMSTADT GALLERY

beggar, upon whom he is looking with tender pity. There are also two panels, on which this artist has represented S. George and S. Ursula, in the Carlsruhe collection. S. Ursula especially is a beautiful figure. Both are remarkable for the freshness and transparency of coloring, and for youthful delicacy of form. We have an illustration of Holbein's skill in monumental compositions, in the great wall-paintings executed by him, after 1521, in the hall of the Rathhaus at Basle. They were very much injured, soon after they were painted, by damp; and they can now be studied only in a few detached remains, and in copies and sketches in the Basle Museum. They contained, according to the fashion of the day, representations from ancient history and from the Old Testament, typifying republican justice and severity: such as the Sacrifice of Charondas; Zaleucus, who caused his eye and his son's eye to be put out on account of a crime committed by the latter; Curius Dentatus sending back the Samnite ambassadors; King Sapor humiliating the captive Emperor Valerian. Between these are the single figures of Christ, King David, Justice, Wisdom, and Temperance. Then followed the two important pictures painted after his return to Basle—Rehoboam scornfully rejecting the Envoys of his People, and the Meeting of Saul and Samuel (Fig. 580). These creations, illustrating profane history, are all the more remarkable for dramatic power, great historic significance, and lofty freedom of treatment, because later works of this kind degenerate completely into conventional forms.

After he had settled in England—where he had a great number of important commissions, not only from King Henry VIII., but from the nobles of the kingdom—Holbein devoted himself almost exclusively to portrait painting. His numerous portraits, in delicacy of conception, incomparable smoothness and unsurpassed truthfulness in the delineation of life, noble simplicity and exquisite finish, united with superb freedom of treatment, take rank among the best productions in this department. Among his most admirable works in England are the drawings in Windsor Castle—the portrait of Thomas More, in the possession of Mr. Huth, dated 1527; Archbishop Warham, in Lambeth House, London; and the superb portrait of the Duchess Christine of Milan, life size and full length, in Arundel Castle, of the year 1538. We also mention the portrait of the goldsmith Morett, in the Gallery at Dresden, which is finished with jeweler-like fineness; and, further, the capitally executed portrait of the merchant Gisze, dated 1532, in the Berlin Museum, remarkable for its cool, clear tone, and two other portraits of young men. There are also the portraits, in the Louvre, of Anne of Cleves, of the as-

tronomer Nicholas Kratzer, and that of Erasmus, painted with the delicacy of a miniature. There are several of his finest portraits in the Museum of the History of Art at Vienna—a masterly one of a young man treated in vigorous brown tones, dated 1541, almost equaling the Berlin picture, with superbly painted hands; also the portrait (1533) of Dirk Tybis, cool in the coloring throughout, with gray shadows; and, executed probably in the same year, the superb portrait of John Chambers, the venerable physician of Henry VIII., painted in milder, cooler tones of color; finally, two noble female portraits—a young lady in a cap embroidered with gold, and a gold ornament on her breast, resembling the Basle portraits of Fräulein Offenburg in delicacy and tenderness of the rosy flesh tints, and probably painted during the early period of his sojourn in England. There is also the wonderfully finished portrait of Jane Seymour, the third wife of King Henry, with her velvety skin, her exquisitely beautiful hands and delicate modeling, distinguished, besides, by a costly necklace of pearls—probably painted in 1536.

Holbein excelled also as a miniature painter, as is proved by several charming pictures in Windsor Castle and in the Ambraser collection at Vienna; although we can hardly believe that the latter are by him. As the great master, in these portraits, showed himself to be a finished delineator of life, so he was capable of grasping the profounder significance, the more general meaning, of existence. His celebrated Dance of Death, probably of his early Basle period, and first published at Lyons in 1538, illustrates this with the full force of his genius. He made use of wood-engraving, and of a vigorous, popular style of representation, in order to give fitting expression to his thoroughly national conceptions, with their ponderous humor and thoughtful poetry. The startling contrasts of a social system divided into countless grades, which, in those times of universal fermentation, became threateningly prominent, and which had attained to a terrible expression during the insurrectionary movements of the peasant war, are translated by the artist into a series of pictures, wherein the nothingness of all things earthly is represented with profound irony in a few bold strokes. We have before described how this same idea of the dominion of death, before which all the might and majesty of earth must give way, had already inspired a thoughtful Italian painter, at an earlier day, to produce that sublime picture, the Triumph of Death. We now come upon another Triumphal March of Death, only resolved into its separate moments, each of which possessed its own deep meaning. No condition is too rich or too mighty, no age too fair or too delicate, no destiny too high or

too low: they all, in common, find their implacable conqueror. But each one he approaches in a different way; to one he comes unperceived; to another he comes with violence. The designs of other woodcuts are ascribed to him; as a series of pictures from Old Testament history, published 1538; but none of these, not even the Dance of Death (Fig. 581), is accepted without dispute as by Holbein. Holbein also shared most prominently in the industrial art productions of the times, and it was he above all who introduced into Northern decorative work the novel forms of the Renaissance. Especially his designs for goldsmiths, exhibited in great abundance in the Museum at Basle, are conspicuous for beauty of form and ingenious invention. But even more worthy of notice are his numerous sketches for paintings on glass, which are in the same collection and show the same merits. In this place we must make mention of the extraordinary development which painting on glass attained in Switzerland during the entire sixteenth century. Promoted by the custom which prevailed there for friends to delight each other by the donation of colored glass, that beautiful art took shape quite in the spirit of the times, passing from churchly service to the adornment of secular life, from great public tasks to objects of mostly a private nature, like guild-halls, company houses of harquebusiers, municipal halls, and domestic dwellings; but also in the cloisters of monasteries we must look for these dainty and splendid works, if not incorporated into public collections. In conformity with the small scale of the windows a species of minute painting of the highest charm was thus developed which may well be designated as cabinet painting. Ancient history, the Old and New Testaments, but also later and patriotic history, with the heroic deeds of the past, form the rich subject-matter treated here, which not infrequently is placed in comparison with Biblical events, after the manner of the painted series of the early Middle Ages. Thus, for instance, in the glass paintings in the cloister of Wettingen Convent. Other early specimens, produced still under the influence of Holbein, may be seen in the Grand Council Chamber of the city hall at Basle; in the Town Hall at Aarau, trans-

Fig. 581. From Holbein's Dance of Death.

ferred there from Muri Convent; in a private collection at St. Gall, from Rathhausen Convent; in the possession of Mr. Vincent at Constance (all these places being in Switzerland), and finally in the so-called Gothic House at Wörlitz in North Germany.

Christopher Amberger, born in 1490 in Nuremberg, was a follower of Holbein. He took up his abode in Augsburg, where he did some admirable work as a portrait painter. Holbein, in his turn, appears to have been influenced by two Swiss artists: Urs Graf, a very industrious draughtsman of Basle; and Niklas Manuel of Berne, called Deutsch (1484-1530)*—a many-sided genius, who was a zealous partisan of the Reformation, and put forth a number of satirical pictures that are full of pointed humor. In general, he is noted as a versatile artist, and full of ideas, but with a strong tendency to mannerism in his forms. There are several excellent pictures by him in the Basle Gallery, which he painted upon the wall of the cemetery of the Dominican Convent at Berne. The frescos, however, representing dances of death, have been entirely destroyed, and survive to us only in copies.

German painting reached its culminating point with Dürer and Holbein. Henceforth its development was more in breadth than in depth. At the same time it had acquired a certainty of technique, a freedom in the representation of form, a facility of invention, which gave a certain importance to the later masters. But, meanwhile, art had assumed a different attitude in regard to life. Protestantism, even if it had not entirely banished art from the churches, had certainly greatly limited its importance as a teacher in the Church. But her loss in this respect was her enormous gain in the temporal realm; although, indeed, her sphere of activity there was an entirely different one. The spirit of the Renaissance extended from Italy to the North. In spite of the storms the Reformation brought with it, the boundaries of life enlarged, and received intellectual impulses, which also bore fruit for art. The nobles vied with the wealthy and powerful middle classes in striving after a pleasant, comfortable mode of life beautified by the gifts of art. The works of this period certainly bear unmistakable traces of the influence of Italian painting. This influence was more especially noticeable after 1550, culminating at last in a conventional mannerism. But even if this development failed in the expression of historical and religious subjects, it was so much the better adapted to adorn worldly life, and to produce works which are worthy of high consideration on account of their delicacy of design, carefulness of execution, and their abundance of fanciful

* Compare the monograph by C. Grüneisen; Stuttgart, 1837.

motives, and which may be classed under the head of art handicraft.* As a result, the painters of this period were proficient in almost all the branches of art. They were often architects, sculptors, carvers, and decorators; they painted in fresco and in oil; they decorated beautiful books with costly illuminations; they executed designs for arms and armor, for vessels and utensils of all kinds, for costly book bindings and furniture; and, to conclude, they were remarkably fine engravers. Especially those artists who had studied in the school of Dürer acquired a great reputation as engravers. They produced a great number of designs of extreme fineness of execution, and remarkable for their invention. These artists were called Little Masters.

There can be no question that Dürer paved the way for this phase by the versatility of his own powers. Seldom, indeed, has the influence of any one master extended so widely, not only through a numerous school, but throughout the entire art of his time. We may mention among his immediate pupils, first of all, George Pencz (1500-56), who, endowed with great facility of invention, completed his studies in Italy, and afterward executed not only portraits that were true to life, and superb in coloring, but also numerous excellent engravings. Hans von Kulmbach, properly Hans Wagner, is, however, more closely allied to the great German master. In his great church pictures, such as the large altar-piece of the year 1514, in the Church of S. Sebald at Nuremberg, he exhibits not so much superiority of invention as a fine feeling for nature. He has, besides, great merit as an engraver and portrait painter. Hans Schäuffelein, who died in 1540, had great invention, united to a glowing harmony of coloring. There is a wall-picture of much freshness and naturalness, of the year 1515, in Nördlingen, where this artist chiefly labored, which illustrates the history of Judith, in costumes of the sixteenth century. There is also an altar painting, very natural in style, in the Church of S. George, of the year 1521. Schäuffelein also executed numerous drawings for woodcuts. Heinrich Aldegrever of Soest (1502-62) is more conspicuous for inventive power than for noble form; he deserves especial consideration as an industrious engraver. Albert Altdorfer is distinguished for excellent coloring and

* There are numerous illustrations of such works in Ortwein's "Deutscher Renaissance" (Leipzig, 1871), in Bucher and Gnauth, "Das Kunsthandwerk" (Stuttgart, 1874-78); in Zettler's "Kunstwerken der reichen Kapelle in München" (Munich, 1874-77); in Leibner's "Kaiserlichen Waffensammlung," and the "Kaiserlichen Schatzkammer in Wien" by the same author. In Racinet's "Le Costume Historique" many illustrations will be found, and in "L'Art pour Tous," a popular work of established reputation, appearing periodically and expressly devoted to illustrations of furniture, iron-work, pottery, glass, etc., and of all times and countries, abundant material will be found to extend the student's knowledge of the subject.

for a poetically fantastic imagination. He was born at Landshut in 1488, and died in 1538 at Regensburg. He belongs to that class of artists who still bear the strong impress of the elder school of the fifteenth century. The picture, of the year 1529, in the Pinakothek at Munich, which is one of his finest works, illustrates the victory of Alexander the Great over Darius with great delicacy and spirit. The personages are dressed in costumes of the sixteenth century. In his pictures, as well as in his numerous engravings, he shows the influence of the Renaissance.

Another class of Dürer's pupils and successors betray a still more decided leaning toward Italian art. Bartholomäus Beham* of Nuremberg heads the list (about 1502-04). He is least pleasing in religious compositions, but admirable as a portrait painter, and still more so as a talented engraver (Fig. 582), being gifted with a surprising readiness and versatility. The prints from his wonderful portrait of the Emperor Charles V., engraved in his thirty-first year, are accepted by many students of the art as superior to anything else of the same class and character. The finest of his pictures are in the Prince's collection at Donaueschingen, besides an Adoration of the Magi in the Church at Mösskirch. His brother, Hans Sebald Beham, was an artist of still greater versatility and talent. He was born in Nuremberg in 1500; but he was banished from the city, with his brother and George Pencz, as sympathizers with the revolutionary doctrines of Carlstadt and Münzer. He afterwards carried on the art of engraving in Frankfort (Fig. 583). His special forte lay in portraying, in admirably picturesque engravings, the peasant-life and soldier-life of his times. He only occasionally took up the painter's brush. Only one work of painting by him has come down to us—a panel painted for Albert of Brandenburg, with scenes from the life of King David; it is dated 1534, and is in the Louvre.

Fig. 582. Landsknecht. After a print by Bartel Beham.

Hans Baldung, surnamed Grien or Grün, also is reckoned among

* A. Rosenberg, "Sebald und Bartel Beham, zwei Maler der deutschen Renaissance," with twenty-five woodcuts; Leipzig, 1875. See also A. Woltmann, "Verzeichniss der Gemäldesammlung zu Donaueschingen"; Carlsruhe, 1870.

the most important German artists, having been educated in the Suabian school. He was born in the year 1480 at Gmünd, on the upper Rhine. He pursued his art in Switzerland and Alsatia; settled in Strasburg in 1509, where he died in 1545. The leaning to the fantastic, which had taken such deep root in the German character, and had reached its culminating point at that time, received an artistic interpretation at his hands such as has been given it by no other artist. There is no doubt that similar works of Dürer's and Schongauer's brought out this bias; but it was left to Baldung to find in color—in the masterly play of light, and the development of chiaroscuro—the legitimate means of expression for this tendency. A wonderful abundance of figure motives and an uncommon sense of beauty are at his command. Besides this, he lays great stress upon his landscape; so that it acquires special significance, and contributes to the poetical harmony of his picture. Among his earliest works is an

Fig. 583. Hercules and Nessus. By H. S. Beham.

altar-piece with the Martyrdom of S. Sebastian, and with several single figures of saints on the wings, in the possession of Herr Lippenann in Vienna, dated 1507. The museum at Carlsruhe possesses an admirable portrait by him of the Margrave Christopher of Baden. His masterpiece is the altar-piece of the Minster at Freiburg in the Breisgau, in the Grand Duchy of Baden, of the year 1516, with scenes upon the wings from the life of the Blessed Virgin, and with a Coronation of the Madonna on the principal panel. A wonderful illumination is to be seen in the Nativity, where, in accordance with the legend, the light radiates from the Child; and in the picture of the Coronation there is also a radiant effect of light which shows his striving after more intense effects of color. There is another Na-

tivity, of the year 1520, in which the master manifests a similar tendency. This latter picture is in the Aschaffenburg Gallery. In the Museum at Basle are two clever, exquisitely finished smaller pictures of the year 1517, the subject of which is the Dance of Death, so popular at that time.

A relationship to this master is shown by Matthias Grünewald of Aschaffenburg. Investigations have definitely assigned to him one of the most magnificent works of German art, which had been associated with his name from a very early period.* This is a large altar-piece with wings, highly fantastic in treatment, which was removed from the Convent Church of Isenheim to the Colmar Museum, and which illustrates the temptation of S. Anthony. The marked effects of light betray a relationship with the picture by Grien, at Freiburg; to whom, on this account, this picture had of late been ascribed. There is, moreover, a suggestion of this master in the blending of the colors and in the faintness of the tints; but it is certainly an open question which of the two has exercised the more marked influence upon the other. There is in the museum at Basle a Resurrection of Christ by Grünewald. The Gallery of the Saalhof, at Frankfort-on-the-Main, has several wings of altar-pieces, on which are saints painted in grisaille, which are remarkable for grandeur of form and conception. The S. Lawrence panel has the artist's monogram.

An unknown artist whose work was for a long time erroneously confounded with Matthias Grünewald occupies a far more independent position. He united the strength and vivacity of the Franconian school with the feeling for beauty and the deeper appreciation of color of the Suabian. One of the first places among the German painters of this period belongs to this unknown master, a place next only to Dürer and Holbein. He was given numerous commissions by Albert of Brandenburg, Archbishop of Mayence, principally designed for churches, which are conspicuous for dignity and earnestness of conception, elegance of composition, and strength of characterization. His masterpiece, originally intended for the Church of S. Maurice at Halle, at present in the Pinakothek at Munich, represents in the central space the Conversion of S. Maurice; and upon the wings on one side SS. Lazarus and Chrysostom, and on the other Mary Magdalen and S. Valentinian. The portion containing the figure of S. Valentinian is at present in the Collegiate Church at Aschaffenburg. Another excellent work of 1529, in the Church of S. Mary at Halle, represents in the central space the Madonna Enthroned, surrounded by angels and an object of adoration to the

*A. Woltmann, "Die deutsche Kunst im Elsass."

princely founder. Some writers have thought that they recognized in these pictures the early work of Lucas Cranach the older, or the work of his pupils.

We now come to a master who may be regarded as an offshoot of the Franconian school, and who carried its peculiarities into Saxony, where during a long and vigorous life he was at the head of an ex-

Fig. 584. Madonna. By L. Cranach.

ceedingly prolific school. This was Lucas Cranach,* properly Lucas Sunder (1472-1553), and called habitually Cranach the Elder, who was born in the small Franconian town of Cranach (now Kronach) in Bavaria. He was made the court painter of the Elector Frederick the Wise of Saxony in 1504, and continued to occupy the same position under the succeeding electors—John the Constant and John

* Chr. Schuchardt, "Lucas Cranach des Aelteren, Leben und Werke"; Leipzig, 1851. J. Heller, "Das Leben und die Werke Lucas Cranach's"; Bamberg, 1844.

Frederick the Magnanimous. He even followed the latter into captivity as his faithful friend and adherent. He subsequently returned with his prince to Weimar, where he died. Cranach was a zealous partisan of the Reformation, and held friendly relations with several

Fig. 585. Group from a Picture by Lucas Cranach the elder, Belonging to Schuchardt.

of the reformers. He endeavored, in several of his altar-pieces, to embody the relation between the new doctrines and the traditional ecclesiastical conception. For the rest, he is more distinguished for copiousness than for depth of thought. Dürer's lofty contemplation, his power in composition, were wanting to him. His path rather led him to the expression of a cheerful, innocent character of thought, which has acquired great popularity for his pictures. Several of his

charming Madonnas have all the sensible, kindly characteristics of German matrons (Fig. 584). The rounded faces of his women, with their golden hair, their intelligent, clear eyes, smiling mouths, and rosy, blooming complexions, are easily recognizable. The countless works which pass current all over the world under his name are ex-

Fig. 586. The Giant Christopher. After a woodcut by Lucas Cranach the elder.

tremely unequal in execution, as he fulfilled his numerous orders with the assistance of his indefatigable apprentices. Although he occupied most respectable positions, not only being court painter to the elector, but also a dignified burgomaster of Wittenberg, still he, without hesitation, received orders, not only to paint pictures, but also to em-

blazon escutcheons, shields, and trappings for horses, and even to decorate rooms and to do house-painting.

The most important of his altar-pictures are: the one in the Church at Schneeberg, in which is represented the Crucifixion, the Last Supper, the Resurrection of the Dead, and the Last Judgment; that in the Cathedral at Meissen, also representing the Crucifixion, together with a series of scenes relating thereto; further, the altar-piece in the Town Church of Wittenberg, with a Last Supper, below which a group of Reformers are preaching, baptizing, and confessing penitents. The most important of all is in the Town Church at Weimar, which was finished, after his death, by his son. Christ is here represented on the cross, and, in immediate proximity, as the Conqueror of Hell. Luther and Cranach are on one side, the latter struck by a stream of blood flowing out of the side of Christ.

Besides these religious pictures, Cranach executed a great number of representations, in which he endeavored to combine a fresh, delicate, warm carnation tint with his studies of the naked form, especially the female form. Adam and Eve furnish a motive, from scriptural history, for this style of picture. But his preference is for antique subjects, which he, however, is apt to travesty in a vein of broad humor. These productions frequently lack dignity and feeling for form; but they generally possess a delightful *naïveté;* and the best of them, at all events, are animated by a charming, roguish grace (Fig. 585).

One of the most pleasing works of this kind is the Judgment of Paris, from the Gallery at Carlsruhe, the mythological scene being here transported into the living atmosphere of the sixteenth century. In the same collection are several other graceful works by the master.

Cranach was also an engraver; but he especially devoted himself to designs for woodcuts. This popular kind of representation was peculiarly suited to his taste; and he appears to great advantage notably in illustrations of the Apocalypse in Luther's New Testament, and in the Passionale of Christ and Antichrist; in all of which he endeavored, whenever it was possible, to further the cause of the Reformation. We give an illustration of the popular character of these designs in a woodcut (Fig. 586) by this master of the Giant Christopher carrying the Child-Christ according to the legend.

The Saxon school fell back again into obscurity after Cranach. His son, who bore the same name, was the sole inheritor of his father's art and renown.

Painting attained especial perfection in Munich during this period, where the art-loving dukes of Bavaria gathered a number of excellent artists about them, to whom they intrusted the decoration of their

residences. Hans Muelich of Munich (1515-72) belongs among those artists who have shown great versatility in painting. In his lifelike portraits in the Pinakothek at Munich he proves himself to be related, through the uncommon harmony and glow of his colors, as well as through his clever, spirited manner of representation, to those artists who are either allied in style to Hans Holbein, or who have formed themselves upon his model. On the other hand, his historical and Biblical compositions, although conceived with facility of invention, bear the conventional stamp of Italian art. Excellent designs for vases and ornaments, as well as imitations of the jewels of the Munich Treasure Room, in the possession of Dr. von Hefner-Alteneck in Munich, testify to his skill as a painter in miniature. There are also the two volumes of the Penitential Psalms of Orlando di Lasso in the Library of the same place, profusely illustrating scenes from the Old and New Testaments, from secular history, and even from mythology, as well as depicting the life of the time.

c. *French Painting.**

Painting arrived at no greater individuality of expression in France during this period than it did in Germany, although there are numerous traces of a lively reception of the method of the Van Eycks. The art of illumination was especially practiced, and the kindred art of coloring the outline woodcut prints of the time was carried to a great development. The wood engravers had worked habitually in outline, in Italy, throughout the fifteenth century; and in the North from a time as remote, if we include the early block books in which text and pictures alike were printed at once from wood-engravings. Modern collectors prefer these outline prints in a spotless state; but the people of their time expected to see them colored, and some of them were even touched with gold and carried up to a splendid pitch of polychromatic effect. Of both these arts, the drawing in outline and the coloring by hand, splendid examples are still preserved for us in the National Library in Paris. The most admirable of the illustrations (Fig. 587) by Jean Fouquet, the court painter of Louis XI., which were designed about 1488, are distinguished for elevation of style as well as for sumptuous and brilliant decorative qualities. A number of admirable illuminations are found in manuscripts which were painted for officers of the state under Charles VII., and illumi-

* De Laborde, "La Renaissance des Arts à la cour de France." Pattison, Mrs. Mark, "The Renaissance of Art in France." Didot, "Études de Jean Cousin." Curmer, "L'Œuvre de Jean Fouquet." Müntz, "Les Précurseurs de la Renaissance." Berger, "Histoire de l'Ecole Française de Peinture au XVIIème siècle."

nations from this master's school may be seen in a richly illustrated manuscript of Boccaccio's work on the fates of famous men and women, in the Library at Munich, in a copy of Livy in the Library at Tours, and in a copy of Virgil in the Library at Dijon. The early

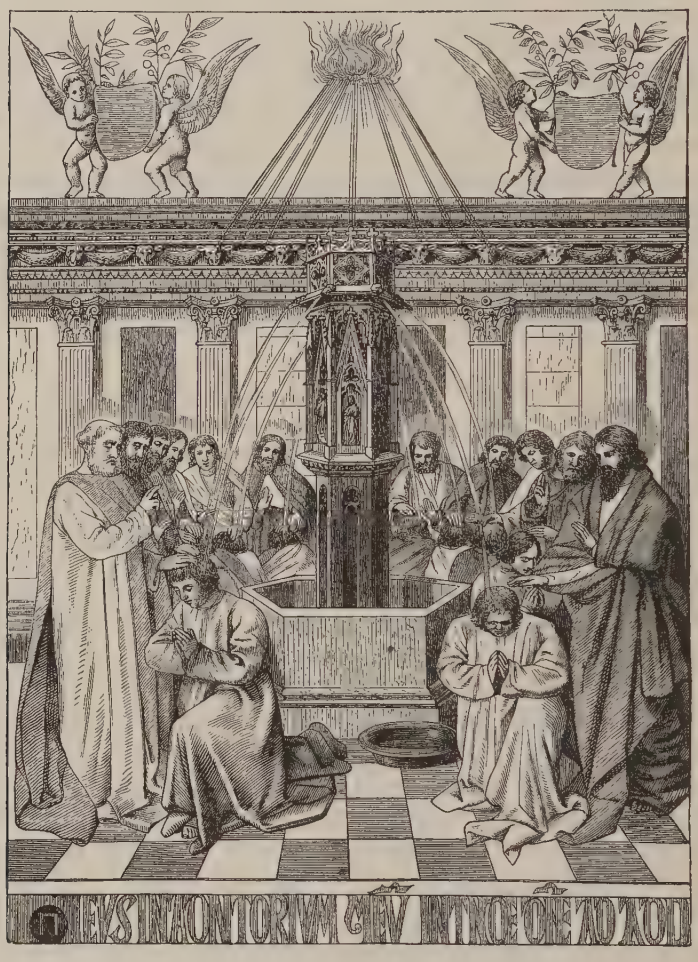

Fig. 587. Miniature. By J. Fouquet.

adoption of the Renaissance style of scrollwork decoration, as in the margins, is conspicuous in these illuminations; and what is remarkable, these are not in the spirit of the flowery North Italian method, but in the graver manner of Florentine art. There are suggestions, moreover, in the faces and draperies which recall that school, es-

pecially the works of Fra Angelico da Fiesole, whom the French painter so closely resembles that we must assume that he had studied them in Florence. There are, however, very few panel pictures of the period remaining: in fact, only a very few works of this style exist in the Aix Cathedral, and in the Villeneuve Hospital, near Avignon, which have been most unreasonably attributed to King René of Anjou, who is said also to have been a pupil of Jan van Eyck.

Jean Fouquet was a portrait painter as well. Two pictures in the Louvre Museum represent, the one King Charles VII., the other the High Chancellor of France, Guillaume des Ursins. Each of these is a three-quarter-length life size; and that of the Chancellor is an especially powerful and interesting picture. Jean Fouquet was closely followed by Jean Clouet, evidently of Flemish origin, by whom there is in the Louvre a curious portrait of King Francis I. Clouet, surnamed Jehannet or Janet from the name of his father, Jehan, is very closely allied in manner to Fouquet, though not born until after his death. He distinguished himself as a portrait painter, and is unsurpassed for his faithful, painstaking, and delicate delineations of life. There is a likeness of Charles IX. in the Museum at Vienna, of the year 1563, which has the exquisite delicacy of a miniature; and of a later time is the admirable portrait of Charles's queen, Elizabeth of Austria, a noble picture in the Salon Carré of the Louvre, and probably of the year of her marriage, 1570. He did this excellent work at a time when the majority of his countrymen had fallen under the influence of the Italian style, which they carried to the extreme verge of an exaggerated, external grace. One of the ablest masters of this school was Jean Cousin, about 1510 to 1570, and therefore a contemporary of François Clouet. This artist we have already met as a sculptor. The gallery of the Louvre contains a painting of the Last Judgment by his hand, containing a crowd of figures, and executed like a miniature, although over seven feet high and nearly as broad. Nothing in this fine composition points to any influence over him of the Italian school at Fontainebleau (see p. 330), although such a yielding to that style is commonly asserted of him. Martin Fréminet follows Cousin; and he went straight to Italy for his inspiration, disregarding the Italian masters at Fontainebleau in favor of their countrymen at home.

Jean Cousin, however, made himself a great name as the last of the original school of French glass painters and designers in glass. Indeed, at this epoch a particularly brilliant afterbloom fell to the share of French glass painting, to which not only the extremely versatile Jean Cousin, but also a number of other artists contributed,

some of whom were very able, like Robert Pinaigrier and his sons. In many churches in Paris—as, for instance, in S. Séverin, S. Germain l'Auxerrois, S. Gervais, S. Médard, S. Eustache, and S. Étienne du Mont; but especially in the church at Montfort l'Amaury (Seine et Oise)—may still be seen important works of this brilliant branch of art, in which the forms of the Renaissance are happily blended with native traditions. Here we must notice another fact which is full of meaning in regard to French art of this epoch. Enamel painting

Fig. 588. Enameled Pitcher from Limoges.

now rose to highest perfection at Limoges, a town which was famous even in the Middle Ages as a center for this branch of pictorial technique. At first, and even toward the end of the mediæval period, this art was applied, mainly by Jean Pénicaud the elder, to ecclesiastical objects, especially the little portable triptychs; but with the beginning of the sixteenth century this gorgeous technique was almost exclusively devoted to secular uses, and in utensils and vessels like pitchers, bowls, and platters created specimens of luxury with which the world of Renaissance forms and ideas made its entry. In taste,

nobleness of design, and splendor of color effect, these creations of industrial art frequently rise to the level of independent works of art (Fig. 588). Pierre Courtois, Léonard Limosin, and Pierre Reymond are the chief masters, who were followed by various other artists, especially of the families of Courtois and Limosin.

Similar observations apply to the *faïence* of this epoch, which attained a high degree of perfection particularly through the efforts of the distinguished Bernard de Palissy (about 1510 to 1589), notable from an artistic point of view; and memorable because of his romantic

Fig. 589. Ewer. By Palissy.

story. Here also it is something of the Italian command of form which creates the total impression in the noblest productions of this kind; although their detail is often singularly realistic (Fig. 589). Different, but no less attractive, are the famous "Faïences de Henri II.," as they are generally called, and which are designated as "Faïences d'Oiron," since the investigations of Fillon, and more recently, "Faïences de Saint-Porchaire."

The natural development of the French school of painting was even more hindered than that of sculpture by foreign influence. As early as 1516, Francis I. had invited Leonardo da Vinci, already an old man; and a year or two later, Andrea del Sarto came, and painted

for the king. This early effort was hardly fruitful. But in 1530 and following years, the Florentine G. Battista dei Rossi, called *il Rosso* (the red-haired), and by the French of the time, Maître Roux, was appointed superintendent at Fontainebleau. He was rather a general decorative designer than a painter of subject. Francesco Primaticcio, a Bolognese, was il Rosso's helper from the first, but after 1541 he was himself the director in chief, and held that post till 1570. He left many paintings in the palace; some of which were destroyed in the eighteenth century, and the rest have been restored out of recognition. The work of these men and their somewhat numerous Italian assistants did much to prepare the French for the classical painting of the seventeenth century.

D. *Spanish Painting*—1420-1580.*

Spain, partly because of her close relations with the Netherlands, seems to have had no independent school of painting in the fifteenth century. Flemish artists were, however, frequently invited to exercise their skill in that country in order to satisfy the demand for religious pictures, and many came to Spain and found employment there even during the reigns of Ferdinand and Isabella (about 1479-1512), in spite of the desire of those sovereigns to encourage native art. Many Italians came to Spain during the reign of Charles I., better known as the Emperor Charles V., who abdicated 1556. It is impossible to decide how greatly this frequent contact affected the development of a national school; for the works of the time have been destroyed or lost by disappearing into private hands, and have been far less studied than similar work in France, Germany, or Belgium. Antonio del Rincon is considered the first who abandoned the exclusively Flemish manner, and his work is hardly earlier than 1470; this late beginning of Renaissance methods being noticeable in view of the advance held by Spain over the Northern nations in the matter of neo-classic architecture. Little of his work is known to exist; the altar-piece of many compartments, in the church at Robledo de Chabela, near Toledo, being the only one on record as in its original place; but portraits of Ferdinand and Isabella are in the Church of S. Juan de los Reyes, Toledo, and two others in the Madrid Gallery. He is said to have died in 1500. Pedro Berruguete worked with Rincon, and was painting at Toledo in 1483. At a later time, Anthonis Mor, of Utrecht, in the Netherlands, called in Spain Moro, was much favored by Philip II. Nicholas de Vergara was of Castile, and is known for his remarkable windows in Toledo Cathedral. Alonzo Coello has left

* Sir William Stirling Maxwell, "Annals of the Artists of Spain"; London, 1848. New Ed. 1891.

altar-pieces in the great palace of the Escorial, and portraits in the Madrid Gallery. Luca Cambiaso came from Italy to Spain in 1583, and painted large pictures in the Escorial. Juan Fernandez Navarrete, called *el Mudo,* "the Dumb," was painting at the court in 1580; he has been likened to Titian for his style of painting. Luis Morales, surnamed *el Divino,* "the Divine," who was living in 1586, was celebrated for his opposition to the encroachments of Italian art, and for his adherence to a severe, antique manner. However, he did not continue quite outside of the pale of those influences; although, at the same time, the profound ecstatic fervor of his pictures presents itself to us as a decided national element. Other Spanish painters adopted unconditionally the study of the great Italian artists. A number of painters attained prominence, about the beginning of the sixteenth century, as followers of Leonardo da Vinci.

Alonzo Berruguete (1480-1562) was a conspicuous instance of this. He was also an architect and sculptor; and in his paintings he followed the manner of Michelangelo. Another artist, who was born in Flanders, Pedro Campana (1503-80), struck out a similar path, but with greater individuality, and a happy suggestion of the more severe and antique method. His masterpiece, the Descent from the Cross, in the Cathedral at Seville, is celebrated as a striking dramatic conception. Luis de Vargas (1502-68) was an artist of importance, with Raphaelesque tendencies, who painted chiefly in Seville, where a number of altar pictures by him are in existence. Vicente Joanez of Valencia, who is conspicuous for grace and devoutness, illustrates a similar tendency. The Spaniards like to call him their Raphael. Federigo Zuccaro was in Spain after 1585, and painted in the Escorial. Theotocopuli, called *el Greco,* "the Greek," was an artist of irregular merit, sometimes producing admirable work, as in his historical picture in the Church of S. Tomé, Toledo. Juan Pantoza de la Cruz, born in 1551, was a favorite painter of King Philip II.; noble portraits by him are in the Madrid Museum, as well as two large pictures of sacred subject. Blas del Prado has left an important altar-piece in the Church of S. Pedro, Madrid, and other pictures in the Chapel of S. Blas, Toledo Cathedral, and died about 1600.

The illuminations of the second half of the sixteenth century are of extraordinary splendor. There was also a famous school of embroidery in Spain, at this time; and these two arts, together with design in colored glass and the work in bronze and silver mentioned above, united to give to the interiors of the Spanish churches that sumptuous splendor which still, in spite of plunder and bad handling, continues to astonish students who know the other sacred buildings of Europe.

Chapter VI.

ART IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES—1580-1790.*

1. *Architecture*—1580-1790.

A.—ITALY.

WHEN this epoch begins we find in Italy the grandiose style of the cinquecento complete, its greatest structures adorned with the Colossal Order, as in S. Peter's, where this order is 152 feet high, and is crowned by an attic of 40 feet; and in the great vaulted interiors, of which, again, S. Peter's is the most striking example. The cupola, however, was not complete at this time. Michelangelo, dying in 1564, had left a model for it which it is believed was not seriously altered by his successors. These successors, however, and especially Carlo Maderno or Maderna (1566-1629), finished the church in its present form, with the entire nave stretching eastward to the Piazza di S. Pietro; and the well-known front on that great place, in which a colossal order not unlike that of the original structure beneath the cupola has yet a less fortunate effect because of the poor proportions of the fenestration, and also because the resolute keeping down of the height, in order to allow the great cupola to be seen from the streets of the city, has given it a flatness of look quite unpardonable, while yet the great length of the structure partly conceals the cupola except when viewed from a great distance. The length of the church had, however, this beneficial effect, it enabled the builders to repeat the splendid feature—adopted from earlier times—of a great narthex, having a length equal to the total width of the nave and its aisles, and in this case an even greater length attained by open porches in projec-

*Dilke, Lady, "Art in the Modern State"; "French Architects and Sculptors of the Eighteenth Century." Gurlitt, C., "Geschichte des Barockstiles in Italien"; "Geschichte des Barockstiles und des Rococo in Deutschland." Gotch and Brown, "Architecture of the Renaissance in England." Blomfield, R., "A History of Renaissance Art in England, 1500-1800." Belcher and Macartney, "Later Renaissance Architecture in England." Birch, "London Churches of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries."

tion. The portico of S. Giovanni Laterano, an addition to the north transept of that church, is a noble creation of Domenico Fontana (1543-1607), and was begun about 1586. This consists of two stories of Roman orders, with pilasters instead of columns between the arches and coupled pilasters at the angles. In these buildings we have the type of the definitive neo-classic style as accepted by the Italians. They allowed themselves the alternative of a huge order with two or three or four stories of the building behind it, corresponding to its own unaided height, and also of the ancient and more nearly classical method of successive stories of classical disposition; they desired little external sculpture, and absolutely eschewed external coloring. The belief that the ancient Romans cared merely for orderly disposition and great size of parts seems to have inspired all their designing; and colorless uniformity added to extreme care in the disposition of the parts, and a consistent search for the stately to the exclusion of all other ways of reaching effect in a building, made their buildings the most severe and the most devoid of familiar and simple interest which the world had seen up to that time.

This spirit obtained in Italy during the whole of our present epoch, but did not reign alone. It was modified, on the one hand, by a reaching out after more diversified, and therefore sometimes exaggerated or even grotesque ornamentation, as is seen in such buildings, though perhaps admirable in their general design, as the Church of the Salute at Venice, finished 1687, the design of Balthasar Longhena; while, on the other hand, the growing cost of building in proportion to the other expenses of life in Italy made many of the largest and most stately buildings plain and poor, with flat walls, and no decorative principle except that of simple disposition of the window openings and the arcading of vestibules of entrance and the like. It is obviously an error to apply the word barocco, in our modern English sense, to any of these buildings, and the French form *baroque* is even more inappropriate, because these words imply especially falsity, degraded or inferior imitation, and the like. In English we cannot, without serious danger of error, translate the German *barock* by the Italian or the French term. That which is really barocco is described below. The Italians apply the term Decadenza to the style of these stately buildings, and speak of the epoch as that of the classicismo.

The columnar style is found early in the seventeenth century, in full development in the Palazzo Borghese, Rome, the work of Martino Lunghi. The Brera Palace at Milan is of the same date, 1618-1620, and is the work of Richini the elder. A perfect instance of the grand high classical style, identified as it most generally is with a strictly columnar system of building, is found in Bernini's great colon-

nade inclosing the Piazza di S. Pietro at Rome. Lorenzo Bernini (1589-1660) was eminent as a sculptor, but his figure subjects have no architectural disposition. He is a bold and skilled modeller of human form, and also a vigorous designer of grandiose colonnaded buildings; and the complete separation of the two arts in him is characteristic of the whole epoch. Smaller and simpler buildings of similarly columnar style are numerous; such a one is the Palazzo Cordellina in Vicenza, the work of Ottavio Caldarari, a building as strictly columnar as the great portico itself, though in a different way, having two stories of engaged columns "Tuscan" below and modified Ionic above; and especially the latest works of Palladio, who, dying at the very commencement of our present epoch, left designs behind him which greatly influenced the work of his immediate successors. Such a building is the Palace of the Prefecture (Palazzo Prefitizio) at Vicenza. In Venice, the two types are perfectly well contrasted. Thus the Palazzo Balbi, and the Palazzo Cornaro called Corner della Regina, are, the one as flat and smooth as a palace of the true Renaissance, the other an elaborate piece of columnar architecture raised upon a high and deeply rusticated basement; these two being near one another on the Canalazzo, and of nearly the same epoch. The Dogana del Mare, or Custom House for sea traffic, is a perfect example of the tendency—strong in the later years of the present epoch—to disregard all considerations except those of severe gravity in the measured laying-out of openings in a flat wall. It has only one architectural story, behind which are two sets of rooms. There is no elaborate system of window-casings, and only a small triple porch with banded columns. The single row of great square openings, crowned by semicircular arches with a perfectly flat cornice above them, and no evidence whatever of a roof, has satisfied the designer. The Palazzo Grassi, built after 1720, is an instance of the same grave design carried out in a large three-storied residence.

Perhaps the Italian *barocco* could best be translated by the word *barbaric*. This term means not necessarily bad. It means unrestrained and not in good taste. There are instances of such building in Italy, though far more rare than in the North; thus the work of Francesco Boromini is full of excess and violence, as in the front of the church on the Piazza Navona, in Rome. This artist (1599-1667) built also the churches of S. Sapienza and of the Propaganda Fidei, but is best known from his tasteless and most mischievous rebuilding of the interior of the great basilica of S. Giovanni in Laterano. The front of the same church was built by Alessandro Galilei, about 1730; and this, though not without solecisms, is extremely impressive. So the much-abused fronts of the three Venetian churches,

S. Barnaba(1749), the work of Lorenzo Boschetti; S. Basso (1670), by Giuseppe Bernoni, and S. Moisè (1608), by Alessandro Tremignan, are examples of three different types of *barocco*. In Milan, in a private palazzo, called Casa Leone, and in the Seminario are instances of that type of exaggerated design which involves the use of immense statues, or half-length human figures, serving not as Atlantes or Caryatides, to replace columns and seem to carry weight, but as architectural ornaments alone, for which artistic purpose they are, however, marred by their exaggerated and even contorted action and pose. In the same city the huge palazzo now used for the purposes of the municipality, is, as modified, a complete specimen of the simpler late Italian work.

B.—FRANCE.

In France the distinction has always been made clear between the Renaissance, which is considered to end with the reign of Henry II. (d. 1559), and the later styles, which are named after successive kings; while the undisputed accession of Henry IV. (1594) opens a new era. The short lapse of time between, represented by the reigns of the three sons of Henry II., is of little account, as being a time of almost constant civil war. The styles from this time on are called *Style Henri Quatre, Style Louis Treize, Style Louis Quatorze, Style Louis Quinze, Style Louis Seize;* and although these reigns did not exactly limit the changes of style, still each of the five terms given above conveys a definite idea when used by an accurate writer. The influence of the classical style in Italy is not strong under Henry IV. The Gothic style has gone forever, but the Gothic taste—that is, the disposition to a certain picturesqueness of treatment, represented by high roofs and the resulting features of long chimney shafts and very large and elaborate dormer windows—continues to give to French architecture a special aspect of its own, as compared with Italian, while a certain severity and good taste seem to discriminate it from the architecture of Germany. One peculiarity France shares with the buildings of the Netherlands, especially of the northern part, and that is the free use of brick mingled with stone, producing a certain contrast of color, which is most agreeably mingled in parts of the palace of Fontainebleau, in many private châteaux, and especially in the two important groups or systems of building in Paris: that around the Place Dauphine, on the island of Notre Dame, and in the Place des Vosges, in the eastern part of the city; of which the first is now almost entirely destroyed. The most important work of the

reign was the long Gallery of the Louvre, the stretch of buildings connecting the Louvre proper with the Tuileries, and facing on the river. This was not completed during this brief reign, but it was carried so far that it was certain of completion under Louis XIII.

The death of Henry IV. left the government in the hands of his widow as queen-regent, who had the strong taste of her family, the Medici of Florence, for fine art. The most important work of her time was the Palace of the Luxembourg, which, although many times altered, retains still the design given it by Salomon de Brosse. It was finished in its original condition about 1620. The Garden of the Luxembourg was laid out at the same time on the plan of the gardens of Central Italy, but this has been much changed and much reduced in size. Churches were not greatly needed, for the whole territory of the kingdom was full of the churches of the Middle Ages, as indeed it still is. A few monumental buildings were carried to completion, and others were enlarged. Thus, the charming towers of Tours Cathedral are of about 1510; the splendid memorial church called Notre Dame de l'Épine, in Champagne, which retains an almost completely mediæval character, was completed in 1629; the west front of Orléans Cathedral is of 1725. In this way the Gothic style lingered throughout the epoch of the French Renaissance, much in the way in which it did throughout the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods in England, though with less general control. The buildings known as the Jesuit churches, which have given name to a special style, are of the years from 1590 to 1620, and in these a singular tendency to excess is noticeable. It is not uncommon to hear the fantastic decoration of the interiors, and even the exteriors, of the Jesuit churches spoken of as "rococo," but the style is a century earlier than the first beginnings of the rococo. On the other hand, the dignified designs of De Brosse, Lemercier, and François Mansart are embodied in the parish churches of SS. Gervais et Protais (the front only), S. Louis, the admirable Chapel of the Sorbonne (1640 to 1653), with a cupola of great beauty though not of solid masonry; the Val-de-Grâce, begun, and its design fixed about 1645, with another and still more impressive cupola.

A vast number of interesting private buildings in the cities belong to this reign. In Paris, as well as in the minor cities of France, the old streets are lined with the unassuming fronts of these structures, noticeable chiefly for the highly decorative *portes-cochères,* or carriage entrances, which are often the most important unaltered parts of the design. Much more decorative are the Hôtel Lamoignon, brought nearly to its present condition in 1650; the Hôtel Carnavalet, much enlarged and altered by Mansart in 1660, and the Hôtel

de la Vrillière, afterward called the Hôtel de Toulouse, built about 1620, but much altered, and with its most stately room added in the eighteenth century.

With the death of the Cardinal Mazarin (1661) began the independent government of Louis XIV.; and very soon after there was seen the influence upon all the fine arts of France of the strong disposition of the King and his chosen ministers to reach what they considered an antique grandeur of execution and antique severity of style. The College of the Four Nations, on the south side of the Seine opposite the old Louvre, begun by the Cardinal Mazarin, was soon altered into the Institute of France nearly as we see it to-day; and this building, though small in comparison with the colossal works of the later years of the reign, is one of the most tasteful of the epoch. The Château at Blois, on the Seine, of which a wing was built under Louis XII. and another under Francis I., was enlarged by an important structure built for the King's brother, the Duke of Orleans; and this is an admirable design, although it is disregarded in comparison with the more interesting and earlier buildings at its side. The architect, Louis Levau, built additions to the old Louvre, and either completed or built from the foundations the two great pavilions which terminate the extended galleries of the Louvre on the north side (Rue de Rivoli) and the side on the Quai. These are called now Pavillon Marsan and Pavillon de Flore. It was proposed to complete the Louvre by building the long gallery on the north to connect the Pavillon Marsan with the buildings of the old court, but this was destined never to be completed until the reign of Napoleon III. The great colonnade of the Louvre, forming its well-known east front, was begun in 1664 under the direction of Levau, who was an amateur but who succeeded in pleasing the King with that grandiose design. The coupling of the Corinthian columns was a comparatively unknown feature, and its success was immediate. The works on the great Château of Versailles, where there was already a small mansion, a kind of hunting-box in the style of Louis XIII., were begun about 1662, and were destined to continue for many years. No part of the Château proper is of very great importance architecturally, but its enormous size and its skillful interior disposition, together with its stately gardens, made the whole establishment a kind of model for the sovereigns of Europe—a model followed so closely that even the petty princes of Germany thought it necessary to build colossal palaces, causing a far greater burden to their people than was caused to France by the millions spent upon the decorations of Versailles. The chapel of the Château is a separate structure of the very end of the seventeenth century, and the latest work of Jules Hardouin Man-

sart, a grand-nephew of the elder Mansart. This building is one of the most dignified and impressive of all the late neo-classic buildings in Europe, and a type of what might have been done with church architecture had there been any general demand for ecclesiastical buildings of moderate size. The church called the Dôme des Invalides, attached to the great hospital for incapacitated soldiers in Paris, is hardly a church in the ordinary sense of that word, but a stately monument of great dignity, though here, as in the Sorbonne and the Val-de-Grâce, the cupola is a mere shell of copper upon a frame of carpenter work. The Palace of Marly and the two pavilions called the Trianons in the near neighborhood of Versailles were designs on a smaller scale in harmony with the style that reigned in the greater structure. The work of the younger Mansart shows in all of this.

There were a great number of important private buildings erected during the long reign of Louis XIV.; but as the policy of the King was to bring his nobles beneath his immediate influence, and to compel them to live much of the time at Versailles, the epoch is less rich in country châteaux than in private houses in the cities. The interiors were sometimes remarkable for their costly richness. Thus, the great hall of the present Bank of France, a superb piece of decoration, was the ballroom of the Hôtel de la Vrillière, named above, built during the seventeenth century; and the smaller, but more richly adorned rooms of the Hôtel Soubise, now occupied by the national archives of France, though much of its decoration is of the succeeding reign, is architecturally of the time of Louis XIV. The most stately piece of interior decoration of the time is, however, that by Charles Lebrun in the Gallery of Apollo in the Louvre.

The reign of Louis XV. begins nominally with 1715, but the regency which occupied the earlier years of this reign was not distinguished by important public works of architecture. The taste for delicate interior decoration applied to the moderate-sized rooms of the modern private house received a great impulse at this time, and the beginning of the rococo style is to be looked for then. This style is essentially a matter of interior woodwork, painting, silk hangings, and similar decorative appliances. The exterior architecture in France, at least, hardly shows the signs of that extravagance of decoration which the same epoch develops in Germany and in the Austrian cities. The beautiful buildings of Jacques Ange Gabriel are dignified and simple, especially those which front on the north the Place de la Concorde in Paris. Robert de Cotte built the front of the Church of S. Roch, the Bishop's Palace at Verdun, and much of the elaborate architecture at Nancy, then hardly a part of France, but

controlled by the Grand Duke Stanislas of Lorraine, formerly king of Poland. Gilles Marie Oppenord, better known as the inventor or earliest influential workman in the rococo style, was also the designer of the Church of S. Sulpice in Paris, although the front was by another hand. Servandoni, an Italian, was the builder of that celebrated front. Jacques Soufflot designed the Panthéon at the close of the reign of Louis XV. The great theater of Bordeaux was built by J. Victor Louis, and in the same city the Prefecture and several private hotels.

In the reign of Louis XVI. the study of the actual monuments of antiquity had aided in bringing about a reaction against the excess of the style of the preceding reign, but the financial distress which was the immediate cause of the Revolution prevented important public works. The admirable building which forms the only noticeable part of the great palace of the Legion of Honor, and which fronts the Quai on the south bank of the Seine, is the most interesting single monument of the time.

C.—SPAIN.

In Spain there was a marked decrease in building activity after the death of Philip II., in 1598. It is noteworthy that few buildings of consequence remain to us which were erected during the first half of the seventeenth century. The Royal Palace at Madrid (1725 and following years) is a very grave and dignified building, with its principal fronts of one style, and that involving a good form of the colossal order, with engaged columns raised upon a high basement of sufficient solidity. The great court is faced everywhere by open or glazed arcades, which form one side of a continuous vaulted corridor of good effect. The churches of Madrid, though but little noticed, include some effective fronts of the eighteenth century. One of the finest of the ceremonial gateways of Europe is the Puerta de Alcala, built by Francesco Sabatini; it is of unmistakable decadent style as a piece of the latest neo-classic, but it is still simple and full of architectural character: the fantastic heraldry at the summit seeming to enhance, by its loose and rolling lines, the gravity of the masses below. The Cathedral of Malaga has a fine tower, with an unusual arrangement of successive stories, each adorned with a florid order. The Cathedral of Jaen is of singular interest, as showing the possible effectiveness of the most markedly decadent architectural style, when in the hands of an able designer. The interior piers and vaulting are of surprising boldness, as if the whole system of neo-classic design had been despised by the artist, who used the proportions and

the details of the Corinthian order only as would aid him in a novel style of his own; and the choir screen is one of the most massive and costly in Europe, a large though roofless edifice in itself.

The country palace of La Granja, built after 1720, is wholly French in design—one of the best pieces of the style. The small churches of towns throughout the center and north came to possess a curious simple picturesqueness of exterior design, comparable to that of the smaller and plainer examples of the German Schloss, such as were numerous from 1650 to the close of this epoch. Those country churches have massive walls, gables of fanciful outline, bell towers or turrets of pleasing mass; and the whole structure, though without detail and generally covered with many coats of whitewash, is picturesque and attractive. This style becomes even more impressive in some of the Spanish colonies. Thus, in Mexico there is a return to a freer use of external details, while the simple charm of the general masses remains unaltered. The Cathedral of Puebla is perhaps the best example (after 1650), and the Church of the Profesa in the City of Mexico is of about the same epoch. The later churches are still fine; and the growing use of brilliant tiles in external roofs and cupolas gives a charm much less common in Spain.

D.—THE NETHERLANDS.

In the Netherlands the northern provinces were the most active builders during this epoch; but the general prosperity which led to the development of a most attractive domestic architecture produced few buildings of great size or cost. The Town Hall of Leyden is one of the most important public buildings. The private houses and even the town houses of the cities are full of charm; and the painters of the nineteenth century went there for continually new inspiration.

In the southern provinces (now Belgium), the Town Hall at Ghent, begun in a florid late Gothic style (see above, Chapter V.; A, B, C, D), was completed by an addition larger than the original structure about 1580-1610. This is a dignified structure with three stories of different orders. The façade of the Church of S. Michel, at Louvain, is of about 1650, and is a most admirable design in spite of the unusual appearance on the exterior of such ornaments as are generally kept for plaster and carved wood, within. The churches of Belgium have many pulpits of carved wood of extraordinary boldness of design, with life-size figures acting as supports or arranged in groups about the bases. Altar and wall tombs are adorned with spiral shafts of beautiful marble, with delicate vines seeming to cling to them.

E.—SCANDINAVIA.

The little kingdom of Denmark has some fine civic buildings of this epoch. Castle Rosenberg at Copenhagen, built in 1604 by Christian IV., is similar in style, but smaller; also the important Castle of Kronburg at Elsinore, dating from about 1574, built, contrary to the usual custom, entirely in freestone, while in other structures of this northern style only the dressings are of hewn stone, the mass of the building being of brick. To this list also belong Castle Nyekjöbing on the Island of Falster, and more particularly the stately and lavishly executed Bourse of Copenhagen. The royal Castle of Christiansburg, in the same city, is built in the conventional forms of the eighteenth century, without any special peculiarities.

In Sweden there are important buildings showing an elaboration and delicacy of design which we associate rather with the greater states of Central Europe. The Royal Palace in Stockholm is, like the one in Madrid, a great uniform square with four elevations, but its exterior is much less richly adorned. Only one of the four façades has an order of pilasters, although the main entrance at the south has a very elaborate portal erected in memory of Charles XII. Parts of the interior are richly designed, however, and the chapel in particular is a very well proportioned vaulted room, the imposts of the groined vault with lunettes springing from a continuous entablature which rests upon an order of columns combined with pilasters in an unusual fashion. The free and on the whole effective use of statuary —draped figures in realistic attitudes, a device common in Germany and Austria at this period—is well seen in the exterior of S. Gertrudis Church, Stockholm. Some churches of the seventeenth century are built of brick with gables treated in the style of the later buildings of Heidelberg, and other German and Danish princely residences. That at Gäder, serving as a memorial to the famous statesman Oxenstiern, is of the years immediately following his death in 1562. Schloss Drothningholm is designed as a one-story building with a single order of pilasters and a rounded and well-proportioned roof with pinnacles and statuary; between the pilasters are two rows of windows and a story of small rondels. The interior has very stately rooms of the style of Louis XV.

The kingdoms of Scandinavia are not devoid of valuable architectural works of smaller scale, although as yet they have attracted but little attention. An admirable wall tomb in the Church of S. Nicolas, in Stockholm, is of 1652. There is also an effective pulpit with richly carved panels in the fine Cathedral of Lund.

F.—ENGLAND.

In England, the Elizabethan style passed insensibly into the Jacobean style, the distinction between them being hardly possible to establish. Even more than in France the Gothic traditions lingered on; and a country house would be still semi-mediæval in character, while the mansion of the noble more immediately connected with the court might be inspired with Italian principles and adorned with many Italian details. Thus Longleat, a great country house near Warminster (Wiltshire), was finished about 1579, and Wollaton Hall (Notts) was begun the same year, and of these two Wollaton is of a less pronounced classical type. Wollaton indeed has a feature impossible to imagine as existing in any continental château of the sixteenth century: a great keep towering high above the outer faces of the building, and occupied within by a single lofty hall. St. John's College, at Oxford, dates from 1630, and is completely Tudor without any visible Continental influence. The Italian style of building came in with Inigo Jones, who designed an enormous palace for a site in Westminster, a design which has been preserved for us and is full of merit. Only one small section of this design was ever carried out: it is the building known as the Banqueting House fronting on Whitehall, and long used as the royal chapel. Buildings actually erected by Jones at this time are generally uninteresting, although correct and free from bad taste. The civil war put a stop to the development of fine art, and from 1630 to 1660 nothing important was done. In 1666 came the Great Fire of London, as a result of which there were built by Sir Christopher Wren about forty churches in London, besides the great Cathedral of S. Paul. Wren was not an architect by training, but a mathematician who developed a remarkable power of graceful design in large masses. He had, however, little of the builder's instinct for well-chosen materials and appropriate design, and his willingness to build plaster imitations of vaulting, wooden columns, and the like, is in part chargeable for the English tendency to resort to these cheap devices.

Several architects of skill and taste were at work before Wren's death. James Gibbs (1674-1754) is the author of the Radcliffe Library at Oxford. John Vanbrugh built the great palace of Blenheim and the far more artistic Castle Howard. Sir William Chambers (1726-1796) designed the greater part of Somerset House, on the Strand. The Admiralty, and the "Horse Guards" used as the offices of the general commander of the army, were built in 1725 and

1750, between Whitehall and S. James's Park. The general tendency of the time was away from decorative and highly wrought designs and toward very plain and often uninteresting buildings, the result of which was seen in the dull and ugly London of the years previous to 1860.

The Georgian style, carried to the American Colonies and reproduced all along the Atlantic seaboard from Massachusetts to South Carolina, was modified by the different materials and the conditions natural to the new country, and resulted in what is commonly known as the "Old Colonial" style, of which the most celebrated example is the Boston State House, though this was not begun until after the close of the epoch, in 1795.

G.—GERMANY.

At the beginning of this period there was added to Heidelberg Castle one of the large buildings which make it famous, the Friedrichsbau (1601-1606) (Fig. 590), four stories high and with four classical orders, but still a spirited and picturesque rather than classical building. Schmalkalden Castle, in Hesse-Nassau (Bavaria), with its elegant chapel and vigorously executed doorway (1583), is an able work of this period. A building of imposing plan and disposition is Haemelschenburg on the Weser, finished in 1858, and the later portions of the Castle of Merseburg in Prussian Saxony are no less admirable. A great contrast to this was presented by the restoration of the royal palace at Munich (1600 and following years), the work involving an almost complete renovation of the northern building, that which fronts upon the Hofgarten, which itself, with its elaborate system of open arcades adorned with paintings on the inner walls, was first laid out and mainly completed in 1614. The north front of the palace, nearly 900 feet long, is in complete contrast with the Heidelberg building, although earlier in design. It is of the gravest and least adorned style of the Italian classicismo. The royal residence of Aschaffenburg (1613), with its grand corner pavilions and high, strongly marked gables, and the former archiepiscopal palace at Mayence (1637) are also important works of this period.

Works on an extensive scale were also undertaken by the cities. Rothenburg on the Tauber, Bavaria, which in 1572 had added to its old Gothic Council House a new portion with broad terrace and elegant doors, and had built the interesting hospital between 1576 and 1580, now at the beginning of this period built the hospital gate (1586). This little city remains to this day a wonderful unaltered

sixteenth-century walled town. The Council House at Schweinfurt was built at the beginning of this epoch, and the Gymnasium (high school) was begun in 1582.

Emden, in the far Northwest, near the North Sea, followed in 1574 with her simple Council House, distinguished by a high tower. Danzig built the Council House of the old town in 1587; and, beside making generous additions to the Corporation Council House, built in 1588 a high gate tower, and the arsenal in 1605. In this style, also, were built the Council Houses at Constance (1592), at Lucerne (1603), both in Switzerland; and at Neisse in Prussian Silesia (1604); the splendid Council Chamber at Bremen (1612), and the imposing Council House at Paderborn, Westphalia, with its porch and powerful gable. We close the list with the Town Hall at Nuremberg (1613-19), built in severe style by Eucharius Holzschuher, and that at Augsburg, with its Golden Hall, the work of Elias Holl (1614). The Grain Houses at Ulm (1591) and Steyer (1612) are both strongly original, decorated with *sgraffito* work (incised work in plaster).

The dwellings of the citizens were much beautified and decorated at this period. Nuremberg possesses, among numerous others, the Topler House (1590) and the Peller House (1605); Rothenburg, the Haffner and Geiselbrecht Houses; Heidelberg, the splendid house used as an inn, and named "Zum Ritter" (the Knight) (1592); Hildesheim, the Kaiserhaus, besides many houses decorated with rich wood-carving; Brunswick, its Gewandhaus; Hamel, the Rat-catcher's House and Bridal House; Hanover, the house in which lived the famous Leibnitz. There are also fine works of this epoch in Danzig, Lübeck, Bremen, Erfurt, Lemgo, Herford, and other cities; and characteristic wooden buildings in Halberstadt, Brunswick, Höxter, and Lemgo.

The German Renaissance is not so rich in churches, although the spirit of the new epoch is revealed in delicate and rich treatment in many minor works, such as tomb monuments, pulpits, altars, pyxes, and the like. Fine specimens of this kind of work may be found in Peter Vischer's Sebald Monument in the Church of S. Sebald at Nuremberg, and the lectern in the Cathedral at Hildesheim, near Hanover. Church edifices retained a remarkable mixture of mediæval device and construction with decorative elements of the Renaissance until late into the seventeenth century: witness the Chapel at Liebenstein in Würtemberg (1590), the University Church at Würzburg (1587), the Church at Freudenstadt in Würtemberg (1599), S. Mary's Church at Wolfenbüttel, between Brunswick and Hildesheim (1608), and the Church of the Jesuits at Cologne, of even later date.

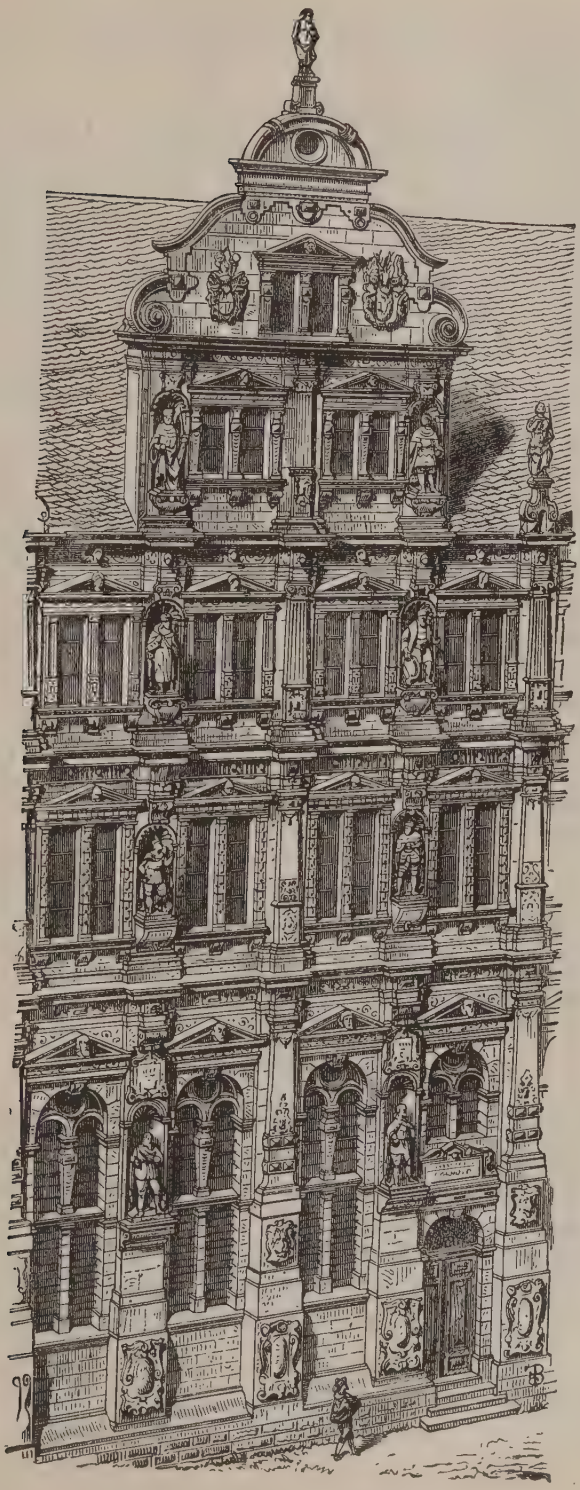

Fig. 590. Freidrichsbau. Heidelberg.

The great S. Michael's Church at Munich, built in 1587, is executed in a more severely classic style, and is one of the noblest neo-classic churches in Europe.

Later on in the seventeenth century, a more earnest classic tendency was occasionally manifested in contrast with the luxurious *barock* style. One of the noblest works of this school, and a thoroughly classic structure, is the Arsenal (Zeughaus) at Berlin, built by Nehring (1685); and one of the most magnificent, although impaired by exaggerated detail, is the Royal Schloss at Berlin, so far as it was rebuilt by Andreas Schlüter (1699-1706). Fischer von Erlach was active in Vienna at the same time, and erected imposing buildings, with a stronger leaning to the grotesque style, in the Palace of Prince Eugene and the Church of S. Charles Borromeo. These were followed by various important palaces in Prague.

The numerous extravagant German courts, especially those of the eighteenth century, imitated the passion for architecture prevalent in the court of France; and there was scarcely one which did not fancy that it must needs have a Versailles. All the residence cities of that time, with their environs, swarm with splendid designs of the kind, prominent among which were the Fortress and the Japanese Palace in Dresden, uncommonly rich, and in some degree admirable of their kind; the Castles of Schleissheim and Nymphenburg near Munich; the great Palace at Würzburg; also the imposing Castles at Mannheim; at Brühl, built by the Elector-Archbishop of Cologne; at Bruchsal, near Spire, the seat of the Archbishop of Spire; and at Rastadt, in Baden; also at Ludwigsburg and at Stuttgart, in Württemberg. Architecture assumed a severer style at Berlin and Potsdam under Frederick the Great, whose buildings at Potsdam (the Stadtschloss and the new Palace of Sans Souci), the greater part of which was put up by G. von Knobelsdorf, exhibit a more serious treatment and more imposing general design.

2. *Sculpture.**

The decadence of sculpture in Italy and in other countries, during the latter part of the sixteenth century, was succeeded, toward the beginning of the following century, by a new style, which, with but few exceptions, governed the world for almost two hundred years. But the whole spirit of art underwent a complete change. As we have seen to be the case with architecture during the same period, the aim in every department was to obtain the most energetic expression

* Dilke, Lady, "Art in the Modern State"; "French Architects and Sculptors of the Eighteenth Century." Lübke, "Geschichte der Deutschen Kunst."

possible, and the most striking effects; and if the rigid laws of architecture gave way to this universal tendency, plastic art would naturally oppose it less. Again, the very essence of Painting predisposed it to yield to this desire; nay, in consequence of it she even developed a new and vigorous growth. Plastic Art could approximate to a similar result only by giving up her peculiar fundamental principle and becoming picturesque. Works in relief had already made a beginning in this direction. The sculpture of independent figures followed this lead, rejected everything that could limit her art, and gave herself up freely to her longing after what was striking.

Henceforth it was decreed that every plastic work must be spirited; nay, passionate. The most striking effects must be aimed at in the expression of inward emotion, through mien, attitude, and position. The naturalistic tendency of modern times required, moreover, the most lifelike representation of the human form. This, nevertheless, degenerated into a fresh mannerism: in the case of masculine figures, into an exaggerated development of the muscles; in that of female figures, into a disagreeably luxurious smoothness, and an extremely affected treatment of the details. The draperies, too, were disposed according to the rules of painting—in large, swelling masses, in which the body almost disappeared; or else was allowed to reveal itself by all sorts of refined artifices; but which,in any case, obstructed the clear, noble appearance of the natural form. Besides, the drapery was required to be arranged in all sorts of ways conducive to effect—swelling, fluttering, overloaded; increasing, even to caricature, the expression of movement, which must be attained at any cost. Thus dignity, simplicity, and distinction in sculpture were lost, and architectonic style disappeared in picturesque treatment of detached figures. An immense number of artists of talent, an immeasurable abundance of creative power and mechanical resources, were swallowed up in this wasteful struggle; and the world was deluged with a countless host of showy but artistically meaningless works. It is only to be wondered at, that in spite of this general deterioration in art individual artists should still have retained their simplicity and naturalness, and that, especially in the department of portrait painting, much admirable work should have been accomplished. It must be admitted that, especially in the North, a more healthful tone prevailed; so that the ancient inheritance of Northern art—an appreciation of the individual, of the characteristic—produced, in spite of their sharing in the degeneracy of the times, a great deal that was admirable.

Giovanni Bologna, named in Chapter V., was one of the inaugurators of the new era, although his work often retains much of

the dignity of the true Renaissance; as in the equestrian statue of the Duke Cosimo I., in the Piazza del Granduca, and in that of Ferdinand I., in the Piazza dell' Annunziata, both in Florence. Pompeo Leoni, son of the more celebrated Leoni, was employed more in Spain than in Italy, but also influenced the growth of the new style. There is a statue of S. Cecilia in the church of the same name in Rome, which is a youthful production of the sculptor Stefano Maderno, and which has a certain dignity and simplicity. It is characteristic of the period that the Saint is represented lying along the ground, as

Fig. 591. Apollo and Daphne. By Bernini.

though just stretched out in death; and that the profounder religious meaning is quite swallowed up in the striving after the momentary and the affecting. But the artist who influenced the sculpture of his time most directly was Lorenzo Bernini (1598-1680), who was also an architect of note, as shown in the first part of this chapter. He possessed a surprising facility of execution, united to great and happy endowments; but he followed, especially in sculpture, the tendency to effective dramatic treatment to its extreme consequences. Scenes like the Rape of Proserpine, in the Villa Ludovisi in Rome, or Daphne fleeing from Apollo (Fig. 591), in the Villa Borghese in Rome, are

his favorite subjects. He competes also with the painters of his time in the delineation of religious exaltation, as in the statue of St. Theresa, in S. Maria della Vittoria in Rome, where the representation of a condition of convulsive insensibility verges upon refined sensuousness. His statue of the Prophet Daniel in the Church of S. Maria del Popolo at Rome is a specimen of his more purely classical and unpretending sculpture. His monumental works also—as, for example, the marble equestrian statue of Constantine, formerly on the first platform of the Scala Regia in the Vatican, now in the great narthex of S. Peter's Church—are characterized by the same apparent insincerity; and the monuments he designed for Popes Urban VIII. and Alexander VII., in S. Peter's, are conspicuous for their allegoric paraphernalia and for the showy treatment of the draperies. Some of his decorative works—such as the immense fountain of the Piazza Navona in Rome—are entirely painter-like in the character of their design. In such work his great talent for decorative arrangement and composition has full play. This is well shown in his celebrated baldachin in S. Peter's, a monstrous canopy of bronze over the high altar.

Alessandro Algardi (1598-1654) is one of the best known and the most important of the numerous artists who followed in Bernini's steps. A colossal relief of Attila by him is an instance of masterly technical treatment marred by those strange exaggerations into which bas-relief, long since become wholly picturesque in its treatment, had wandered.

The French, who had been impressed by Italian influences during the earlier period, now gave themselves up absolutely to the fashion set by Bernini, which they proceeded to carry out with great elegance, a somewhat over-delicate grace, and a good deal of theatrical display. Pierre Puget is one of their most celebrated masters (1622-94). He worked chiefly at Genoa; there being a very exaggerated representation of the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian, by him, in the church of S. Maria da Carignano. In the Hôtel de Ville at Toulon are specimens of that unarchitectural use of sculpture on the exteriors of buildings which has been noticed in the previous section. The Louvre Museum contains his group of Milo torn by lions, and the decorative and brilliant bas-relief of Alexander and Diogenes. Another sculptor was François Girardon (1630-1715), who is noted for the exaggerated grace of his female figures. In 1699 he cast the bronze equestrian statue of Louis XIV., which was set up in what is now the Place Vendôme, but was destroyed during the Revolution. The tomb of Cardinal Richelieu, in the Chapel of the Sorbonne in Paris, still remains, and is of extreme interest, although

of that ultra-picturesque treatment characterized above. The Rape of Proserpina, at Versailles, dated 1699, is in the gardens of that château. Legros was also at work in Rome, where in the Church del Gesù there is a statue of St. Ignatius by him, and also a very artificial allegory of Faith overthrowing Heresy. He was employed on the Château of Versailles; and on the triumphal arch called Porte S. Denis, in Paris. Jean Baptiste Pigalle (1714-85) is an artist of the same school in the eighteenth century, whose monument of the Maréchal de Saxe, in the Church of S. Thomas at Strassburg, is a work of considerable force, though rather theatrical. The monument of Louis XV. in Reims lost its principal statue during the Revolution, but the admirable statues of Commerce and of the Fatherland remain. The Commerce is one of the most important pieces of realistic art in sculpture of modern times. His masterpiece, however, is the well-known Mercury of the Louvre.

Antoine Coysevox (1640-1720) was famous as a maker of portrait busts, but his tomb of Cardinal Mazarin (1692), now in the Louvre, brought him a different and loftier class of work. There are also in the Louvre a portrait statue of the Princess Marie Adélaïde of Savoy, in which she is represented as Diana, and a bronze portrait bust of the famous Prince of Condé, a work of unsurpassed vigor. Edme Bouchardon (1698-1762) is best known by his statue of Mercury preparing his bow, now in the Louvre; but by far his most important remaining work is the great fountain on the rue de Grenelle, Paris. The artist is thought to have made the whole design as well as the sculptured groups. Maurice Étienne Falconet was called to St. Petersburg to model and cast the great bronze equestrian statue of Peter the Great, at St. Petersburg. Augustin Pajou (1730-1809) was a sculptor of singular grace of design, best known by two marbles in the Louvre, Psyche lamenting the loss of Eros, and the portrait bust of Madame du Barry. Jean Jacques Caffieri (1725-1792) was a great master of portrait art. His bust of the actor La Chaussaye is in the Museum of the Théâtre Français, where is also the picturesque and celebrated portrait of Jean de Rotrou. Clodion, whose real name was Louis Michel Claude, made for the choir screen of the Cathedral of Rouen a marble figure of St. Cecilia, as well as a crucifix of gilded metal, and a bas-relief of the Death of the Virgin; nor were these his only works of large scale and serious subject. He is better known by the terra-cotta statuettes and small groups, so admired by collectors. Houdon, another French artist of this time, executed for the Church of S. Maria degli Angeli, at Rome, the simple, noble marble statue of S. Bruno—a work quiet in expression and embodying a reverent, devotional spirit. Seated statues of Vol-

taire and Rousseau are among his important works. His statue of Washington, in the Capitol at Richmond, is an important work of art as well as an invaluable portrait, and there are priceless busts of Rousseau, Louis XVI., Mirabeau, Lafayette, Bonaparte, as well as the ideal portrait of Molière at the Théâtre Français. There are two bronze Dianas in the Louvre, of one of which there is a marble replica at the Hermitage, St. Petersburg.

In the Netherlands several prominent artists appear who owe their artistic training to Italy and follow the general tendency of the age, but who at the same time produce happier results by a nobler, more massive treatment. Franz Duquesnoy (1594-1644) is one of these (called, after his native land, il Fiammingo, the Fleming), a rival of Bernini, who executed a great many works at Rome. One of the finest works of this whole period is the statue of S. Andrew in S. Peter's Church. In his native land there exist important decorative works by this artist. Such are the celebrated carved stalls and lining of the choir of the Church of Notre Dame at Termonde (Dendermonde) in Belgium, which include alto-relievos in carved wood of scenes from the New Testament, known to be by this artist, while the life-size caryatides and accompanying decorative sculptures are of his time, and show his influence. At Wouw, in the modern kingdom of the Netherlands, is a still finer series of works by him, for here the choir screen behind the stalls is an elaborate architectural composition with life-size statues of sacred personages, some in niches and some on detached pedestals. His naïve, charming figures of children are also justly praised. His pupil, Arthur Quellinus, displayed great talent, and executed in a lifelike, vivid style the numerous sculptures with which the Courthouse at Amsterdam is decorated, especially the extensive groups on both the pediments—allegorical glorifications of the powerful commercial city. There are also traces of this excellent artist's work in Berlin.

The churches of Belgium are full of works of this epoch in carved wood. Thus, in the Cathedral of Brussels (S. Gudule) the pulpit is by Henry Verbruggen, and has life size figures forming the group of the Expulsion and Adam and Eve; Notre Dame des Victoires, in the same city, has a pulpit by Marcus Devos, and magnificent decorative woodwork in the choir ascribed to him; Notre Dame de la Chapelle has another pulpit—and all these are of about 1670. So, in Antwerp the Cathedral has a pulpit by Van der Voort in which the supports are symbolical statues, and there is an attempt to represent the Vices under the form of birds—all this being carved in wood in free and daring style. In the same city the Church of S. Jacques has a similarly rich pulpit, and the Church of S. André contains the most

remarkable of all, for there, within the railing which surrounds the pulpit, is seen a complete representation of the calling of S. Andrew and S. Peter with the boat, nets, etc., elaborately wrought. It will

Fig. 592. Statue of Count Eberhard the Bearded. In the Collegiate Church at Stuttgart.

not do to dismiss such work with the simple qualification, Bad Taste, for a whole school of decorative sculpture is represented by it.

An extremely large number of sepulchral monuments is to be found in the churches and cathedrals of Germany, dating from the last decades of the sixteenth century—proofs of an artistic activity which often produced works in true sympathy with nature, and of great decorative value. The Cathedrals at Cologne, at Mayence, and at Würzburg are especially rich in massive monuments of this kind. Among the strongest works of this period are the eleven full-length

Fig. 593. Mask of a Dying Warrior. By A. Schlüter.

figures of Württemberg princes, which were erected in 1574 in the choir of the Foundation Church at Stuttgart (Fig. 592); and among the richest are the numerous tombs in the choir of the Foundation Church at Tübingen. The marble Tomb of the Elector Maurice de Saxe in the Freiburg Cathedral, dating from the end of the sixteenth century, is a mausoleum of great magnificence. The kneeling marble statue of the prince rests upon the cover of a sarcophagus, which is supported by eight griffins. It is a noteworthy fact that even as early as this period, artists from the Netherlands are much employed in Germany. Thus Adrian de Vries designed the Hercules Fountain in Augsburg in the year 1599; and the graceful fountain in a small court

of the Royal Palace in Munich is by Peter de Witte, who was also employed as a painter at the electoral court in that city, and who Italianized his name into Candido. Still earlier (in 1489), a German artist, Benedict Wurzelbauer, executed the costly, gracefully decorated fountain near the Church of St. Laurence.

The influence of the art of the Netherlands is also traceable in Berlin, where Andrew Schlüter (about 1662-1714), one of the greatest artists of this epoch, distinguished himself as an architect and sculptor. The numerous decorative reliefs executed by him in the royal palace give evidence of his merit as a sculptor, as well as the striking heads of dying warriors which he carved above the windows in the

Fig. 594. Equestrian Statue of the Great Elector. By A. Schlüter.

court of the Arsenal (Fig. 593). But his greatest production is the colossal bronze Equestrian Statue of the Great Elector (Fig. 594), upon the Long Bridge, Berlin—a most impressive composition, remarkable for treatment of form and for vigor of action. Raphael Donner, an artist in Vienna, equally distinguished for his noble and lifelike conceptions, belongs to a somewhat later date, having, in 1739, designed the leaden statues (later recast in bronze) of the Virtue Foresight (or Prudence), and of the Four Rivers of Austria proper, the Enns, the March, the Traun, and the Ybbs or Ips; all for the decoration of the Fountain in the New Market. These two last-named masters stand out with exceptional prominence

in a period in which sculpture was altogether paralyzed, or given over to mere mannerism.

Allusion has been made in the section concerning the architecture of this period to the surprising use of life-size and colossal statuary on the exteriors of buildings. In the earlier years of this epoch the use of statuary in exterior architecture is more in accordance with tradition, and more severe. Thus, in the fine west front of the Church of S. Michael in Munich, a group of S. Michael with the Dragon, in bronze, fills a niche between the doorways, and a statue of Christ is set high in the gable; while in two rows of niches are life-size statues of heroes of German history. All this work dates from about 1595. At a later period, however, when the Church of S. John in the same city was built, the extremely fantastical character of the architecture was enforced by the statues set upon the roof of the porch and upon the grotesquely broken front on the great window above. So, in the domains of the Austrian Grand Dukes, as in Lombardy and Venetia, a palace front will occasionally present an array of gigantic half-length figures treated as terminal statues; and of the same epoch are statues in groups in niches, these usually more severe in design, or on pedestals, and relieved against the great piers or the solid wall, in the fashion now familiar to the Western World from its use in the Paris Opera-House. Life-size statues, half recumbent on the sloping or curved pediments of the windows, are constantly found. Examples of the first or more architectural character are furnished by the building of the Imperial Chancellery (Reichskanzlei) and of the Ministry of the Interior, on the Wipplingerstrasse. Of the free groups and statues, each of the buildings above named gives an example, as do also the old Rathaus and the headquarters of the Hungarian bodyguard, the well-known Trautson Palace, which is covered with sculpture of all sorts and dates from 1720. All the above-named buildings are in Vienna, but other great cities of Austria Hungary, especially Prague, would afford similar instances.

3. *Painting.**

That very tendency of the age which caused the deterioration and decay of sculpture, urged painting, on the other hand, to a wonderful progress in new directions during the seventeenth century, and

* Dilke, Lady, "French Painters of the Eighteenth Century." Justi, C., "Diego Velasquez und sein Jahrhundert" (translated as "Diego Velasquez and His Times.") Bernete, A. de, "Velasquez." Stevenson, R. A. M., "The Art of Velasquez." Stirling-Maxwell, Sir W., "Annals of the Artists of Spain." Bland, "Les Peintres des Fêtes Galantes." Goncourt, "L'Art du Dixhuitième Siècle." Genevay, "Le Style Louis XIV." Stranahan, "History of French Painting." Brownell, "French Art"; enlarged edition, 1901.

gave to it a new and remarkable prosperity. The painting of this period, indeed, is one of the most extraordinary and brilliant phenomena in the history of civilization. Although the political condition of Europe was anything but favorable; although modern absolutism had spread its conquests over every country, and crushed out all spontaneous national life; nevertheless, painting found more various, comprehensive, and extended encouragement than it had ever enjoyed before. It is as though modern thought found in painting the medium qualified to express most vividly its many-sided character, and therefore made this art its most vigorous exponent. Thus we find this favorite art of the times extended over a wider geographical range than hitherto. Not only was it zealously and successfully pursued in Italy, Flanders, Brabant, and Holland, but also in Spain, France, and England. It was only in Germany, exhausted as it was by the Thirty Years War, that artistic productiveness languished. The circle of subjects, moreover, which supplied material for artistic creations, was as diversified and various as the conditions of life in the different countries where the art was practised. In Roman Catholic countries the almost inexhaustible fountain of religious subjects continued to furnish art with fresh themes; while, on the other hand, the quickening of the spirit of Protestantism burst the old fetters of tradition, and turned its attention to the immeasurable diversity of actual life, even down to the most trifling, every-day incidents; and also to the eternal beauty of natural landscape, to the characteristics of the animal world, and even to those inanimate objects which acquire meaning and importance only when informed by the intellect of man. Painting shows itself at home in all these domains of thought with incomparable versatility, and finds in them all subjects for artistic representation. Grand figure painting recedes more and more into the background; and genre painting, landscape and animal painting, and still-life pictures assume more and more prominence. Individual taste also is freed more and more from the old traditions that limited its choice of subject. Each individual artist stands face to face with the whole universe. It is as though he were only just created, and were in the fresh enjoyment and contemplation of the divine and lavish glory of the world. Novel forms and methods of representation result from these facts; fresh technical methods, especially in the improvement of coloring, are brought out; and in this direction also such great results are attained as may be said to mark an epoch in art history.

But widely as all these branches of painting differ in regard to intellectual tendencies, to choice of subjects, composition, and technical execution, still their common ground is realism, which may be defined

as an entire separation from traditional methods; the endeavor to represent all subjects—sacred or profane, whether treated in the grand ideal style or in the pleasing manner of cabinet painting—with as illusive and accurate an imitation of nature as is possible. The different results to which this led in different countries, and in the various branches of painting, must be shown when we consider them in detail. We will only attempt, however, briefly to indicate essential features, since the scope of our work could not possibly include a minute treatment of each of the numberless productions of this epoch; and, besides, the very definition of the general principle of realism gives the modern observer ground enough to go upon. We will only add, that Painting of ecclesiastical and ideal subject was also included in the universal languor and depression which overcame all artistic effort in the eighteenth century, thus sharing the fate of her sister arts.

As in the fifteenth century, in the school of the Van Eycks and their followers, the strongly aroused love for truthful delineation and thorough realism had burst the fetters of religious painting in its strictest sense, and placed the sacred personages amid the surroundings of the life of the time, it was an inevitable consequence of this tendency, that, in an epoch of realism, every-day life in its simple conditions should come to acquire a very important significance, quite apart from its use in connection with sacred history. Everywhere, even in Italy and in Spain, we find numerous specimens of such genre representations; only that, in those countries, the figures, as a general thing, retained the large dimensions of the earlier painting.

The Flemish masters were the first to devote themselves thoroughly to this delineation of the conditions of every-day existence, and were, indeed, the real founders and perfecters of the modern genre picture. Protestantism—which, here more than elsewhere, either did away with traditional religious subjects altogether, or else gave them the air of genre pictures, as in the case of Rembrandt—was an essential factor in the development of this branch of painting; and if, on the other hand, the portrayal of the circumstances of ordinary life suggests a certain barrenness of taste, on the other hand the good-natured cheerfulness which is characteristic of home life among the Germanic peoples gives to the picture a poetic side which is very attractive, and introduces an artistic element which idealizes these representations in spite of their realism. According as such delineations have to do with the faithful portrayal of life in the more free and unconstrained classes of the community, or deal with higher spheres of existence refined by morality and culture, they are spoken of as belonging to a lower or a higher genre. Both tendencies stand in the same relation

to each other as the portraits of the coarser Dutch masters, skilled in the depicting of faces from the burgher class, do to the more refined, aristocratic likenesses from the pencil of Van Dyck. Upon the first the rude vigor of a bourgeois race is openly, unreservedly, and expressively stamped; while beneath the polished surface of high-bred reserve in the last is veiled the refined and complex sentiment of character developed under aristocratic influences.

In all the earlier forms of painting man himself is the object of its representations, and this very object gives it a definite intellectual meaning; but it is quite otherwise when the painter endeavors to form an artistic conception of the inorganic or the vegetable world. Should he desire to bring out some deeper meaning here, he is able to do this only in so far as he understands how to incorporate it with his material, or can gain some insight into the soul of nature which pervades it. The Van Eycks, and also the contemporary Italians, had made important and extended use of landscape backgrounds; but in this case the natural environment, however carefully it might be elaborated, had no independent significance; and even though modern taste might feel especial fondness for this portion of the picture, yet the sacred personages who formed the nucleus of the representation were still considered necessary to form, as it were, an excuse for the landscape. But the more unrestrainedly and universally the spirit of modern art permeated all classes of subjects, the more impossible it became to exclude it from a realm which, especially among the Germanic peoples of the North, was likely to form a subject for pictorial representation because of their love of it in nature. Hence landscape painting soon took an independent stand, freeing itself from the restraints of ecclesiastical traditions. For a time, indeed, in its accessories of sacred or mythological personages, it retained a memory of its origin, but finally divested itself of even this last reminiscence of the period of its bondage, and developed at last into a complete independence.

The ideal of landscape is not, it may be said, the close transcript of a given scene, as offered by the view presented to the organs of sense. It consists, rather, in the free artistic combinations of single glimpses of the life of nature into a united whole, the harmony and proportion of which shall have the effect of impressing some particular frame of mind on the beholder. To compose in the spirit of Nature, to work out a free translation of her meanings, from which a suggestion of all her manifold life shall come to us—such is the task of the landscape painter. Just as the landscape of the North—that of Holland, as well as that of the Lowlands of Northern Germany—is diametrically opposed in character to that of the South,

this difference is faithfully reflected in the two principal schools of landscape painting. Southern landscape, with the great, beautiful curves of its mountain-lines, has an eminently plastic character; while that of the North seeks to make up for what is lacking to it in the charm of mighty outline by the graceful play of an infinite variety of foliage, by the magic of light, and the lifelike disposition of moving cloud-masses. This school, therefore, is preëminently picturesque.

A.—PAINTING IN ITALY.

In Italy it is once more the Church which is the chief employer of the arts, and especially painting, and which now calls them into extensive use. The Reformation had shaken the world to its centre, and deprived the Roman Catholic hierarchy of its former conviction of calm security and firmly established position. This Church recognized that it behooved her to collect all her forces for the encounter with the dangerous enemy. It was the instinct of the clergy, if they desired to reëstablish their former spiritual supremacy, to combine with the new powers which then dominated the world; and thus we find the Roman Church entering into a compact with realism. She not only attracted the masses by splendid new churches, but she also attempted to awaken in the minds of believers, by the emotional effect and the impressive splendor of the works of art which she called to her aid, a fresh interest in the sacred figures and events they represented. Painting could be of especial service to her in this respect, because this art was thoroughly penetrated with the powerful realism and stirring pathos of the time.

After all the schools of Italy had fallen into an empty mannerism, two independent styles arose, each of which aimed at establishing a fresh point of departure toward a freer development, and one more characteristic of the age. Those who adopted the first of these two styles seek their goal in a return to the great masters of the golden age of art, and in a complete study of their marvelous qualities: this is the school of the Eclectics. Those who adopted the other went back to a more original source, devoting themselves without reserve to Nature, and striving with all their might to reproduce her forms: hence they are called the Naturalists. We must consider these two schools separately.

As early as the close of the sixteenth century, an effort had been made in certain of the schools of Upper Italy to bring the art of painting back out of the devastation wrought by the mannerists, and to subject it to a sounder vital principle; and this effort had led to note-

worthy results. The artist families of the Campi in Cremona, and of the Procaccini in Milan, are the chief representatives of this tendency. More fruitful of results, and of greater moment, was the Bolognese school, whose founder was Ludovico Caracci (1555-1619). He founded an academy at Bologna, and was the first who deliberately adopted the most comprehensive study of the great masters of the golden age of painting as a basis for reconstructing the art. If in doing this he pointed (as the mere outline of his system) to the antique as the model of correct drawing, to Michelangelo for grandeur, to Raphael for composition, to the Venetians for color, to Correggio for grace, nevertheless his school did not attempt literally to carry out so self-contradictory a programme; but the earnest and varied study of Nature itself led his pupils to adopt a style, in which, it is true, there is much that recalls the highest qualities of those masters, yet which stands on a basis of independent and original sentiment. This fact far outweighs, in the works of the great artists of this period, the occasional calculating coolness that appears in them, and the academic regularity of their style.*

Of the paintings of Lodovico, who was chiefly active as a teacher, several are in the Pinacoteca of Bologna. They show him to have been an imitator of Correggio, whose glow of color he cannot rival. In San Micchele in Bosco, in the same city, are some frescos painted by him, and now badly damaged. They represent scenes from the lives of S. Benedict and S. Cecilia, and were executed by him and his pupils. Of these pupils, two, his nephews, Agostino (1558-1601) and Annibale Caracci (1560-1609), must be named first: Agostino being distinguished rather for his labors as a teacher, and for his copperplate engravings; while Annibale was also an active and successful painter. He was the first to understand how to put in practice the principles of his school, and that with a high degree of independent talent; and in many of his paintings he reflects with partial success the great masters whom he honored as prototypes. Among his best works are a Madonna, attended by Saints, in the Pinacoteca at Bologna; an admirable picture of S. Roch distributing Alms, in the Dresden Gallery; and a noble and striking Mary with the dead body of Christ, in the Villa Borghese, near Rome. The latter subject he repeated several times; fostering that tendency to emotional effects which led religious painting, during this epoch, to prefer subjects expressive of mourning, anguish, or ecstasy. The master's greatest works are the frescos of mythological subjects in the so-called Gal-

* See the Preface for mention of this passage, as one of those which express a critical judgment, wholly different from the opinion held in the Twentieth Century by students of Italian Art.

leria (great hall) of the Palazzo Farnese at Rome. In the grouping and in the style of these we recognize a free and vigorous use of the general conception of Michelangelo's frescos on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel. They have a beauty and a clearness of color but seldom attained in frescos; and, even though the subjects are not treated with the freshness and inward vital force of the Raphaelian period, they are, nevertheless, admirable for grouping, designing, and modeling (Fig. 595). Annibale also painted genre pictures of com-

Fig. 595. Venus and Mars. By Annibale Caracci.

mon life in a vigorous and often rather harsh style, and he was one of the first to attempt independent landscapes.

One of the most eminent pupils of the Caracci was Domenichino, properly Domenico Zampieri (1591-1641), who surpassed most of his contemporaries, if not by the great force of his imaginative faculty, at least by his feeling for natural form, his very great technical skill, and his mastery of all the instrumentalities of his art, as also by the direct simplicity of his style. He executed several frescos, some of them of great if somewhat academic merit: for instance, the superb figures of the Evangelists, on the pendentives of the dome of S. Andrea della Valle in Rome; the Life of S. Cecilia, in S. Luigi de' Francesi in the same city; and the Legend of S. Nilus, in the Church of the Convent of Grottaferrata, near Rome (Fig. 596). In these works he seeks, chiefly by means of animated, characteristic figures, studied from the people of his time, to give to the sacred events a new

attractiveness—a result attained by the refinement and the truth of his representations, and giving us a proof that realism was the real animating motive, even among the eclectic school.

Of his easel pictures, the Communion of S. Jerome, in the Gallery of the Vatican, is one of the most important; being full of noble traits drawn from life, effective in its grouping, and painted with masterly power. Besides these, we may mention among his works a picture

Fig. 596. S. Nilus Healing the Boy Possessed with a Devil. By Domenichino.

of John the Evangelist, looking heavenward like one inspired, of which there are several repetitions; also a S. Cecilia in the Louvre (Fig. 597), represented in fanciful attire, with a turban and those rich garments which all the masters of this school delighted to paint. A charming mythological picture by him is in the Villa Borghese near Rome—Diana with her Nymphs; some of them bathing, others contending for the prize of archery. Here considerable importance is given to the landscape; and indeed in many of this artist's works we

find it treated quite independently. In some other representatives of this school, such as Francesco Albani (1578-1660), the tendency to landscape, and especially to the representation of idyllic scenes with mythological incidents as their basis, predominates almost to the exclusion of all other elements.

One of the most brilliant masters of this period is Guido Reni (1575-1642), a very prolific artist, who at first energetically devoted himself to the realistic style, and who, like the other talented pupils

Fig. 597. S. Cecilia. By Domenichino. Louvre.

of the Caracci, owes much to the influence of Caravaggio. This realism is carried to the harshest extreme in his Crucifixion of S. Peter, in the Vatican Gallery—one of the many favorite execution scenes of that time—in which a disagreeable coarseness of taste is betrayed. To this first epoch belong also several pictures in the Pinacoteca at Bologna, especially the magnificent Crucifixion, with Mary and John standing at the foot of the Cross; and a Slaughter of the Innocents—a work of effective and dramatic composition. Besides these, there

is a fine picture of the hermits Antony and Paul in the Berlin Museum—both of them strongly individualized figures, very impressively treated.

In middle life, however, Guido shows more desire for delicacy and grace. This tendency reached a high degree of perfection in the famous fresco of Aurora and Phœbus with the Hours, in the Casino of the Palazzo Rospigliosi at Rome; but in other works it gradually

Fig. 598. Mary Magdalene. By Guido Reni. Colonna Palace, Rome.

led him to adopt a dead, inane, ideal type of womanly beauty (Fig. 598), as well as an excessive delicacy in the forms, and finally even to a loss of his once so fresh and tender coloring.

More animated, more realistic, and specially distinguished for his strong, bright coloring, which is only now and then rather too heavy in the shadows of the flesh, is Guercino, properly Francesco Barbieri (1590-1666). He, too, seems to exhibit more native force in his early works; and it was only later that he fell into a similar effeminacy of style; but even then he was protected from actual dullness by the brilliancy of his color. Guercino, like Guido, was at first led to adopt a more realistic style by the powerful influence of Caravaggio. The sharp contrasts of broad masses of shadow and clear lights, which predominate especially in his earlier works, are traceable to the same example. Among his most important works are a fresco in the Casino

GUIDO RENI

"AURORA," FROM THE FRESCO IN THE ROSPIGLIOSI PALACE, ROME

named from the picture, Casino dell' Aurora, belonging to the now broken up Villa Ludovisi at Rome; the Dying Dido in the Palazzo Spada; several large pictures in the Pinacoteca at Bologna; fine altar-pieces in the churches of his native town (Cento), especially in S. Biagio and in the Church of the Madonna del Rosario; and several other paintings in galleries on both sides of the Alps. Many of his works exhibit traits of a poetic, idyllic character; for instance, the Expulsion of Hagar, in the Brera Gallery in Milan, of which we give an illustration in Fig. 599. Giovanni Lanfranco is far more superficial

Fig. 599. The Expulsion of Hagar. By Guercino. Milan.

and shallow in his artistic conceptions; while, on the other hand, the charming though rather narrow Sassoferrato (properly Giov. Battista Salvi—1605-85) succeeds in giving a real depth of sentiment to his numerous devotional paintings. Cristofano Allori (called Bronzino) (1577-1621) deserves mention as one of the most renowned masters of this period. His masterpiece—the splendid Judith with the Head of Holofernes—is to be found in the Pitti Gallery at Florence. Finally, to this group of artists belongs Carlo Dolci (1616-86), who often indulges in affected delicacy and sentimentality, but

who now and then gives evidence of a purer sensibility, and who has exquisitely soft bloom in his color united to extreme minuteness of finish.

The true character of this period appears more plainly and more decidedly in the Realists, who, in their efforts at passionate expression, avail themselves largely of degraded types of humanity, and make them display the same violence in their pictures that, as a rule, characterized the artists of this school in real life. Persecution and intrigue, poison and the stiletto, play the principal part in the careers of many of these artists, and are frequently called to their aid in their ambitious rivalries with their colleagues.

The leader of this class is Michelangelo Amerighi, surnamed, from his birthplace, Caravaggio (1569-1609). He was in every way the

Fig. 600. Cheating Card-Players. By Caravaggio. Sciarra Palace, Rome.

true child of his age—wild and passionate in his life as in his painting. Whenever he paints events of a sacred character—as in the frescos of the History of S. Matthew in S. Luigi de' Francesi at Rome, or the large altar-piece of the Burial of Christ in the Vatican—he always places the scene on the lowest plane of life. They are savage, ugly, even brutal and vulgar figures that he gives us; but they are marked by immense vitality and force; and though there is rarely anything noble in their expression, they are, nevertheless, often amazingly true to life, and preëminently tragic. His most successful

pictures are those in which he drops the pretence of painting sacred events, and allows himself to portray the vagabond rabble of those stormy times; as, for instance, in his famous and often-repeated Cheating Card Players (Fig. 600)—of which there is one example in the Gallery at Dresden, and another in the Palazzo Sciarra at Rome—in his Gypsy Fortune-Teller, and other works of similar character.

Later the Kingdom of Naples was the chief seat of this school; and its most extreme and most uncompromising representative there was the Spaniard, Giuseppe Ribera, surnamed Spagnoletto (1593-1656). While in his earlier paintings—for instance, in his masterly Descent from the Cross, in the sacristy of S. Martino at Naples—he is still temperate, in his numerous later works he affects a vigorous presentation of subjects full of passion and terror, descending even to the portrayal of hideous execution scenes in his pictures of martyrdoms.

Other followers of this style, though they do not often go to such lengths, are—besides Salvator Rosa, whom we shall meet again among the landscape painters—Pietro Novelli, an excellent Sicilian painter, better known under the name of Monrealese; the Netherlander, Gerard Honthorst, who on account of his partiality for effects of night illumination got the nickname of Gherardo dalle Notti; the eminent battle painter, Michelangelo Cerquozzi; the Frenchman, Jacques Courtois (or Cortese), also called le Bourguignon; and Luca Giordano (1632-1705), a highly gifted artist, but notorious for his mad rapidity of execution, from which peculiarity he received the nickname of Luca Fa Presto.

The taste for elaborate landscape backgrounds is conspicuous among the masters of the fifteenth century; as we have seen above. Again, during the sixteenth century, although, in consequence of the preponderance of the figure in the masterpieces of Raphael and Michelangelo, the landscape element in the Roman school passed into the background; yet Raphael well knew how to make use of it in many of his loveliest Holy Families, in a spirit of the loftiest poetry. But it did not become finally domiciled in its native home until adopted by the Venetian school, where Titian and Giorgione first made an extended use of it to give character to historical representations. From them Annibale Caracci, whom we must look on as the father of independent landscape painting in Italy, received his inspirations. He established the fundamental principles upon which the character of Italian landscape henceforth depended: the great free undulations of line, the mighty masses, the clearness and definiteness, which cause them to convey so harmonious and elevated a sentiment. This tendency was developed by the followers of the Caracci, finding its special interpre-

tation in the delicate idyls of Francesco Albani (1578-1660); and still more emphatically in Francesco Grimaldi, the representative landscape painter of this school (1606-80).

Two Italian artists are worthy of especial mention, both Venetians —Antonio Canale (1697-1768), called Canaletto, and his pupil Bernardo Bellotto (1724-80). Both of these, especially the former, excelled in faithful delineations of the streets, public squares, and canals of Venice, with their palaces, and in depicting the stirring bustle of a city.

B.—PAINTING IN SPAIN.

Spain—the chief seat of Catholicism, the cradle of Loyola and the Inquisition, the home of a religious fanaticism that well comports with the passionate sensuality of the South—first reaches during this epoch the brilliant climax of its achievements in painting. So profoundly was art associated with ecclesiastical life in Spain, that the unsettled condition of the state, and the impoverishment of the country, had no injurious effect upon it. In the works of Spanish art, the church element is far more influential than in Italian works of the same period; but even here it is the new and powerful stimulus given to religious feeling by the opposition of Protestantism that forces art to find its most striking forms of expression. The purest monastic asceticism, the tenderest devotion, the ecstatic ardor of piety, that forgets all earthly things, the grossest fanaticism, have never been so glorified by art as they were by Spanish painting during the seventeenth century. That here, too, among an impressible Southern population, realism should have been the starting-point, we can readily conceive. It was also very natural, that just as in the Italian art of the same period, but more exclusively and more imperiously than there, strong color mingled with an excessively powerful system of chiaroscuro should have been the essential element of this art, whose aim was to produce emotional impressions and strong effects. In the development of this feature of art, Spanish painting won its most illustrious triumphs, and proved itself the compeer of Spanish poetry —a kindred art, then also at its zenith.

The school of Seville, whose vigorous beginnings we have already seen, was at this time the most important in all Spain. In Francisco Pacheco (1571-1654) we still find a reminiscence of the earlier style; but Juan de las Roélas (1558-1625) endeavored to transplant to Spanish soil the beautiful coloring of the Venetians, and found effective support in Francisco de Herrera the elder (1576-1656). Another

VELAZQUEZ

"ÆSOP," FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE PRADO MUSEUM, MADRID

eminent painter was Francisco Zurbaran (1598-1662), a pupil of Roélas, an imitator of the Italian Caravaggio. All his paintings are characterized by holy ecstasy and enthusiastic fervor. His S. Thomas Aquinas in the Seville Gallery especially is a masterpiece. Alonzo Cano (1601-67)—who, besides being a painter, was also an architect and a sculptor—holds an independent position. In his paintings, which, like those of the other artists we have named, are very largely representations of ecclesiastical subjects, he aims at a more energetic plastic modeling and a sharper delineation of form.

The great master of this school is Don Diego de Silva y Velasquez (1599-1660), who, quitting the monkish limitations of the generality of Spanish artists, rose to a broader conception, and found a more extensive and various field for the exercise of his great talents. He is the great artist in whom the bold realism of the time celebrates its most brilliant triumphs, and reaches a power and breadth of conception fully and equally entitling it to be compared with any other achievement in art. Above all he is one of the greatest masters of light and color, seeking to reproduce the forms seen by him in the same way in which Nature showed them to him—that is, by color seen in daylight; and doing this with such vigor, freshness, and energy, and withal such firmness and grandeur of treatment, as is scarcely to be met with elsewhere in a like degree. Early in life he entered the school of Herrera the elder, whose rough manners, however, repelled him; whereupon he entered the studio of the high-bred Pacheco, who was so enchanted with the young man's master genius that he gave his daughter in marriage to the youth of nineteen. Velasquez in order to widen his horizon had settled in Madrid, in 1622; in the following year, after having painted the first portrait of Philip IV., he was appointed court painter by the all-powerful minister, Count Olivares. His meeting with Rubens in 1628, and his two journeys to Italy in 1629 and 1648 served to broaden his artistic views, but did not influence his style.

In his early works we observe a mellow laying of color, warm, deep, brownish tints, but even then also that energetic conception going at once to the root of the matter which in impressive power has no equal. In his middle period the tints grow lighter, the dark shades disappear; everything is encompassed by light and air, and the treatment becomes freer and bolder. These works of his middle epoch may well be designated as his ripest.

It was decisive for him that to the end of his life he remained painter to the king, Philip IV., who overwhelmed him with distinctions and claimed his services primarily as a portrait painter. During those thirty-eight years he was constantly at the King's side, and

painted his portrait many times. Not only the royal family and the grandees of the court, notably the Duke of Olivares, but even the male and female dwarfs—who, according to the custom of the times, formed an important part of the royal cortège—he was called upon to portray again and again. Among his most illustrious works of this kind in the Madrid Museum are the equestrian portraits of Philip IV. and his consort Isabella; the magnificent equestrian portrait of the Duke of Olivares; several other likenesses of the King, especially a full-length picture in hunting attire; the genial presentment of the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand of Austria, and the delicious portrait of the seven-year-old Infante Don Baltazar Carlos, who on his colossal steed so merrily dashes forth into the landscape. Further, we must name, dating from his middle period, his life-size portrait of Philip IV. on horseback, in the Uffizi at Florence—a highly effective and imposing work, of magnificent coloring; a portrait of Pope Innocent X., in the Palazzo Doria at Rome; several portraits in the National Gallery at London, in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, in the Dresden Gallery, in the Berlin Museum, in the Städel Institute at Frankfort, and in the Louvre at Paris.

The marriage, in 1648, of Philip IV. to Maria Anna of Austria gave rise to new portraits of the royal family, especially of the King and Queen kneeling at the praying-desk, spirited, delicate, and, as if purposely, without any religious expression; there were also new pictures of the dwarfs and court jester, all of which are now in the Madrid Museum. Besides this center for the appreciation of the master, the Vienna Museum contains a number of excellent portraits by him. In the first place, dating from his middle period, are the portraits of Philip IV. and his first Queen, Isabella; of the Infante Don Baltazar Carlos; notably, however, three portraits of the young Infanta Maria Theresa; then, dating from his later period, are the half-length portrait of Queen Maria Anna, and three portraits of her daughter, the Infanta Margarita Theresa. In these innocent children's faces, with the flaxen hair, the wondrously hazy, silvery tone of the master appears to greatest advantage, all material color seemingly dissolved into air. Even the frightful skirt with the farthingale (*vertugal, vertugadin*), and strained tight like a huge bell, seems endurable when treated by his magic brush. Although portraiture primarily claimed his powers, he distinguished himself by important works in almost every other field. In particular he has left us a few most remarkable genre pictures; as, for instance, of his early period, the Water-Carrier (El Aguador), in Apsley House at London, powerful in coloring; the Topers (Los Borrachos), in the Madrid Museum, dated 1629, a work full of unrestrained natural

feeling, bold and forcible in light effect. Of his later period there is in the same collection the great painting of the Tapestry Weavers (Las Hilanderas). Of the same period is the equally realistic presentation of the Maids of Honor (Las Meninas), where the artist has portrayed himself as standing at his easel, and the naïve, child-like figure of Princess Margarita, surrounded by her maids of honor and dwarfs, occupies a prominent position in the middle ground. Once the master was given an opportunity to represent a great historic scene, when about 1647 he painted the Surrender of Breda, now also in the Madrid Museum. Here the moment in which the Dutch commander delivers the keys to the Marchese Spinola is depicted in a truly historical spirit. The color effect is of wondrous delicacy, clearness, and freshness, showing the master at the full height of his art. On several occasions Velasquez strayed into the domain of mythology, notably in that imposing picture of his early period, painted about 1630, and designated as the Forge of Vulcan. The God of Fire with several journeymen is busy at his forge, when the light-encompassed form of Apollo enters to tell him of his wife's unfaithfulness. The two gods and Vulcan's companions are representations taken directly from life without any idealizing tendency. This energy of description and the wonderful light effect, the masterly modeling of the figures, for the most part nude, impart to the whole an impressiveness which one cannot escape. It is one of the grandest creations of the master. Less noteworthy are the pictures of the God Mars, and of Mercury killing Argus, dating from his later period; the two single figures of Menippus and Æsop are at least realistic works of energetic treatment. All these works are in the Madrid Museum.

That religious subject did not readily appeal to the mind of such an artist may be easily conceived. Yet in his Christ on the Cross, of the year 1638, in the Madrid Museum, he has created a work which in its austere realism, evading every redeeming conciliatory tendency, is of deeply stirring effect. Such were the chords which the religious art of those times endeavored to strike in order to affect impressively the minds of the faithful. Of his earlier period there is in the same collection an Adoration of the Magi, dated 1619—that is, when he was twenty years of age—in which he appears near of kin to the Italian realists. The same applies to the large Adoration of the Shepherds in the National Gallery at London. Of a later date, painted in Rome, 1630, is the picture in the Escorial, representing the Patriarch Jacob to whom his sons are bringing Joseph's blood-stained coat—full of realistic power, yet of soft and aërial clearness in treatment. The only rather indifferent and even somewhat con-

ventional picture is the Coronation of the Virgin, in the Madrid Museum, which belongs to the later period.

The landscape subjects in the same gallery, however, exhibit the artist once more in his full power. To this category belong the two studies from the Villa Medici, dating from his first sojourn in Rome, and the views from the Park at Aranjuez; with these must be classed also such representations as S. Anthony the Abbot and S. Paul the Hermit, which appear only as accessories to a grandly serious mountain landscape; or the large painting in the National Gallery at Lon-

Fig. 601. Female Head. By Velasquez.

don, of Philip IV. and retinue hunting the wild boar, in a boldly treated wild landscape. Thus the end of our review leads us back once more to our starting-point.

The other great master of the school of Seville, Bartolomeo Esteban Murillo (1617-82), is preëminently a religious painter, and in his incredibly prolific activity — about four hundred pictures are set down to his credit—is reflected the mighty impulse given to artistic creation by the devotional spirit of the times. The cycle painted by Murillo for the Hospital of the Caridad, in Seville, alone consisted of twelve large pictures; one of his earliest time for the Franciscan convent now destroyed, in the same city—of eleven. Furthermore, he painted four imposing pictures for the Church of

S. Maria la Blanca, also at Seville; more than twenty for the Capuchin convent; others for the Hospital of the Priests (de los Venerables sacerdotes), and for the Augustine convent. Under such conditions his art was kept close to the ecclesiastical field; and he lived and worked almost exclusively at Seville, and almost wholly for monks, with natural results of narrowing his sympathies and artistical scope. In his numerous religious pictures the characteristic national style is glorified into a passionate fervor, and he strives to express the tenderest emotion no less than the wildest enthusiasm. But he can also handle real life with freshness and vigor, whether in a rude, humorous genre style, or in the finely drawn and truthful portrait. In his earlier works he handled his materials not quite with full clearness and ease; but in those of his middle and later period he attains that wonderful softness produced by a skillful "pastoso" of the pigments.

It is characteristic of Murillo that he starts from an energetic conception of low life. Some pictures of his belonging to this category—especially those in the Pinakothek at Munich, as well as one in the Louvre, representing peasants, ragged street boys, and the like, idling, pilfering, card-playing—are remarkable as studies of life and for their powerful treatment of color. This style is retained in many of his religious paintings, especially in his Madonnas in the Dresden Gallery, the Pitti Palace at Florence, the Palazzo Corsini in Rome, the Museums at Seville and Madrid, and elsewhere, where the mother, sitting quietly with the child in her lap, becomes the Divine Mother only through the aureola round her head; in all other respects she does not transcend the sphere of comely womanhood. Of delightful candor is also the Holy Family, in the Louvre, at the same time captivating through its harmonious and effective treatment. Here may also be seen in equal artlessness and full of charm the large picture of the Birth of the Virgin, with angels, always conceived by Murillo with enchanting grace. Most noteworthy are several pictures in the Academy of San Fernando at Madrid, among them two scenes from the foundation of the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore, painted originally for S. Maria la Blanca at Seville; also in the museum at Seville, formerly in the Franciscan convent: the Prayer of S. Diego, blessing the soup for the poor, and S. Francis, to whom an angel appears. An exquisite specimen is also the S. Rodriguez in the Dresden Gallery.

In other pictures of a religious tendency, Murillo understands very well, when the occasion requires, how to combine this strong realism with the expression of religious fervor and devotion, so as to produce creations of striking power. As illustrations of this, we may

mention the Eight Works of Mercy, which he painted for the Church of the Hospital de la Caridad, Seville. Three of these figures are yet in their original places; namely, Christ feeding the Five Thou-

Fig. 602. From Murillo's Moses Striking the Rock. Seville.

sand in the Wilderness; S. John de Dios bearing a Sick Man to the Hospital; and, above all, the beautiful picture of Moses causing Water to flow out of the Rock (Fig. 602).

MURILLO

"THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION," FROM THE PAINTING IN THE LOUVRE, PARIS

It is only when he can portray the Madonna in some moment of intense ecstasy—as in those pictures in which we see her enveloped in flowing draperies, borne aloft, standing upon the crescent moon or upon the clouds, while her longing eyes outrun her body in the heavenward ascent—it is only then that Murillo attains the glowing, overpowering expression of religious enthusiasm such as has never been equaled in intensity in so many important works. The conception of these pictures—one of the most celebrated of which is in the

Fig. 603. The Infant S. John. By Murillo. Madrid.

Louvre—proves him to be near akin to Correggio; but the Spaniard's enthusiasm, though expressed by less masterly methods, in pictures of far less artistical value, is purer, and more intense. Another — similar — picture, formerly in S. Maria la Blanca, may be seen in the same collection. Above all, however, must be named the splendid composition in the Chapter Hall of the Cathedral at Seville, three most noteworthy ones in the Museum there, several in the Madrid Gallery, and a gorgeous specimen in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg. It is amazing with what deep religious

fervor and with what artistic force the master understands how to vary ever and anew the same theme.

The same tone of devout fervor pervades several other paintings of his, in which the ecstasies and visions of various saints are portrayed; but even here he goes far beyond the narrow expression of monkish, fanatical enthusiasm, and attains a nobler conception, and one that by its naturalness and truth cannot fail to charm the beholder. Thus in the attractive picture of the youthful John, in the Madrid Museum (Fig. 603), where holy enthusiasm is transformed into a charming idyl. To the most wonderful creations of this kind belongs the S. Francis, who, placing one foot upon the globe, embraces with tender fervor the dead Christ hanging on the Cross, when the Saviour suddenly disengages his right arm from the cross lovingly to enfold the Saint, a picture of great visionary power, now in the Museum at Seville, where may also be seen the kindred S. Augustine offering a flaming heart to the Christ-Child. Belonging to this class must furthermore be reckoned the Virgin of S. Bernard in the Madrid Museum, and many others. One of his most esteemed works is the Vision of S. Anthony of Padua, in the Cathedral of Seville; the same subject, treated in the same way, may be seen in the Berlin Museum. There are other excellent works in this style in the Museum at Madrid; which one collection contains forty-six pictures by his hand. Nevertheless, we can study him best at Seville, where, among the twenty-four paintings in the Museum there, his best works are to be found.

The school of Madrid, which, under the influence of the court, applied itself more particularly to portrait painting, is also distinguished by a number of eminent masters, who, like those of the school of Seville, attained a high degree of perfection in the refinement of color. Of these we may mention Antonio Pereda (1599-1669), and especially Juan Careño de Miranda (1614-85). On these and other masters the influence of Velasquez was very decided. Still less independent adoption of earlier tendencies is seen in Claudio Coello, who lived down to the year 1693. Finally, we must name as the head of the school of Valencia an artist educated in Italy, who was especially influenced by the works of Fra Sebastiano del Piombo—Francesco Ribalta (1551-1628)—who now and then combines a grand treatment of form with great warmth and harmony of colors. In the eighteenth century, painting declined in Spain as elsewhere, and eked out a wretched existence simply by a studied imitation of the earlier masters.

C.—PAINTING IN THE NETHERLANDS.*

The development of painting in the Netherlands during this epoch was richer and more many-sided even than in Italy and Spain. Not only did there exist between the school of Brabant and the school of Holland a contrast resembling that between the eclectics and the realists in Italy; but it was here, above all, that certain entirely new and peculiarly fruitful fields were opened to art. But the common basis of all these different schools was a fresh and genuine national taste, which gave to their ideas, as well as to their treatment of form and their technical methods, a spirit of originality.

The school of Brabant clung more to tradition; for that part of the Low Countries, despite the fierce conflicts of the sixteenth century did not separate itself from Spanish domination nor from the Catholic religion. This, then, is the third great school of this epoch, which draws its religious inspirations from revived Catholicism, adopting, with the same unreserve as the Italians and Spaniards, a realistic mode of representation. The chief master of this school, and its founder, is Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640), one of the most brilliant, accomplished, and versatile geniuses in the whole history of art. His father—a distinguished jurisconsult and magistrate of Antwerp—had, like many prominent men, gone over to Protestantism. The persecution of heretics having been begun, he with many of his fellow-believers fled to Cologne, and there entered the service of William of Orange. At the little city of Siegen in Westphalia, was born, on the Feast of the two Apostles whose names he bears, the great Ruben. Later the family appears to have moved to Cologne, where the father returned to the Catholic Church, and where young Rubens spent his childhood. On the death of the elder Rubens, the mother went with her children back to Antwerp. As the boy grew up, he early manifested an inclination toward art; though under his instructor, Octavius van Veen, he could only adopt the mannered imitation of the Italian masters, which for nearly half a century had supplanted all genuine native art in the Netherlands. But in his twenty-third year young Rubens went himself to Italy, where in the course of a seven-years' sojourn, by studying Titian and Veronese, he gained a foundation for his work such as corresponded with the taste of his time. In his early pictures, especially those to be found in

* J. A. X. Michiels, "Histoire de la Peinture flamande et hollandaise"; 5 vols., Brussels, 1845-49; "Rubens, et l'École d'Anvers"; Paris, 1854; "Van Dyck et ses Elèves"; 1881. Émile Michel, "Rubens, His Life and Time" (translated from the French). Lionel Cust, "Anthony Van Dyck, an Historical Study"; 1902.

Italy, we clearly discern the influence of the great Venetian masters; but, before long, his own mighty artist nature had asserted its independence, and originated a style in which it could express itself freely and vigorously. Called home by the death of his mother, he returned to Antwerp in 1608, and was secured for his own country by the favor of the Archduke Albert and his consort Isabella, who appointed him court painter. Nevertheless, he continued to reside at Antwerp, rather than at the court of his patron, so as to maintain his liberty. Here, while at the head of a large school, he produced all those mighty works which give evidence of his inexhaustible fancy. Soon the fame of his great ability spread all over the world; and the courts of Spain, France, and England heaped commissions and honors upon him. As a highly cultured man, a noble patriot, and an accomplished cavalier, he undertook diplomatic missions—as to Philip IV. of Spain, and Charles I. of England, who knew how to appreciate the artist and the man. He was twice married: first to Isabella Brandt, and afterward to the beautiful Helena Fourment, and was very fortunate in his family life. When, at the age of sixty-three, he died, there ended a career that hardly finds a parallel in the history of art for its eminent success in achievement, in brilliancy, and in fame.

Passionate movement, keen delight in action, and deep and strong sentiment are the elements of his style. For their sake he calls into existence a whole race of beings, which, in their often superabundant physical strength, show themselves capable of doing anything they may be moved to do. While the beings created by the Venetian masters seem born for the highest and noblest sensuous enjoyment, in Rubens' characters the need of vigorous action appears as the very root of their being. His men breathe the atmosphere of a free, unfettered heroism and strength. They have not, it is true, the pure nobility of form that characterizes the creations of the Italian eclectic school; but they make up for it by an inexhaustible vitality. His compositions are not governed by strict symmetry; but they are pervaded by a harmony of strong, emotional traits, such as no other artist has found it possible to convey. If we compare the master with Michelangelo from this point of view, we at once perceive in Rubens' figures a ruder materialism drawn directly from life, and observe that his effects flow less from the depths of contemplation than from the force of a sensuous nature. This is borne out by the enchanting beauty of his brilliant, fresh, and splendidly treated coloring, combined with a perhaps unprecedented ease of creation and an amazing fertility. His numerous original sketches in color are especially valuable for the study of his technical skill. There are whole series of such bril-

liantly executed sketches in the Pinakothek at Munich and in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg.

A multitude of his paintings—most of them large and crowded with figures, and some of them works of colossal size—are to be seen in the churches and galleries of his native country and in nearly all the museums of Europe. Among them, the best are those executed soon after his return from Italy. Later, as orders pressed upon him in great numbers, his treatment was more hurried; and he even had to employ his numerous pupils as assistants. Nevertheless, even where there is an excess of sensuousness, even of heaviness and coarseness, and where the characterization descends somewhat too low, the master's preëminent sympathy with life nobly makes amends for all these defects.

In the long list of his works, we can notice here only a few of the most important. His altar-pieces treat of the most diverse scenes of sacred history, mostly in a moment of passionately dramatic action. We would mention especially the two famous pictures in the Antwerp Cathedral—the Raising of the Cross and the Descent from the Cross—and several admirable works in the academy of the same town; also, especially, the triptych of the unbelieving Thomas—one of the noblest productions of his earlier years; the S. Theresa—a picture equally distinguished for the refinement and nobility of its sentiment; the intensely powerful painting of the Saviour crucified between the Two Thieves (Fig. 604); the extremely pathetic Lamentation over the Dead Christ; a charmingly conceived Holy Family; a Communion of S. Francis of Assisi, very much overwrought, in comparison with which Domenichino's celebrated picture appears stately and classical; and, finally, a brilliant Adoration of the Magi—a large painting, full of force, boldness, and powerful action. In the Museum at Brussels is a representation of the same scene, exhibiting much genuine feeling and noble expression. In the Museum at Madrid is one of the artist's most powerful creations—the Miracle of the Brazen Serpent; also a sumptuous Adoration of the Magi. In the Museum at Vienna there is an Assumption of the Virgin, noble in action, full of jubilant movement, with beautiful hosts of angels. In the same museum is a S. Ambrose forbidding the Emperor Theodosius from entering the Church—an altar-piece of grand composition and fine execution, in a subdued tone of color. The same collection also contains one of the most perfect creations of this artist, painted soon after his return from Italy, in 1610, on three panels. On the middle panel is the Enthroned Madonna presenting a chasuble to S. Ildefonso; and on the side panels are the donor, the Archduke Albert and his consort, commended to the Virgin by their patron

saints; also two powerful altar-pieces vividly portraying the miracles of Francis Xavier and Ignatius Loyola. In the Pinakothek at Munich is the colossal Last Judgment—a masterpiece, it is true, in grouping, in the distribution of its masses, and in the striking power of its effects of light, but yet unsatisfactory owing to the multitude of voluptuous female figures. In the Pinakothek is also preserved the powerful dra-

Fig. 604. Christ Crucified Between the Two Thieves. By Rubens. Antwerp.

matic composition of the Combat between S. Michael and the Dragon. In S. Peter's Church at Cologne is the admirably painted Martyrdom of S. Peter; and there are many other works of the master in other places.

We have also from Rubens numerous mythological pictures, full of heroic spirit and sensuous power: such as the Battle of the

Amazons, in the Pinakothek at Munich; the magnificent Garden of Love, in the Madrid Gallery (and a replica of it in the Dresden Gallery); the highly poetical and glowing Feast of Venus on the Island of Cythera, in the Art History Museum Gallery in Vienna; with a long list of similar pictures in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg—the most noted being the Liberation of Andromeda, the River God Tigris and Abundantia, and a drunken Silenus with Satyrs. A like subject is portrayed in a somewhat coarsely sensual painting in the Pinakothek at Munich (Fig. 605); where may also be seen a Rape of the Daugh-

Fig. 605. Satyr and Nymphs. By Rubens. Munich.

ters of Leucippus, full of dramatic action. Besides these, there is a magnificent Bacchanal in the Blenheim Gallery, and a Rape of Proserpine in the Museum at Madrid.

Rubens is also great in scenes from profane history, especially where there is opportunity for dramatic representations. We may name as masterpieces of this kind the six large paintings of the History of Decius, in the Liechtenstein Gallery at Vienna. Roman history is here treated in much the same large, bold way as in Shakespeare's Roman dramas. Even in the allegorical pieces painted by him in deference to the taste of his time, he knows how to introduce a great deal of reality; as, for instance, in the twenty-one paintings in the Louvre, representing the history of Marie de Médicis, queen-regent. These allegorical pictures were, about 1898, arranged in a new gallery of great architectural richness, intended to give them such a setting as was meant for them when painted. We have also from the hand of the indefatigable master some few brilliant genre pic-

tures, such as the Peasants' Dance in the Louvre, and another in the Museum at Madrid, both of them bold and masterly in conception; some intensely animated animal pieces, such as the Lion Hunts in the Munich and Dresden Galleries, the splendid Wolf Hunt in the possession of Lord Ashburton at London, the admirable Chase of the Calydonian Boar in the Museum at Vienna, and the magnificent Lions, nine in number, in the painting of Daniel, formerly owned by the Duke of Hamilton. His works also include several grand

Fig. 606. Group of Children. By Rubens. Berlin.

landscapes; such as the rich and fanciful picture of Philemon and Baucis in the Museum at Vienna, and the landscape in the painting of Odysseus and Nausicaa in the Pitti Gallery, Florence; the landscapes—treated more in the style of the Netherlands—in Buckingham Palace, Hertford Gallery, in London, formerly the collection of the Marquis of Hertford and of Sir Richard Wallace, Windsor Castle, and in the National Gallery at London; and many animated portraits in the Louvre at Paris, in the Pitti Palace in Florence, in the Belvedere and the Liechtenstein collection in Vienna, in the Hermitage in

St. Petersburg, and in the Dresden Gallery, among which is the famous Chapeau de Paille in the British National Gallery, formerly owned by Sir Robert Peel. Furthermore, the excellent Group of the master's family in the same collection, formerly at Blenheim; and, finally, a number of fresh, naïve representations of child life (Fig. 606). Besides all this, Rubens was distinguished as an architect; and in addition to all these occupations he was a man prominent in the higher social life of his day—the associate of princes and diplomats, and, as has been said before, intrusted with political missions to foreign

Fig. 607. The Virgin with the Three Penitent Sinners—Mary Magdalen, the Prodigal Son, and King David. By van Dyck. Berlin Museum.

courts. Thus in him, more than in any other contemporary master, do we find united all the richness and splendor of the life of that brilliant age.

Those brilliant engravers on copper must not remain unmentioned, through whom Rubens gave a mighty impulse also to this branch of art in the reproduction of his works; they were Vorsterman, Soutman, with his pupils, Suyderhoef and Cornelius Vischer, then Schelte à Bolswert and Hondius.

Of his pupils, Antony van Dyck (1599-1641) was the most eminent. At first he imitated the vigorous style of his master; which, in-

deed, he now and then violently exaggerated—as in his Christ crowned with Thorns, in the Berlin Museum. Afterward, especially after visiting Italy and directly studying the works of the Venetian masters, his style became characterized by a nobler and more symmetrical beauty, as is clearly evidenced by a painting in the same collection, the Lamentation over the Dead Body of Christ. Another painting to be seen there, representing the three repentant sinners—Mary Magdalen, the Prodigal Son, and King David—in the presence of the Madonna (Fig. 607), belongs to this epoch. A refined, nervous sensibility makes this artist fond of portraying in his religious pictures such scenes of profound mental anguish; but instead of the passionate energy of Rubens' forms, we find here a melancholy expression of grief, which even runs into a tearful and rather sentimental aspect. Thus he often paints the dead Christ on the cross, or after the descent from the cross, surrounded by his lamenting followers. Some of his finest Madonnas and Holy Families belong to the early period of the master, where the influence of Titian is apparent in the noble modelling and the deep glow of coloring, as may be seen in a superb painting in the Pinakothek at Munich, the equally admirable specimen in the Louvre, in two pictures in Buckingham Palace, London, and others.

Van Dyck's best work is in portraiture, and he is one of the most accomplished masters of that art. First in Italy, and then at the court of Charles I. of England, he had frequent opportunity to immortalize the princes, the prelates, and the brilliant aristocracy of his time. All of these pictures are remarkable for a thoroughly dignified conception, a wonderful refinement of psychological portraiture, and for the charms of their incomparably clear, soft, and finely treated coloring.

Still, among his many works of this kind, we notice certain differences of conception and of treatment. The works of his first period are characterized by more of that simple vigor and wholesome bourgeois element which we observe in the works of Rubens. In his Italian period, Van Dyck approaches Titian's pictures by a certain pomp of style and intensity of color. It was not till he came to live in England that his style assumed an independent form, or that he attained that refinement of observation of life which made him peculiarly the painter of celebrated people, but which now and then, in the latter part of his life, ran into slightness and over-delicacy of coloring. Among the most famous of his series of great portraits we must name the imposing equestrian portraits of Thomas Carignan in the Turin Gallery, of General Moncada in the Louvre, of the Marchese Brignole in the palace of that family at Genoa, and also

SIR ANTHONY VAN DYCK

"QUEEN HENRIETTA" OF ENGLAND, FROM THE PAINTING IN THE DRESDEN GALLERY

of a Colonna in the Colonna Palace at Rome. Then there are the masterly portraits of King Charles I. of England in the Louvre and in other places; of the Children of Charles I. in the Galleries at Windsor, Turin, and Dresden (Fig. 608); those of the Prince of Carignan and the Infanta Eugenia of Spain in the Berlin Museum;

Fig. 608. The Children of Charles I. of England. By Van Dyck. Dresden.

of Cardinal Bentivoglio in the Pitti Palace at Florence; and innumerable other works of great importance; including several great portraits in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

The remaining pupils of Rubens, of whom there were many, adopted rather the more vigorous and energetic characteristics of his style of painting. In this they were sometimes successful; but often their works are marked by heaviness and coarseness. The most talented of them all was Jacob Jordaens, from whose hand we have some excellent and vivacious genre pictures.

Essentially different from this was the direction taken by the school of Holland. Here a new, vigorous national life had been developed on a thoroughly bourgeois basis, and had found in political and religious liberty the secure foundation for a strong and healthy existence. As the old church tradition was here rejected by the strict Protest-

antism of the country, art found its first resort in the faithful reproduction of reality, which it brought to a high point of perfection in the branch of portrait painting. It is not the poetic inspiration of aristocratic refinement as in Van Dyck, nor intense animation and power as in Rubens, but rather a simple burgher spirit of order and clearness, a feeling of bourgeois comfort, and a certain candid self-consciousness, which speak to us in the admirable portraits of these Dutch masters. This tendency finds its full expression in those well-known portrait groups of municipal corporations, of guilds, and of directors of public institutions. In the Middle Ages, when the interests of the Church were paramount, such series of portraits found a place only in votive painting, in which the members of a corporation or a family loved to have themselves represented as under the protection of the Madonna, as in Holbein's Madonna, with the family of the Burgomaster Meier, named above. The Renaissance, it is true, had freed the individual from the fetters of such ecclesiastical tradition; but the complete results of this enfranchisement were to be first attained in Protestant Holland, where we find its expression in the portrait groups of the guilds and magistrates. In these pictures we see living again before us that weather-beaten race which had waged a long war against Spanish supremacy and come out victorious, sometimes assembled around the jovial banqueting board, sometimes taking part in a festive procession in all the bravery of arms, or else gathered in grave council. One can follow the history of Dutch painting through a long series of these pictures. The earliest, in the Council House at Amsterdam, go back into the third decade of the sixteenth century, and only possess an historic interest owing to their monotony of grouping, and lack of a refined, picturesque charm. But that higher method, which gradually led to great animation and easy grouping, and to incomparable vigor of picturesque treatment, soon began to show itself, especially in this style of picture.

Michael van Mierevelt may be reckoned among the most skillful of the masters of this school (1567-1641); and the Council House at Delft boasts of two grand portrait groups of magistrates by his hand. Lifelike portraits by him are also found in the Dresden Gallery, and in the Galleries of The Hague and Amsterdam; at the last-named, especially those of Prince William I. of Orange, Maurice of Nassau, Frederic Henry, and Philip William of Orange, as well as John of Olden-Barneveldt. A fine example of Mierevelt is to be seen in the Metropolitan Museum, New York—the Portrait of a Dutch Lady. A notable contemporary artist at the Hague was Jan van Ravesteyn (1572-1657), as may be seen by his pictures in the collection there, and those at Amsterdam, which are masterly in their orig-

inality and broad in their style of treatment. Thomas de Keyzer, too, belongs to this school, having a large picture in the Council House at Amsterdam and a smaller one in the Museum at The Hague. This style, however, reaches its climax in the great master of Haarlem, who far surpasses all his rivals in incomparable vigor of conception and great breadth and boldness of touch, and irresistibly draws the whole Dutch school of painting into a new path.

Franz Hals (1584-1666) can nowhere be so thoroughly studied as in the Council House at Haarlem, where eight great portrait groups —guild officers and regents—mark the progress of his development for half a century (1616-64). In the earlier works, like the Guild Banquet of 1616 and the two similar pictures of 1627, the master luxuriates in richly colored representations of a pleasure-loving life, finding expression in a rich series of chromatic effects. However, in the great picture of 1633, which portrays the council of a guild assembled for consultation in the open air, he abandons this tendency of his earlier years, somewhat subduing the colors of a palette which is, however, still brilliant enough, and aiming at a cooler tint throughout. A representation of a Parade of the year 1639, and a picture of 1637 in the Council House at Amsterdam, are of deep and grave tone, to which he returns in the earliest of his portrait groups of corporation regents in 1641. In these works the master evidently seeks to acquire an increasing simplicity of picturesque treatment, and a bolder, broader touch—an endeavor which attains its final result in the two late corporation portrait groups of 1664—and neglecting all minor details, dwells only upon the essential, though he does this with an unequaled power. Besides these, there are numbers of smaller works by this master, single portraits as well as genre pictures, in various collections, among them several likenesses: for instance, that of a graceful, charming young girl in the Berensteyn Court at Haarlem, and a magnificent full-length portrait of a man in the Brussels Gallery; another, perhaps still finer, in the Liechtenstein Palace at Vienna; the portraits of the artist himself and his wife, in the Museum at Amsterdam; and an exquisite picture of a Lute Player in the same gallery. There are other productions of his in the Gallery at Berlin: especially, among other portraits, the grotesque picture of Hille Bobbe, and a replica in the Metropolitan Museum of New York; in which ugliness of the most vulgar type is elevated almost to beauty; and the humorous picture called the Merry Trio, sometimes ascribed to Dirck Hals. The New York Museum also possesses, in the Meeting of the Trained Bands to celebrate the conclusion of the Peace of Münster, a grand composition for a picture conceived by Franz Hals, but retouched and finished, principally the heads and

hands, by Dirck Hals. The Galleries of Brunswick, Cassel (seven admirable pictures), Gotha (several beautiful portraits), the Städel Institute at Frankfort-on-the-Main, St. Petersburg, etc., are also enriched by his works. The last name in this school of painters is that of the justly celebrated Bartholomäus van der Helst (1613-70). His great portrait group of 1639, in the Council House at Amsterdam, betrays, perhaps, the effect of the influence of Hals in its power, spiritedness, and originality of treatment. His masterpiece (dating from 1648), in the Museum at Amsterdam—the famous Banquet of the Citizen Guard on the occasion of the celebration of the Peace of Westphalia—exhibits an exhaustless wealth of character delineation in a cool and almost bare daylight. He was induced to adopt a deeper tone by the influence of Rembrandt, as shown by his small picture (dated 1653), almost miniature-like in execution, and representing the Judges of the Military Guild in Council, now at the Louvre in Paris, and the same subject, on a larger scale, in the picture at the Amsterdam Museum, dated 1657. There are also two clever productions by him, dating from the year 1655, in the Council House of the same city.

The head of the Dutch school, Rembrandt van Rijn (1607-69),* adopts the same basis for his art. Born at Leyden, the son of a wealthy mill-owner, he was destined for a learned profession, but at an early age yielded to an irresistible inclination for the study of art. He at first received some instruction in his native town, but soon went to Amsterdam, and entered the atelier of Peter Lastmann, an artist, who, as a pupil of the admirable Elzheimer (Adamo Tedesco), had acquired a taste for rather artificial effects of light—as, for instance, in his Flight into Egypt (1608), in the Museum at Rotterdam—a fact which was destined to lead Rembrandt to the most finished development of his marvelous chiaroscuro. He returned to his native town in 1624; and there Gerhard Dow became his pupil. But after 1631 we find him established in Amsterdam, where he spent the rest of his life in a round of unwearied labor, creating new subjects for Dutch painting, opening out for it an indefinite horizon, and endowing it with a perfection of coloring peculiar to itself, and wholly unlike the coloring of the great Venetians, or of Correggio. A certain golden transparency pervades his earlier works, which reflect for us the happy domestic life that the artist enjoyed with his lovely wife Saskia van Ulenburg. Again and again has he immortalized with his

* "Rembrandt Harmens van Rijn, sa Vie et ses Œuvres," by C. Vosmaer; The Hague, 1868. Compare the admirable etchings, after Rembrandt, in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, by N. Massaloff; Leipzig, folio. Emile Michel, "Rembrandt, His Life," etc. (translated from the French). Malcolm Bell, "Rembrandt and His Work."

FRANS HALS

"HILLE BOBBE" FROM THE PAINTING IN THE NATIONAL GALLERY, BERLIN

brush her graceful and charming image; but with her early death (1642), the life of the great master began to be overclouded. In spite of his tireless industry, he became more and more involved in his affairs, finally ending in bankruptcy; and was reduced to the necessity of selling at auction his rich collections of art and antiquities. Though, later, he married again, his life was still saddened by trouble and poverty. But amid all his cares, Rembrandt's energy and elasticity of temperament stood him in noble stead; so that he courageously pursued his art without interruption, and produced his finest works just when life with him was at its darkest.

Several portraits have come down to us from the master's earlier years, in which he devoted himself to a simple, unartificial presentation of nature with all the force of his talent. The famous picture of Tulp the anatomist, who is dissecting a corpse before his pupils, belongs to this time; as also several portraits in the Gallery at Cassel, especially those of the accountant Copenol, the beautiful portrait of Saskia, the artist's first wife (about 1633), and that of the burgomaster Six of the year 1639. Later he was not satisfied with this calm, objective mode of representation: a deep and passionate intensity of temperament impelled him to a new style, in which even figures were only made use of in order to solve artistic problems of the most daring kind. A wonderful development of chiaroscuro, bold, venturesome experiments, with fantastic and even glaring effects of light, predominate in his later works. This tendency is, as it were, the embodiment of a resolute protest against everything like noble form, strongly marked drawing, and joyous life in the sunny light of day. This tendency appears very early, but as yet only as an exceptional thing, in the picture of Paul in Prison, in the Stuttgart Gallery (1627). A masterpiece of this style is the picture known as the Night Watch (La Ronde de Nuit) in the Museum at Amsterdam (1642); a scene in such concentrated daylight as at this period the artist particularly affected. When Rembrandt paints Biblical history, he delights to portray figures taken from real every-day life; and in his very rare mythological pictures he carries out this predilection most completely, even to the extent of a genial, good-natured irony—as in the Rape of Ganymede, in the Dresden Gallery. But in spite of this want of a nobler style, a higher expression, his pictures carry one completely away with their weird charm by the resistless power that is felt in them of a temperament stirred to its very depths, and, finally, by their mysterious poetic force. Chiefly, however, it should not be forgotten, that Rembrandt, in this method, occupies a position peculiarly characteristic of Germanic genius, and one which Albert Dürer had occupied before him

There is no trace here of the ideal sense of form that marks the Italians, but rather the expression of an art full of intrinsic truth; masterful strength and skill compensating one for the lack of beauty by sharply defined characterization, lifelike individuality, warmth of sentiment, and picturesque charm.

Rembrandt took special pleasure in the treatment of Old Testament subjects; which, indeed, were most congenial to the puritanism of his age, and in which he was able to satisfy the fantastic bent that really formed an essential, fundamental element in his style, by the introduction of Oriental costumes and vigorous characteristic traits. Such a theme is the picture of the Family of Tobias with the Angel, in the Louvre, and the Sacrifice of Abraham, in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, and many other pictures, which hold and impress one by their weird enchantment. A picture in the Museum at Berlin—Moses breaking the Tables of the Law—is extremely effective; and another —of Samson threatening his Wife's Father, painted in 1637, in which the artist puts forth all his almost preternatural power—is also very strong and impressive. Rembrandt found in the life of Samson the motive for several considerable pictures. The Gallery at Cassel owns a painting, of the year 1636, depicting with horrible realism the putting out of the hero's eyes by his enemies; and a picture in the Schönborn Gallery at Vienna has the same revolting subject. By way of contrast, there is a remarkable picture in the Dresden Gallery (1638), singularly charming and poetic, called the Banquet of Ahasuerus, but more correctly described as Samson among the Philistines.

In order to judge his representations from the New Testament with perfect appreciation, it is necessary to take into consideration the numerous compositions which he has given us in his admirable etchings. It is true that in these masterly works he is especially prone to fall into his favorite study of the mysterious fascinations of chiaroscuro, in which lay his special strength; so that in dwelling too exclusively upon this theme, he sometimes sacrifices proper characterization and noble grouping to a momentary effect. This is the case, for instance, in the celebrated Descent from the Cross (also treated in paintings in the Pinakothek at Munich and the Museum at St. Petersburg), where the impression produced is made to proceed almost entirely from the outward aspect of the incident and its realistic consequences. But in many etchings—as, for example, the Raising of Lazarus (Fig. 609), and others—the figure of Christ stands forth replete with dignity, nobler by force of contrast with the fantastic forms which surround him, often falling, as they do, into harshness and inferiority of expression. Apart from all this, a notable effect

is always here produced by the peculiar grouping and the disposition of the light. One of the most attractive pictures of this order is that of Christ as the Friend of Children, lately come into the possession of the British National Gallery from the Schönborn Gallery at Vienna. Among the chief of his Biblical pictures belongs the representation of the Parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard (1656), now in the Städel Institute at Frankfort—a work showing an ad-

Fig. 609. The Raising of Lazarus. From an etching by Rembrandt.

mirable treatment of natural scenery and great strength of coloring. Of the charm prevailing in his etchings, we give an illustration in the artist's portrait of himself.

In his later portraits he strives more and more after effect, by which his figures appear to be fairly bathed, as it were, in a flood of light—a light, however, which does not suggest the rosy illumination of day, but an artificial, yellow-tinted lamplight; and, in connection with this effect, he understands how to work in all the magic

of chiaroscuro, even in the strongly shaded portions of the picture, filling in the forms with a bold touch, which constantly becomes bolder and broader. In his latest works alone, this clear tone is sometimes quite lost in a gloomy, sometimes even dirty-looking effect of brown and gray. One of the most finished works of the master's last period is the Staalmeisters, or more properly the Syndics of the Drapers' Guild, in the Museum at Amsterdam (Fig. 610)—a speci-

Fig. 610. The Staalmeisters. By Rembrandt. Amsterdam.

men of that portrait grouping which was such a favorite style in the Holland of that day. There are masterly portraits also in the Van Six and Van Loon collections in Amsterdam; and, finally, it should not be forgotten that several boldly treated landscapes by Rembrandt may be seen in the Museums of Cassel, Dresden, Munich, and Brunswick.

Among Rembrandt's pupils and imitators, his effects of light and shade, and delicately developed chiaroscuro, acquire a much more superficial character. But among his most talented followers should be specially mentioned Gerbrand van den Eckhout, who approaches most nearly to the master himself; the often charming Ferdinand Bol; the more moderate Govart Flinck; J. Lievensz, distinguished for his portraits and landscapes; and Salomon Koning, noted for his technical attainments.

REMBRANDT

"THE SYNDICS OF THE DRAPERS," FROM THE PAINTING IN THE RIJKS MUSEUM, AMSTERDAM

Toward the end of the sixteenth century, Peter Breughel the elder, called Bauern Breughel (Peasant Breughel), was the first to produce delineations of peasant life in all its roughness and awkwardness, with a good deal of dry and good-natured humor, and considerable spirit. In his son, Peter Breughel the younger, who acquired the nickname of Höllen Breughel (Hell Breughel), the fantastic taste of the period showed itself with special force, leading him, like the older Hieronymus Bosch, to produce all manner of representations of devils, illustrations of ghost stories, and the like, making them remarkably effective by the employment of firelight effects amid

Fig. 611. A Low-Life Scene from Teniers the Younger. Madrid.

a surrounding darkness. The older David Teniers adopted the same style, and was particularly fond of making studies of this sort of the Temptation of S. Anthony.

After such precedents, the really advanced development of painting in the lower genre begins with David Teniers the younger, son of the first David, in the seventeenth century (1610-94). Formed in the school of Rubens, he applies the great excellences of that master to his own manner, employing them in the delineation of various and manifold studies of peasant life and occupation. He is most pleasing and original in pictures where he treats small groups

at play or drinking, or in similar situations. In works of greater pretension—such as peasant weddings with dances, carousals, cudgel-playing, and such pastimes—he frequently repeats himself in characters and themes; though the picture, as a whole, never fails to produce a surprisingly picturesque effect, owing to his powerful handling of color and skillful use of chiaroscuro (Fig. 611).

He is most happy, however, in pictures where he introduces a touch of the fantastic, but treats it with an amusing play of exuberant humor. This may be especially noted in the pictures of the Temptation of S. Anthony, a very favorite subject with the Netherlanders of that time, which furnished an excellent opportunity for the introduction of fantastic goblins. The Museum at Berlin contains the best picture of this class. This humor has a stronger dash of audacity and irony in others of his pictures, wherein asses are seriously imitating the occupations of men, and indulging with most comical enthusiasm in the pastime of music and the pleasures of the table. Pictures of this kind are to be found in the Pinakothek at Munich and elsewhere. There is scarcely a gallery without some specimens of the innumerable productions of this master, which may easily be recognized by their clear, fresh coloring, their bold and spirited touch, and the perfect and masterly reproduction of even subordinate objects, such as household utensils, vessels, etc.

Adrian van Ostade of Haarlem* (1610-85) depicts peasant life in a much less lively fashion, and rather amid quieter surroundings, such as show a rude but genuine comfort. His pictures are not inspired by the bold humor and the fresh enjoyment of life shown in Teniers' paintings; but they compel admiration, nevertheless, by their careful finish, their warm, strong tone, and their most admirable chiaroscuro (Fig. 612). Adrian's brother, Isaac van Ostade—who is specially fond of making studies of peasants buying and selling in the open air in front of inns and taverns—is quite as excellent in his way. Adrian Brouwer (1608-41) is more like Teniers in the representation of wild merriment and active pursuits, but much richer and more versatile in his inventive powers. It is said that he was completely ruined by the dissipations of tavern life. He certainly studied it with great faithfulness and thoroughness; for he has succeeded more perfectly than any one else in catching and fixing with bold and skillful pencil each comical, grotesque, or striking situation—scenes at cards, mad drinking-bouts, and rough tavern fights.

Jan steen of Leyden (from about 1626 to 1676) must be classed among this school; it being related of him that he kept a

*Th. Gaedertz, "Adrian van Ostade"; Lübeck, 1869. And also W. Bode's review in the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst,* year v.

drinking-house himself out of pure love for tavern life. Among all painters of the lower genre, he is undoubtedly the boldest and most spirited. His close and accurate observation often enables him to

Fig. 612. Drinking Scene. By A. von Ostade.

give to those scenes a true dramatic character by his effective rendering of a series of closely connected but varied incidents. He thus connects his representations with a consecutive interest like that of a

novel, and is often able to raise them into the sphere of poetry in spite of the commonplace character of the incidents themselves.

Peter van Laar (1613-74), who studied in Italy, and learned to treat Italian low life most effectively in the style of the Italian realistic school, is formed upon an entirely different model from those other masters. The Italians gave him the nickname of Bamboccio (simpleton); and hence the entire class of lower genre pictures received the appellation of Bamboccios. Finally, the wild life of the soldiers of that day finds its artistic representation in the original pictures of Jan le Ducq (1638-95), who had abundant opportunity, as an officer, to study closely this active and varied phase of existence.

The higher genre was brilliantly represented from 1618 to 1681 by Gerhard Terburg, or Ter Borch (Fig. 613), one of the most distinguished masters of his time. He portrayed the higher social circles of his day in all the stately pomp which distinguished them, and with all their dainty elegance and dignity of manner. It is unnecessary to add that such subjects required for their proper treatment the most delicate technical skill in the representation of costly costumes, of brilliant stuffs, of heavy shining satin, and dazzling jewelry. If, in addition to all this, a poetic charm is given to the interiors of dwellings in the style of the day by the delicate management of chiaroscuro, this is the common merit of the abler masters of this branch of art; but when, besides, a romantic interest is thrown over the whole, stirring the spectator's imagination to fill out for itself the suggested relations and situations, it is a high form of excellence, which lends a special charm to the pictures of this artist.

Nor is Gerhard Dow less worthy of consideration (1613-80), who gained in the school of Rembrandt that predilection for incomparably fine effects of chiaroscuro, that gives to his works, with their masterly finish, a peculiar expression of comfort and luxury. He is not so spirited and interesting in his delineations as Terburg. His pictures do not possess that profound attraction of seeming to tell a romantic story, and do not deal so much with representations of the higher grade of society. He generally depicts with genial warmth the domestic life of the citizen, with all its pleasant home feeling; giving to the whole a delightfully comfortable look by that even and careful execution especially noticeable in cabinet pieces, to which he not infrequently lends a special charm by introducing some piquant touches in his effects of light (Fig. 614).

Following the example of these two masters, many other artists zealously pursued this favorite style of painting, without, however, succeeding in enlarging its bounds or in further developing it. On the contrary, in spite of admirable work, the spirit of the subject was

very soon sacrificed to technical elegance; and mere technical skill in the representation of rich material imperceptibly grew to be of chief importance, while with Terburg and Dow it had been merely sub-

Fig. 613. The Lute-Player. By Terburg. Cassel.

servient to the intellectual or emotional effect of the subject in hand. Gabriel Metzu (1630-67) is among the most eminent of this class, his earlier works seeming to be quite equal to those of the two masters (Fig. 615); and he certainly is the most elegant of all; but he

degenerates in his later works into a cool, leaden coloring. Besides him, there is Dow's remarkably productive pupil, Franz von Mieris (1635 till soon after 1670); remarkable for the perfection of his finish, but given to purely technical and superficial effects; and his son, Wilhelm von Mieris; after whom come Caspar Netscher of Heidelberg (1639-84), and Gottfried Schalcken—a pupil of Ger-

Fig. 614. Genre Subject. By Gerhard Dow. Vienna.

hard Dow—whose works are often admirable, and free in treatment, and especially masterly in his handling of effects of light.

In the works of Adrian van der Werff the style is refined down to an ivory-like polish; and this artist is fond of treating historical, and especially mythological, subjects in the same manner.

Peter de Hooghe (about 1628 to 1681) is an artist of simpler and more attractive style, forming a pleasant contrast to the school just mentioned, and fond of representing the interiors of cheerful dwellings, and the peaceful domestic life of their inhabitants, in his happy, sunny pictures. The Dresden Gallery is rich in his works. A little known but most excellent artist, Jan van der Meer of Delft (born 1632), is often confounded with Hooghe. His pictures, which are noteworthy for their vigorous execution and harmony of tone, generally represent quiet groups of but a few figures, as in several excellent works in the Brunswick and Dresden Galleries. But he also painted street scenes with masterly skill; such, for instance, as a view

of his native town, in the Museum at The Hague. The similar and not less admirable works of Nicolaas Maes, born at Dordrecht in 1632, and trained, like Van der Meer, in the school of Rembrandt, are also very charming. The public Galleries of London, Amsterdam, and St. Petersburg contain works by this rare and excellent master.

The celebrated Flemish landscape painter, Paul Bril (1554-1626), exercised a great influence in the development of the Italian school of landscape painting, and even on Annibale Caracci himself, while he was painting at Rome in connection with his older and not less eminent brother Mattheus. He introduced into Italian landscape the Northern appreciation of the more exquisite atmospheric effects,

Fig. 615. The Market-Woman. By Gabriel Metzu. Dresden.

and play of light; whence the noble and simple plastic forms of nature in the South acquired a new poetic charm, a more emotional character. The Pitti Gallery at Florence is rich in admirable works from this artist's hand. There are others in the Louvre in Paris, and in the Dresden Gallery.

Joachim Patenier and Herri de Bles (pp. 270, 271) had already laid a foundation for the independent development of landscape painting in the sixteenth century. With these and their immediate successors, brilliant coloring and great variety seem to be the chief elements in the representation of nature; and the necessity for giving expression

to some particular mood in their landscapes leads them to convey a fantastic rather than a poetic effect. This is particularly apparent in Johann Breughel, named below in connection with his flower painting. He was very fond of representing the Garden of Eden, in which he depicted every beautiful variety of flowers, trees, and plants, with all imaginable animals, with a delicacy of execution which could not be surpassed. A fantastic confusion of forms is the chief characteristic of their pictures, and art had evidently not yet learned to convey a definite poetic meaning by limiting and carefully choosing its subjects. Roland Savery (1576-1639) worked in the same style, with the difference of an occasional suggestion of great earnestness. The pictures of the contemporaneous artist, David Vinckebooms, show a kindred tendency; while, on the contrary, Jodocus de Momper still seems to be swayed by a capricious and fantastic taste.

Rubens was really the first in the North to treat landscape with the strength of a true artist, and to give to it that high significance, by which, in creating nature anew, as it were, it awakens in the beholder a feeling of awe, and gives that feeling expression. The same strong inspiration which informs his historical paintings gives to his landscapes their mighty power. The Pitti Gallery in Florence possesses two of his finest productions of this class; both being examples, besides, of the versatility of his invention. In the one he portrays a bold, rocky, southern coast, quite in the heroic style, with temples and palaces, and with Ulysses and Nausicaa as accessories; in the other, a significance not less poetic is attained in a flat Flemish landscape of the simplest character, but made beautiful by a magnificent study of light and dewy freshness of foliage. The Landscape, with the Hay Harvest, in the Pinakothek at Munich, is of similar style; while the view of the Escorial in the Dresden Gallery is also spirited and effective. Other landscapes by this artist may be found in the Louvre and in the collection at Windsor.

The Dutch landscape school took a peculiar form of development. As far from an idealistic conception as from general poetic intention, its masters aim solely at an unadorned, faithful representation of Nature as she appears in their native land; while, at the same time, they devote themselves to an especially careful study of details. Just as its genre painters are entirely simple and accurate in their representations of the life of man, the landscapists strive faithfully and zealously to repeat exactly the external manifestations of the life of nature. They go into the finest details; reflect the growth of plants and trees, the formation of the ground, the play of light and atmospheric effects, with the utmost truth, without bringing any one portion into disproportionate prominence. But while they apparently

aim too much at minuteness, they fathom the laws of nature so thoroughly, and reflect them so harmoniously, that their productions may be fairly said to possess the charm of a genuine poetic inspiration.

Among the older masters, the first place must be given to the simple, delicate Johann van Goyen (1596-1656). The Metropolitan Museum of New York contains two charming specimens of this master—the Environs of Haarlem, and the Moerdyck. His admirable pupils, Adrian van der Kabel and Jan Wynants, full of lifelike freshness, are distinguished for many attractive works. In Rembrandt, also, landscape receives a higher impulse, and an enchantment of its poetic aspect, in a strongly subjective feeling, which finds expression in atmospheric study and in the prevalence of a boldly handled chiaroscuro. This element was developed in a most masterly manner by Artus van der Neer (1619-83), who must be particularly commended for the mysterious twilight of his forests, for his silvery moonlight, and sometimes for the even more effective way in which he paints the glare of a night conflagration. Anton Waterloo (1618-60) has left some genial and simple pictures of cheerful forest life, and his attractive style is especially noticeable in his spirited etchings.

The highest poetic expression ever attained by the landscape school in the Netherlands is embodied in the works of the great master, Jacob Ruisdael (about 1625-82). He never departs from the delineation of the simple scenery offered him by nature in his native home; but he allows no single characteristic trait to escape his observation, which fixes all with care, faithfulness, and acuteness; and by the study of the movement of the clouds, by effects of light and shade, and by a masterly chiaroscuro, he invests his landscapes with a marked force of expression. He loves the solitude of the forest, or of lonely, isolated dwellings; and he knows how to delineate such spots with all the melancholy charm that invests hermit life. Often a vein of almost passionate agitation runs through his pictures: one can fairly see the tempest swaying the lofty summits of the oaks, and hear the wild brook tumble, foaming, over the precipice. Gray old ruins look down, as in a dream, from heights rustling with deep forests, into this wild nature in its perpetual movement; or else a churchyard, with half-sunken, mossy tombstones, stands in yet sharper contrast with the green, overflowing life of the woods about it.

The Dresden Gallery possesses a great treasure in its precious pictures of this class, such as the Hunt, the Cloister, the Jewish Churchyard (Fig. 616), and a number of others. There are also admirable pictures by him in the Van der Hoop Museum, in the Trippenhuis at Amsterdam, in the Gallery at The Hague, and in the Museum at Rotterdam. Ruisdael has repeatedly exhibited his skill in marine

pictures, the most famous of which, in the Berlin Museum, is a large, excellently executed picture.

The canal pictures of Salomon Ruisdael, an elder brother of Jacob, are less important, although rendered pleasing by their distinct, even execution. But Minderhout Hobbema has justly attained greater celebrity, although he is not equal to Salomon Ruisdael in poetical sentiment. His landscapes have a peaceful, idyllic charm, mainly owing to the exquisite delicacy of his characterization of foliage, and

Fig. 618. Landscape. By Jacob Ruisdael.

of the cheerful, sunny transparency of his backgrounds. There are admirable works by him in the English galleries, in the Van der Hoop Museum at Amsterdam, in the Rotterdam Gallery, in the Imperial collection at Vienna, and in the Berlin Museum.

Albert van Everdingen deserves special mention in this list of Netherland artists. He lived from 1621 to 1675, and found the principal subjects for his pictures in the mountainous regions of Norway; hence his compositions have a wilder, grander character, and

HOBBEMA

"THE AVENUE OF MIDDLEHARNIS," FROM THE PAINTING IN THE NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON

are in bolder drawing and a more heroic style. His favorite subjects are abrupt cliffs, over which fall foaming mountain-torrents; and dense pine woods, above which heaps of clouds are piled. There are admirable pictures by him in the Van der Hoop Museum at Amsterdam, in the Rotterdam Gallery, in the Pinakothek at Munich, and in the Galleries of Dresden, Vienna, and Berlin. He is indisputably the forerunner and model of Ruisdael.

Marine painting was carried on in Holland side by side with landscape painting; as would naturally be the case in a country which owed its existence, prosperity, and power to the sea. Among distinguished painters in this branch was Jan van de Capelle, whose pictures generally represent a calm sea, in remarkably distinct, delicate treatment, and are to be found almost exclusively in England. Another was Bonaventura Peters (1614-53), who prefers a stormy sea, which he portrays with poetic power, but generally with a certain capricious mannerism in his treatment of form (see pictures by him in the Vienna Museum). His brother, Jan Peters (1625-77), painted in a similar style. Still others of this school were the excellent and versatile Simon de Vlieger, by whom there are beautiful pictures in the Amsterdam, Dresden, and Munich Galleries; Ludolf Backhuisen, an artist of equal importance (1631-1709); and finally, the most admirable of all, Willem van de Velde the younger (1633-1707), who first painted in Holland the naval victories of his countrymen over the English, and afterwards painted in England the naval victories of the English over the Hollanders. His representation of the sea is admirable, not only when he represents a bright day and the play of lightly ruffled waves, but also when the elements are all in uproar—in the turmoil of the storm and the fury of the breakers. Some of his masterpieces are in the Gallery of the Treppenhuis, and in the Museum Van der Hoop in Amsterdam; others in the Galleries of The Hague and of Rotterdam (which latter, also, has a collection of his drawings), in the Gallery at Cassel, and elsewhere.

We must also mention here the painters of architecture, foremost among whom are Peter Neefs the elder and H. von Steenwyk the younger, famous for their exquisite views in perspective. J. van der Heyden excelled in views in the streets of cities.

The endeavor to give their landscape a special charm, by adding to it the most varied accessories, led many artists to the adoption of a wider field of work—to the complete union, in fact, of landscape and genre painting. This is the case in the numerous and admirable pictures of Philip Wouvermann (1620-68), who places before us the wealthier classes of his day, engaged in the pleasures of the chase and in the sterner pursuits of war; and whose works show keen

powers of observation, a wealth of incident, and an invariable excellence and delicacy of execution. The Dresden Gallery contains some sixty pictures by him in this style, and they are also frequently to be found elsewhere. On the other hand, the Flemish artist Johann Miel, and the German, Johann Lingelbach, have undertaken to introduce scenes from Italian life into landscape painting.

Other artists devoted themselves to compositions of an idyllic character, for which landscapes in the Italian style generally formed the backgrounds, and in which shepherds and their flocks frequently formed appropriate accessories. Karel Du Jardin (1625?-1678) and Nicolaus Berchem, Johann Heinrich Roos and his son Philipp Roos, known as Rosa di Tivoli, are among this class of painters. Paul Potter (1625-54),* on the other hand, painted simple representations of shepherd life in the North, in quiet landscapes studied from those of his native country, and entirely unpretentious in their composition; but he has succeeded in producing a delicate, faithful, and varied picture of life, which makes his works masterpieces of their class. One of his most celebrated pictures is in the Gallery of the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, and the famous landscape with cattle, called "The Young Bull," is in the Museum of The Hague. The Berlin Museum also possesses a treasure in the unfinished sketches and studies of this distinguished artist. Albert Cuyp (1606 until after 1672), a versatile painter, distinguished for closeness of observation, the delicacy of his atmospheric and light effects, gave special prominence to the landscape element in his pictures, combining it, with the most varied forms of animal life, into an harmonious whole.

With this we come to animal painting proper—the branch of art which makes a specialty of the delineation of the habits and life of animals. Rubens had already produced a number of admirable pictures of vigorous hunting scenes and combats with animals. In works of this class he was followed with great success by Franz Snyders (1579-1657), and later still by Johann Fyt (1625-1700), an artist of equal note. Carl Rutharts and the admirable painter of birds, Johann Weenix, also should be enumerated. Melchior Hondekoeter's favorite subject was the life of the poultry-yard. This was also the theme of the German, Peter Caulitz; while Johann Elias Ridinger (1695-1767) produced some excellent hunting scenes—but he produced more engravings than paintings.

The Dutch also excelled in the painting of flowers, and attained great excellence in it toward the close of this period. Their pictures of

* "Paulus Potter, His Life and His Works," by T. van Westrheene; The Hague, 1867.

this sort have an imperishable charm in their loveliness of composition, tasteful arrangement, exquisite blending of colors, and consummate harmony of treatment. Johann Breughel (1569-1625), who was called Flower Breughel, or Velvet Breughel, made an excellent beginning in this direction. He was the son of Peter Breughel ("Peasant Breughel") and brother of the younger Peter Breughel, the painter of devils and witches. His pupil, Daniel Seghers, and the admirable, poetic, and charming Johann David de Heem (1600-74), followed in his steps, as well as (somewhat later) the talented Rachel Ruysch (1664-1750) and the celebrated Johann van Huysum, who painted until as late as 1749.

Finally we come to the "breakfast pictures" (*Frühstückbilder*), the so-called still-life pieces, which represent the materials for an elaborate meal displayed upon an elegant table. Golden wine glows in the goblets; luscious fruits are heaped up in profusion beside the most tempting products of the sea; and even over these inanimate objects Art contrives to throw the charm of poetry by its enchantments of coloring and of chiaroscuro. Wilhelm van Aelst, Adriaenssen, Peter Nason, and many others are the foremost artists in this style.

Thus Art in the Netherlands passed through all the departments of life; and having once abandoned the churches, she became a free citizen of the world, and a devoted lover of nature. Nothing was too trifling or too unimportant for her contemplation. Her loving spirit embraced the whole creation; and it was her mission to seek in all places for the genuine spark of life, and to set forth the most perishable objects in the splendor of an immortal beauty.

D.—PAINTING IN ENGLAND.

England, which never before had possessed a school of painting of its own, and whose powerful aristocracy scarcely patronized any branch of the art except portrait painting, though gladly employing the greatest masters in that department such as Holbein, and, later, Van Dyck, possessed in the seventeenth century a school of portrait painters, followers of the last-named artist, among whom another foreigner, Peter Lely (originally Peter van der Faes), of Soest in Westphalia (1618-80), is the most eminent. After him comes Gottfried Kneller of Lübeck (1648-1723), who was also highly esteemed, but whose numerous works are somewhat spoiled by a certain theatrical mannerism. In the eighteenth century, indeed, the Continental schools of painting held almost undivided ascendency in England—a

fact distinctly proved by the works of the historical painter James Thornhill (1676-1734). This painter, though educated in England under the charge of a wholly English artist, Joseph Highmore, still followed the Italian style as he could gather it from the paintings of Raphael and the Bolognese artists. This does not alter the fact that England was the very first country which, in the second half of the century, threw off the yoke of this leveling despotism, and made the attempt to handle national subjects with some independent thought. The first impulse thus given to the national artistic spirit was through the magnificent enterprise of a simple private citizen, John Boydell, who undertook to have illustrations of the plays of the greatest dramatist of modern times prepared by the best artists of the day in England, publishing them in a complete and superb edition of the so-called Shakespeare Gallery. At the same time Joshua Reynolds (1723-92) and Thomas Gainsborough (1727-88), especially eminent as portrait painters, laid the foundation of that brilliant development of coloring which has since grown to be the chief glory of the modern English school. Gainsborough was also eminent as a landscape painter, and there are pictures of his in which landscape is used as a background for the figures of the persons whose portraits he had undertaken to paint, in a manner reminding us of the work of the sixteenth-century Italians. He was the best and soundest painter, in the technical sense, of his time, with the single possible exception of Hogarth. George Romney (1734-1802) painted both portraits and historical subjects, though he did not succeed in shaking off altogether the academic tendencies of the Italians. The earlier work of Sir Henry Raeburn (1756-1823) belongs to this epoch, and is comparable with that of the first portrait painters of the time. Benjamin West (1738-1820) attempted a complete revolution in historical painting by giving a new and vigorous impulse to historic representation through his lifelike and spirited handling of battle-pieces; but his inadequate technical equipment prevented him from reaching a high permanent rank. Sir Thomas Lawrence (1769-1836) was a pupil of Sir Joshua Reynolds, and as a portrait painter followed the style and displayed the peculiarities of his master, though with less power.

England did not produce a first-class master of genre until the eighteenth century; when such a one appeared in William Hogarth (1697-1764), who brings to view, with cutting satire and bitter irony, the hidden side of social life, and scourges with sharp mockery the falsity and deception, folly and vice, which lie concealed beneath the outside polish of a fashionable society. He draws such scenes as the Marriage à la Mode easily and boldly, with a spirited and life-

like touch; and the prints from his numerous engravings display a similar mode of treatment. His aims are like those of the romances of his contemporary, Fielding; and his type of thought forecasts and closely resembles that of the modern masters of the English novel. He was also an excellent painter in the technical sense; his work having singular excellence as pure and simple coloring; and the handling so perfect that nearly all his pictures are in excellent condition after a hundred and sixty years. He painted many portraits which remain in private hands, but the more important of his descriptive or satirical paintings, usually in series, are in public buildings in London, as the National Gallery, the Soane Museum, and two of the ancient hospitals. Next to him must be mentioned Thomas Stothard (1755-1834), owing to his extraordinary productiveness and facility less remarkable as a painter than as an illustrator through his somewhat mannered, yet vigorous drawings, stamping him a sort of English Chodowiecki. Of his nearly five thousand drawings about three thousand were engraved.* A similar course was pursued by William Blake† (1758-1828), who at the same time worked as an engraver on copper and, notably, has furnished the illustrations to Young's "Night Thoughts," as well as a series of plates for the Book of Job, and another series of illustrations to Dante's "Inferno." Many of his compositions exist in form of small water-color drawings in books of his own making.

Other painters of the close of the century are John Singleton Copley (1713-1815), John Russell, miniaturist (1744-1806), John Hopner and George Morland, portrait painters, who died 1807 and 1804, and the landscapist, John Crome, called "Old Crome" (1769-1821).

E.—PAINTING IN GERMANY.

In Germany, toward the close of the sixteenth century, painting had lost every trace of the native national tradition, and had altogether degenerated into an affected, manneristic imitation of the Italians. The most melancholy instances of this tendency were apparent in those artists who, like Johann Rottenhammer of Munich (1564-1622), followed the Venetian school. The only exception to this rule was the excellent Adam Elzheimer of Frankfort-on-the-Main (1574-1620), whose dainty little historical pictures from the Bible or ancient history are executed with the delicacy of illuminations, and betray a high artistic taste. As a general thing, his figures

* Mrs. Bray, "The Life of Th. Stothard"; London, 1851.

† A. Gilchrist, "The Life of W. Blake; Pictor ignotus"; 2 vols., London, 1863; 2d ed., 1880.

are nothing more than an excuse, as it were, for the richly wrought-out landscape, which he frequently represents in moonlight or in artificial light; so that this excellent artist assumes a high rank among his affected contemporaries as one of the earliest masters of landscape. Some of his rare pictures may be found in the Städel Museum at Frankfort, in the Pinakothek at Munich, in the Louvre, and in the Museum at Vienna.

In the course of the seventeenth century, art attains a somewhat greater originality in such artists as Joachim von Sandrart of Frankfort, Carl Screta of Prague, and Johann Kupetzky of Hungary, and finally develops a gifted but strange and irregular realist in

Fig. 619. Genre Scene. By Chodowiecki.

Balthasar Denner (1685-1749). Nevertheless, these are only occasional efforts, which spring up here and there without foundation in the national life or common tradition. In the eighteenth century, also, some isolated instances of respectable talent may be noted here and there, such as the very skillful and remarkably productive eclectic artist Christian Dietrich (1712-74), and Tischbein the elder, and Bernhard Rode, painters bred in the French school. Raphael Mengs (1728-72) prepared the way for a return to the ideal style induced by Winckelmann's archeological works and his influence; but this tendency was still too much fettered by academic mannerism to exercise a

thoroughly revolutionizing and revivifying effect upon German painting. Among the portrait painters of this time the charming Angelica Kauffmann (1742-1808) should be mentioned, as well as Anton Graff. The first genuine regenerators of German art will be mentioned later: see chapter on the nineteenth century; but one artist of grace and delicacy must be named here. Daniel Chodowiecki, who was born in Danzig in 1726, and died in Berlin in 1801,* at first devoted himself to portraiture as a miniature painter. He found his proper field in etching and engraving on copper, which he utilized mainly for purposes of illustration. There are recorded 2,012 plates by his hand, and in these little spirited studies he has described the life and manners of his age with unsurpassable keenness of observation, genially and at the same time harmoniously (Fig. 619). There are also extant a few oil paintings by him. Free from the mannerism of his time, this self-reliant artist attained a naturalness reached by no other artist of that epoch.

F.—PAINTING IN FRANCE.

The French painting of this entire period shows the lack of well understood and generally accepted subject. There is nothing to replace the ecclesiastic and legendary painting of the Middle Ages and the fifteenth century, and genre, landscape, flowers and the like are added to the mythological world to give the artists their theme. Moreover, for the first half century a characteristic national basis is wanting as well as in contemporary German art. But the more purely artistic side of art makes great advances in the work of such men as painted in France, from the time of Claude and Poussin to that of Watteau and Chardin, and throughout the epoch there are some conspicuous instances of talented artists whose productions have proved themselves worthy of more than the passing admiration of their own day.

Simon Vouet (1590-1649) painted religious and allegorical pictures, and was famous as a portrait painter. There are twelve pictures by him in the Louvre; and others in the Uffizi, Florence, and in most of the great museums of Europe. He remains almost alone among the French of his time as a realist of the school of Caravaggio. Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665) holds the first rank, having introduced a style resembling the antique methods in his Biblical compositions

* Chodowiecki's "Künstlermappe"; Berlin, 1885, folio. Chodowiecki's "Reise nach Danzig"; ibid. Engleman, Chodowiecki's "Sämmtliche Kupferstiche." Cf. also illustrations in Lübke's "History of German Art"; Stuttgart, 1890.

(Fig. 620), which invariably start from a dignified and great conception, and combine a lofty type of beauty with pure nobility of form, but betray, just as contemporary French tragedy does, a certain brilliant and deliberate coolness. Philippe de Champaigne (1602-47), a citizen of Brussels, is chiefly known as a portrait painter, but he painted also large ecclesiastical pictures, and was painter to the Queen of France under Louis XIV. He was a most diligent and productive painter. Nearly all his life was spent in quiet work in Italy; but in spite of this, his work is to be found rather in London, Dresden, St. Petersburg, and especially in the Louvre—although there are noble pictures of his in the museums of Rome.

Fig. 620. Moses at the Well. By Nicolas Poussin.

Eustache Le Sueur (1617-65) was a pupil of Simon Vouet. Large religious pictures, in the style, intellectually, of the earlier Roman school, were painted by him in great numbers, but a chilly, inartistic formality too often inspires them. He is still remarkable for the feeling displayed in his works, especially in scenes from monastic life. Another admirable portrait painter was Pierre Mignard; and he gave his attention also to the elaborate decorative work of the famous reign of Louis XIV. Charles Lebrun (1619-90), notwithstanding great artistic endowments, was spoiled by a somewhat theatrical pathos, and hastened by his powerful influence the tendency to painting wholly decorative. In the eighteenth century this intrinsically

unpoetical and outwardly unimpressive style attained its culminating point in the so-called "Painter of the Graces," François Boucher; while yet there was developed under that artist's influence a school of painting most appropriate to the gorgeous interiors where it found its home. Paintings on door panels, in over-door frames, on the large coves of ceilings, and on the ceilings themselves were most admirably in harmony with all their surroundings, which, indeed, they largely controlled. Many easel pictures by him exist, of which the Louvre possesses a dozen. In the branch of portrait painting Hyacinthe Rigaud is the only distinguished artist, his spirited likenesses belonging to the best productions of his time.

Such work as Boucher's belongs in truth to genre painting; and earlier French masters in this department were the three brothers Le Nain, whose time of production was approximately from 1620 to 1660. The scenes they represented were very like those of the contemporary Dutchmen.

Jacques Callot (1594-1639) is a profound and original master of the genre school. Though but little known through his pictures, and of little importance as a painter, he treated an immense variety of subjects in his etchings, and this with an acuteness of observation, a wealth of inventive genius, and a vigor of somewhat savage humor unequaled by any artist before or since his day. The wild war-scenes of his time are depicted by him in a series of pictures called "Misères et Malheures da la Guerre," and rightly admired for the spirited freshness of their style. He has also left us a number of humorous, fantastic masquerading scenes, gala processions, and mummeries of all sorts, and many other works of exuberant and irresistible humor.

The later genre painting of France* takes quite another direction. Antoine Watteau (1684-1721) reproduced in his pictures the pursuits of the aristocratic French society of his day, especially its affected fashion of playing at pastoral occupations and Arcadian idyls, and painted such scenes with a peculiar elegance, exquisite daintiness, and extraordinary pictorial skill.

It was by a natural reaction from the labored academic shallowness which had dominated French painting under Louis XIV. that art turned now to the presentation of real life. If, on this road, it finally degenerated into luxuriance, frivolity, and voluptuousness, it followed therein merely the impulses given it by reality under the Regency and still more under the profligate court rule of Louis XV. Watteau can

* Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, "L'Art du dix-huitième Siècle" (2 vols., Paris, 1873; 3d edition 1880-82), contains valuable notices of Watteau, Chardin, Boucher, Greuze, Prudhon, and others. Arsène Houssaye, "Histoire de L'Art Français au dix-huitième Siècle"; Paris, 1860. Dilke, Lady, "French Painters of the Eighteenth Century." Brownell, W. C., "French Art"; enlarged edition, 1901.

hardly be accused of helping in any such decline. Although representing the courtly scenes demanded of him, he did this with perfect purity and simple charm; and his art as a practical painter is of the most refined and subtile which we know. Even with his somewhat inferior imitators, Nicolas Lancret (1690-1743) and Jean Baptiste Joseph Pater (1696-1736), *"les peintres des fêtes galantes,"* this polite art remained within proper bounds. It bears the mark of being a continuation of those brilliant prototypes of the Renaissance epoch which showed an enhanced vitality in the work of Titian and Paolo Veronese; and again of a period exuberant with strength when a full enjoyment of life was exalted in such representations as the Garden of Love by Rubens. It is true that the dainty, coquettish little faces with the stereotyped smile of delight are the expression of an epoch which knew no ideals beyond the fleeting intoxication of sensuous enjoyment. The contemporary success of these painters was speedy and complete. It is well shown in the making by Frederick the Great, King of Prussia, of a collection of the best pictures by Watteau, Lancret, Pater, Chardin, and their contemporaries, which are preserved in the Palace of Sans Souci at Potsdam. Apart from these the Louvre possesses the best examples of this school; the *collection Lacaze,* bequeathed to the Louvre in 1869, containing by itself a great many paintings by Watteau and his contemporaries and rivals.

Carle Van Loo (properly Charles André, 1705-65) and his brother Jean Baptiste were taught in Italy, and afterwards painted, the one in Paris, the other in London, with great success as portraitists and as painters of mythological and historical subjects. Jean Honoré Fragonard (1732-1806) was taught in the atelier of Boucher and in Rome until 1765. In his hands art degenerates into an uncurbed lascivious play, which, however, was found compatible with serious technical achievement. It is significant enough of the taste prevailing recently in Paris for fine art considered by itself and without regard to subject, that these representatives of a fashionable art which was forgotten in the strenuous time of the Revolution, have obtained a new prominence. Side by side with this, however, another tendency held its own, which led to the depicting of the life of simple domestic circles in cozy family scenes. This art, proceeding from Dutch genre painting, but laying stress upon bringing into relief the virtuous and touching traits, perhaps not quite unintentionally, is represented especially by Jean Baptiste Simeon Chardin (1699-1779) and Jean Baptiste Greuze (1725-1805), whose kindred descriptions, although inclining to sentimentality, are full of pictorial charm and still hold their own; while Chardin made a specialty of genial domestic scenes, and Greuze adopted the same field, though the latter

has a tendency to sentimentalism in his paintings, charmingly picturesque as they are.

There were, besides, several French masters who rose to the highest importance as interpreters of the Italian landscape style. The oldest among these was Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665), who was also known as an historical painter. He may be specially named as the creator of the heroic landscape, so called, not only because its accessories were usually borrowed from the heroic myths, but because of its grandly impressive style, harmonizing with its subjects. In these works the more delicate play of light and atmospheric effect is treated with less attention, and the coloring, indeed, has a dry and even harsh character; but the mighty masses of foliage, the free undulations of the mountain lines, and the rich antique architectural grouping give them great dignity and impressiveness.

Starting from the same general conceptions, the son-in-law of Poussin, Gaspard Dughet (1613-75), who also took the name of Poussin, reached a still loftier place. With a like talent for noble conceptions and composition on a grand scale, he combined great freedom of atmospheric treatment and the boldest possible management of shifting atmospheric effects; and he often produced exquisite results by the living freshness of his foliage, his fine gradations of perspective, and the strong development of his middle ground. The Doria Gallery in Rome is rich in great works by this master; though, unfortunately, those executed in oil colors have been more or less injured by the subsequent darkening of the foliage masses. The numerous landscapes with accessories from sacred legend which adorn San Martino dei Monti in Rome are also by him. There are also a great number of his pictures in public and private collections in London.

But Claude Gelée—called, from his birthplace, Claude le Lorrain, or simply Claude Lorrain (1600-82)—penetrated more deeply than any other master of the time into the mysteries of nature; for he attains a height of beauty in the magic play of his sunlight, in the melting softness of his dewy undergrowth, in the charm of a delicately vanishing distance, as intangible as a perfume which soothes the soul like the solemn peace of an eternal sabbath. With him all is glory and light—the unclouded purity and harmony of the primal morning of creation in Paradise. His masses of foliage are of magnificently fresh and luxuriant growth, interwoven with threads of golden light, even where the shade is deepest: though such foliage serves the purpose only of a powerful frame for his background; since, with freer sweep than in pictures by other masters, the glance includes a middle distance (Fig. 621) richly worked in, with a far-

off, delicate background, whose airy limits float in a golden haze. Among his numerous works, the earlier possess a warmer tone; while the later are somewhat cooler, though not less delicate and distinct in rendering. His pictures are found in nearly all the great galleries, especially in those of the Doria and Sciarra Palaces at Rome, in the Louvre at Paris, in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, and in the Galleries at London and Dresden. Not everything that bears his name is genuine, for even during the master's lifetime his style

Fig. 621. Landscape. By Claude Lorrain.

was largely imitated, and many works were sold under his name that were not his. This circumstance induced him to prepare sketches of his collective paintings and to gather them in a special volume, which he called "Liber Veritatis" ("The Book of Truth"). This is now in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, and facsimiles of it have been published.*

Among the imitators of Claude, his pupil, Hermann Swanefeld, a Netherlander, follows most faithfully in the master's style, repeating

*R. Earlom, "Liber Veritatis; or, A Collection of Prints, after the Original Designs of Claude le Lorrain," etc.; London, 1777-1819. [The plates of the "Liber Veritatis" have been reproduced by photography, and published by the London Autotype Company.]

GAINSBOROUGH

"THE BLUE BOY," FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE GROSVENOR GALLERY, LONDON

him especially in admirable landscape etchings. Another Fleming, Johann Both, distinguished himself by the production of particularly well-conceived and nobly executed landscapes on a large scale, in the Southern manner. The numerous productions of Adam Pynacker and many other Flemish masters who followed in the footsteps of the great artists are similar in style, though lower in significance, and frequently running into superficial and decorative effects. The fact must not be overlooked that this ideal landscape style is prone to degenerate into merely decorative painting of but little significance for the simple reason that it generalizes natural forms, and often loses sight of the characteristic significance of the individual detail in the effort after the beauty of the composition as a whole. Among those who employed this style in the delineation of Northern scenery, Hermann Zachtleven (Sachtleeven, Sastleben) deserves particular mention. Salvator Rosa (1615-73), also conspicuous as a genre and portrait painter, occupied a high, independent position as a landscape artist. In many pictures he certainly seems to follow Claude; but in others, again, he shows a remarkably bold, emotional conception of grand natural scenery, delighting in the delineation of dreary wildernesses and deserts, which he likes to people with bandits and other uncanny characters. He knows how to depict with masterly force the mighty power of the elements let loose, the turmoil of a fierce and storm-lashed sea, the gloom of precipitous rocks and frightful abysses. Vigorous pictures of this class may be seen at the Louvre in Paris, in the Colonna Gallery at Rome, in the Berlin Museum, and elsewhere.

In the eighteenth century this ideal style of landscape was still practiced, especially by the French artist Joseph Vernet (1714-89), who showed great skill in the delineation of wild storms at sea. England had at the same time, in Thomas Gainsborough, a painter who successfully combined a fresh, brilliant delineation of the landscape in his native land with the strictest principles of the idealistic styles.

Chapter VII.

ART IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.*

First Part—1790-1860.

IN endeavoring to consider briefly the art of the present, as conclusion to our survey of the history of art, we must, first of all, call attention to the fact that the moment has not yet arrived for a complete historical presentation of the subject. It is true, the artistic development of our own epoch has passed through nearly half a century, showing constant vigor and versatility; and has given us a world of creations of many kinds as evidence of its activity. But this movement has not yet reached its goal: it still goes on with unwearied aspiration; and a final judgment of its results is therefore, as yet, impossible. By following the lessons of history, however, and by adopting the standards we have derived from their study, we can at least analyze the progress of the art of our own age down to the present time, and assure ourselves of the results thus far attained.

A just estimate of the art of to-day is especially difficult because we are in a transition period, full of sharp contradictions, out of which a future of really strong achievement can be developed only after much effort and struggle, and also because our interest in this development is of altogether too personal a nature to insure a dispassionate and fair investigation. The mighty convulsions which shook the political system of Europe to its center toward the end of the preceding century, and formed it altogether anew, were accompanied by similar phenomena in the history of art. But in these new paths art has been exposed to many fluctuations, which increase the difficulties of a calm survey. How many and how various are the influences brought to bear upon the productiveness of to-day by the position which our own time, with its historical criticism, occupies in relation to the past! The taste for historical study, only recently fully developed, enables us to attempt a general survey and analysis of by-

* Muther, R., "The History of Modern Painting" (translated from the German). Rosenberg, A., "Geschichte der Modernen Kunst." Redgrave, "Dictionary of Artists of the English School"; "A Century of Painters of the English School." Springer, A., "Die bildenden Künste in der Gegenwart." Förster, E. J., "Deutsche Kunstgeschichte." Reber, Fr., "Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst."

gone phases of civilization. While the rich life of the past is lost to the senses, it still has its influence on the thought, and even on the feeling, of the present; and although a great many important and indispensable incentives are gained, there will also arise numerous inevitable errors, since it is impossible to say just how great the influence of this element should properly be. The reasoning faculty is more active than ever before under the influence of this historical habit of thought, and disturbs continually the peaceful mood of the creative fancy. At the same time an individual freedom is promoted, which feels itself delivered from the bonds of tradition, and follows its own bent as far as its own strength will carry it.

But our age also offers to art much that is new in the way of actual material. A truer historical taste has, for the first time, given us a school of historical painting in the true sense of the word, which understands its task more correctly than ever before, and which aims at reflecting the conflict of intellectual forces amid all the phenomena incident to different periods. At the same time, our insight into the circumstances of our own environment is quickened, and the sphere of representation enlarged and enriched on all sides. Moreover, the intense activity that prevails in the study of nature has given to the landscape painter an altogether new point of view, from which he gains a deeper insight into natural laws, which leads him to new results, in the more exact characterization of details, and the more distinct rendering of all that belongs to the physiognomy of each particular landscape. Still it cannot be denied that, for all these zealously followed methods, the art of to-day has but a narrow basis and an insecure foundation; and that the spiritual side is often weakened by the material, and the harmony of the whole disturbed by a too great attention to mere details.

On the other hand, the art of to-day has to some extent regained the great advantage which must accompany the exercise of all healthful art: that of not being merely—as was always the case during the eighteenth century—an article of luxury for an exclusive class, a costly pleasure for persons of high culture. Instead of this, it has become in some of its forms the expression of popular thoughts, ideas, and interests. The several arts, to be sure, pursue those independent careers, apart from each other, which modern progress has made their prerogatives ever since the sixteenth century. But they no longer remain completely separated from one another; their isolation ceases where large public interests are concerned; and Sculpture and Painting have shown a tendency to become once more the noble handmaids of Architecture. Thus the arts may once more embrace the lofty mission of interpreters of the life of an entire peo-

ple; they do not cease to clothe its religious aspirations in a garb of beauty; already they glorify its historic memories, and reflect the national spirit itself in an ideal mirror.

The part which the different nations play in the promotion of the art of the present day is of especial significance. Germany was found early in the work of the new development. The way to this was paved in the preceding century, when, although a few individual artists everywhere endeavored to break away from the prevailing mannerism by a conscientious study of nature, still the actual emancipation was accomplished by the inspiration of Winckelmann's* genius, who directed the attention of the world to the true understanding of the masterpieces of classical antiquity, and revealed the long-disused fountain from which Art was once more to draw health and youthful vigor. The French accompanied the Germans in a similar revival of the antique, aiming at the restoration of Art to her former earnestness, depth, beauty, and grandeur. Painters and sculptors vied with each other in imparting to the first epoch of this resurrection of Art an exclusively antique stamp; but a new impulse, a national basis, was required, in order that Art might accomplish a truly vigorous and independent development. This essential condition of existence was attained only when the nations of Europe, oppressed by Napoleon's dominion, began to feel their own strength, and to throw off the yoke of foreign rule. Since the final pacification (1815), there has existed in Germany, as in France, a national art, which has conceived and executed its special tasks in a spirit of distinct and sharply defined originality. Belgium and Holland have also enjoyed, since that time, a renewal of their national art life; and England, to a greater extent than in all the preceding centuries, has shown the working of an independent artistic, creative power, which has accomplished admirable results in many fields. The South falls behind the other countries in artistic creations. During the years 1815-1850 neither Spain nor Italy has sent forth any works of great importance; and the influence which Italy still exerts, although in a minor degree, upon the artistic culture of the present day, is due entirely to her incomparable collection of the treasures of former ages.†

ARCHITECTURE—1790-1860.

The exploration of Greece, and the conscientious account of her monuments, accomplished by Stuart and Revett in the latter part of

* Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768), archæologist especially in Greek antiquities, called the father of archæology.

† There are increasing signs, since the political emancipation of this beautiful land, that the rich genius of the nation is tending toward a regeneration in art. See the second part of this chapter.

the eighteenth century, constituted an event of great importance in the history of modern architecture. Up to that time the classical architecture had only been known as it had been adopted by the Romans in a changed and coarser form. Now, for the first time, ancient Greek architecture was presented in its incomparable beauty. For the first time its simple laws were grasped, and its pure, harmonious lines appreciated, and the severe unity of the style understood. But a master of unusual endowments was required to put into tangible shape the results of these newly acquired observations. Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781-1841) did this for Germany, and perhaps no other single architect achieved so much in the direct classical way; but

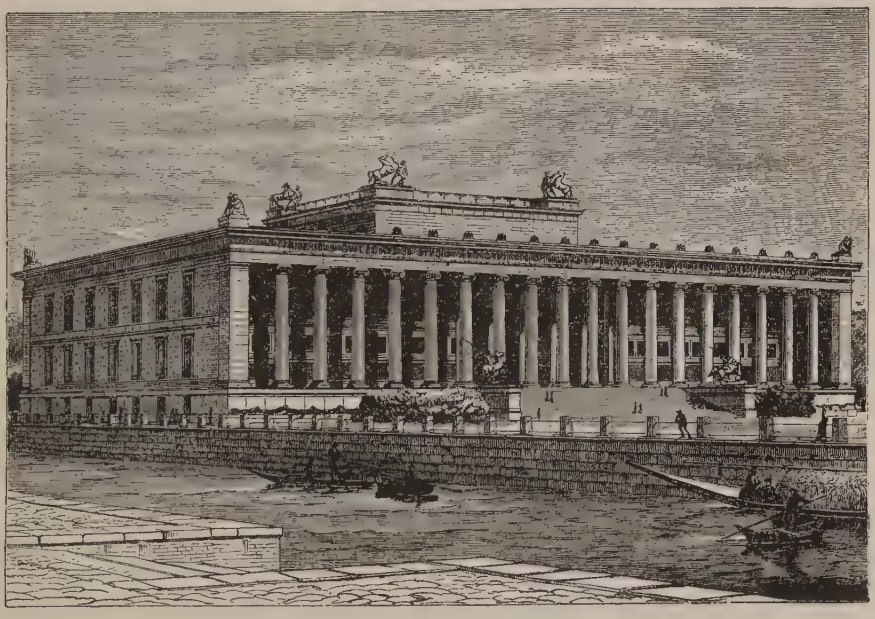

Fig. 620. Royal Museum in Berlin. (Schinkel.)

the reader should compare what is said of French and English work in Greek styles. Schinkel's intelligence grasped the Grecian architectural forms, not as detached portions, but as living members of an organism; the laws of which he expounded, and in whose spirit he composed new and splendid works. His masterpieces, the Theater and the new Guard-house and the Old Museum (see Fig. 620) at Berlin, are buildings modified to fit the requirements of modern life, but conceived in the spirit of Hellenic art. In other creations of his, notably in the Academy of Architecture (Bauschule) in Berlin, he

laid the groundwork for a progressive architectural development. He fell back upon the healthy tradition of the national brick buildings, abandoning the dignity of the antique treatment of form for a freer style which he could combine with the results of the later style of construction. He built many and very important buildings in Berlin, Dresden, Potsdam, Leipzig; and country houses in many parts of Germany. The theories and example of Schinkel bore fruit, after the artist's death, in the works of his most important pupils—Ludwig Persius (1804-1845), August Soller (1805-1853), J. H. Strack (1805-1880), F. A. Stüler (1800-1865), to the last of whom we owe the new Museum at Berlin, the cupola of the palace in Berlin, and the palace at Schwerin, begun by Demmler. With these Friedrich Hitzig (1811-1881), who designed the new Exchange (Börse) at Berlin, was associated in private buildings, and Eduard Knoblauch (1801-1865), the architect of the new Synagogue and the Hotel of the Russian Embassy in Berlin. These artists carried out Schinkel's plans vigorously, and accomplished a great deal that was admirable, especially in the exquisite delicacy of their detail and of their ornamentation generally. The attempt to use the columnar style only was more seriously made by these men than elsewhere in Europe. The same attempt is made now, more than half a century later, in the United States.

In the next generation, Richard Lucae (1829-1877), the architect of many private buildings and of the Theater at Frankfort-on-the-Main, together with Martin Gropius (1824—), both artists of great talent and artistic energy, carried still further the development of this school, striving, at least in public buildings, to use a purely classic style; although the distinction could not be maintained between newly studied copies of the ancient Greek and those of the neo-classic Italian styles. Other artists—for instance, Kyllmann and Heyden, Ende and Böckmann—adopted the style of the Renaissance.

The activity in architecture which was developed about the same time in Munich, in consequence of the unusual love of art displayed by King Ludwig I. (abdicated 1848), was less consistent and uniform, but very fruitful of important results in another direction. Perhaps no other monarch has ever fostered art with the same insight, comprehensiveness, and thoroughness. While most princes and patrons have simply employed art as the plaything of their idle moments, or for their private gratification, King Ludwig I. may claim the immortal glory of having correctly grasped its lasting national significance. In uniting all the arts in carrying out magnificent undertakings, he restored that bond of common union which had been so long severed. Architecture once more assumed the central position, about which all

the other arts vied in fresh and vigorous rivalry as to who should best serve and help her. Branches of art which had been almost lost sight of—such as the technique of fresco, and painting on glass—were revived or rediscovered. Other branches, which had been pursued hitherto only under great difficulties—as, for example, casting in bronze—were now carried on with vigor; and a new growth succeeded the profound deterioration of the artistic handicrafts. Among other Munich artists, Leo von Klenze (1784-1864) was a leading representative of the antique style and the styles derived from it. His work is perhaps inferior to that of Schinkel in loftiness and purity, although bearing many traces of Schinkel's influence. He left to Munich some buildings of Greek design of imposing plan and of genuine monumental composition, such as the Glyptothek (see

Fig. 621. Glyptothek, Munich.

Fig. 621), the Ruhmeshalle, or Hall of Fame (see Fig. 622), and the Propylæum. In these there is far more variety and play of fancy than in the Northern school of Schinkel. Klenze might have built up a school of modern Greek design, had such a thing been possible. In the great Walhalla near Ratisbon he put an admirable Greek temple-like exterior to a domed Roman interior—much as the builders of the Madeleine in Paris had done; and again, in the old Pinakothek in Munich he was compelled to quit Greek for another style, and used sixteenth-century Italian with great effect. He designed also the Befreiungshalle or Hall of Liberation (see Fig. 623), built at Kelheim in Bavaria to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the battle of Leipsig.

Friedrich von Gärtner (1792-1847), on the other hand, is a representative of Romanticism. This tendency, which has played so important a part in our modern literature also, was first called into being in Germany by the war of liberation, and was greatly encouraged by the quickening of the patriotic sentiment of the nation. As in the realm of poetry there was a return to the national mediæval poems of Germany, so in art there was a zealous revival of the study of the great monuments of the period. Gärtner favored the

Fig. 622. Rumeshalle, near Munich. (Klenze.)

Romanesque style, which he embodied in a number of buildings, among which are the Church of S. Louis (Ludwigskirche), and the Library, the University, and the Hall of the Marshals—all in Munich and all stately buildings, although, perhaps, the details are lacking in delicacy of conception. Even the remarkable five-aisled Basilica (Church of S. Bonifacius) built about 1840 by Ziebland (1800-73), bears the Romanesque stamp (see Fig. 624); while Ohlmüller's church in the Au suburb represents the revived Gothic style.

On the other hand, the classically educated Theophil Hansen (1813-1890), trained by the Greek buildings at Athens—in which city he rebuilt, with the old material, the Temple of Nike Apteros—

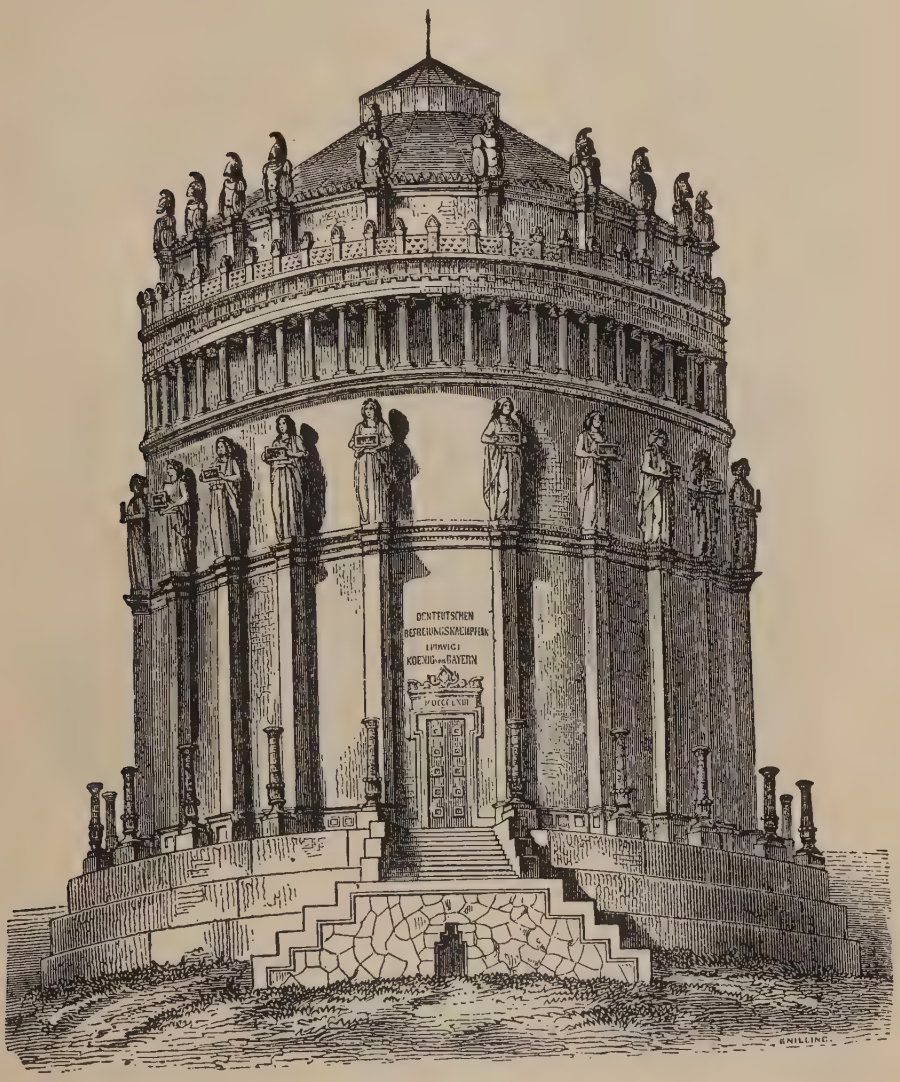

Fig. 623. Hall of Liberation. (Leo von Klenze.)

adopted in addition to a refined Byzantine style—as in the Church of the Greek Separatists—a noble Renaissance manner, modified by the study of Grecian art. In Vienna he built, partly in association with Förster, the Parliament House, the Todesco Palace, the Evangelical

School, the Academy of Fine Arts, the Music Hall, the Palace of the Archduke William, and other structures.

J. F. Eisenlohr, at Carlsruhe, who died in 1853, inclined strongly to the Romanesque style, but used it with special delicacy and spirit, as may be seen by the Main Station which he designed for the Baden Railway. Hübsch, on the other hand, also a Carlsruhe artist (1795-1863), developed an independent manner of his own, in which the Romanesque tendency is modified by modernism. This is shown in his numerous works, the Carlsruhe Theater, the Kunsthalle, and the Orangeries; also in the Trinkhalle in Baden and the church at Bulach.

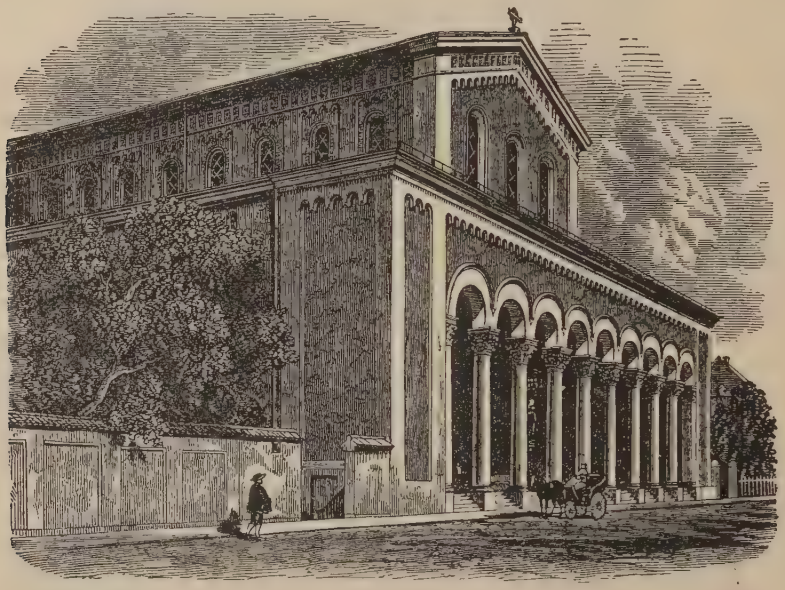

Fig. 624. Church of S. Bonifacius, Munich. (Ziehland.)

In Dresden, the Renaissance has prevailed almost exclusively from an early period; and the gifted architect Gottfried Semper (1804-1879) has illustrated this style in a number of important works, and advanced it to a further stage of development by employing in it a delicate Greek sense of form. The central building of the Polytechnic School in Zurich is in a bolder and more imposing style, as are also his plans for the opera-houses at Rio de Janeiro and at Munich. In Stuttgart, also, the Renaissance has been successfully adopted by Christian Friedrich Leins in various structures, notably in the Villa of the Crown Prince (the present King). The Polytechnic School and several private buildings in the same city, by Josef von Egle (1818—)

are equally admirable; and there are others, by A. Gnauth, inclining somewhat to the *baroque,* such as the Villa Seigle and the Vereinsbank of Württemberg. Ludwig Bohnstedt (1822—) is another of the best Renaissance architects, who has worked in Russia, and in later life has made the prize design for the Parliament House in Berlin. Finally, we have J. Raschdorff, whose artistic, spirited buildings—the Theater in Cologne, the Industrial School and the Library of the Board of Education in the same city, and the Gymnasium and Banks in Bielefeld—show a free adaptation of the French and German Renaissance. The latter has obtained dominion with surprising unanimity in the north and south, in the east and west, in almost all the larger German cities; and although a few adherents of the Gothic, like the talented Johann Otzen, distinguished especially in church architecture, would fain revive the tradition of the Middle Ages,

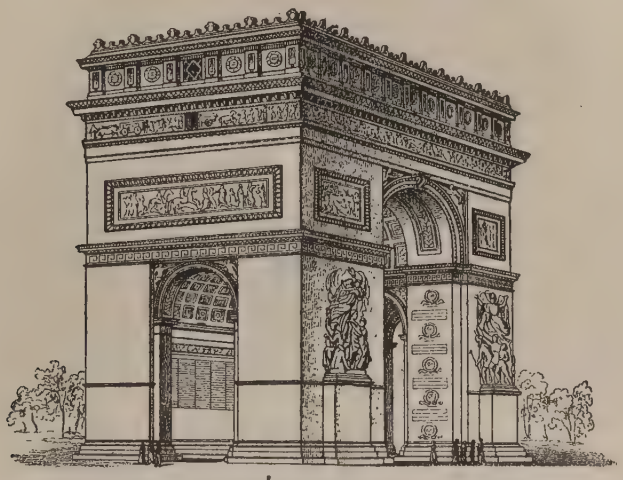

Fig. 625. Arc de l'Étoile in Paris. (Chalgrin.)

this tendency in secular architecture seems too alien to the conceptions of our time.

The disciples of the classical and the Romanesque schools have been in more decided opposition to each other in France than in Germany. The classical tendency, represented by Percier and Fontaine (Charles Percier, 1764-1838; P. F. L. Fontaine, 1762-1853; associated from about 1798), was very generally adopted and retained there until after the middle of the century. During the era of the first Napoleon the gorgeous forms of Roman architecture were chiefly employed, forming an appropriate, if somewhat theatrical, expression of the spirit of modern Cæsarism. J. F. T. Chalgrin's Arc de l'Étoile (see Fig. 625), the largest by far of all memorial arches,

is chiefly valuable for its noble sculptures, but it has a certain dignity of design. Barthélemy Vignon's Church of the Madeleine in Paris (see Fig. 626), is among the most superb monuments of that day; a huge temple of the Corinthian order with an effective peristyle, and the interior effectively vaulted in cupolas. On the other hand, a vigorous movement was begun by the Romanticists, among whom we find such brilliant names as Jean Baptiste Antoine Lassus (1807-1857) and Eugène Emanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814-1879). The Gothic style of the thirteenth century was inscribed upon their banner, and they were untiring in their endeavor to introduce the forms of the age of St. Louis into the life of the present. The Church of

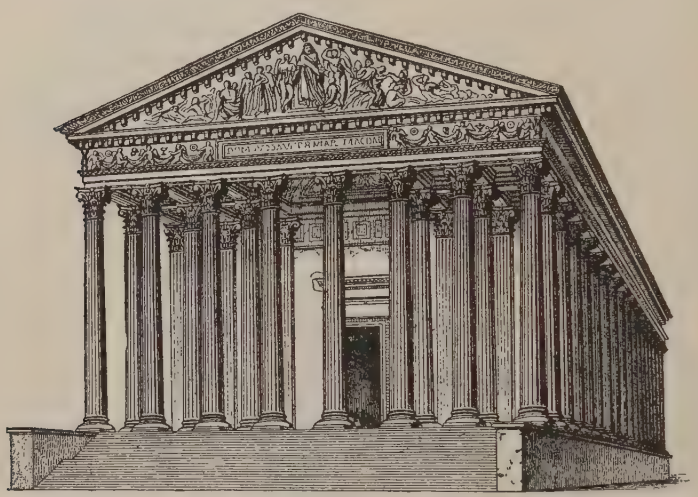

Fig. 626. Church of the Madeleine, Paris. (Vignon.)

S. Clothilde is a rich structure in this style, built after the plans of the German architect Franz Christian Gau (1790-1854). These efforts of the modern disciples of the Gothic were opposed with equal energy and artistic vigor by the adherents of the classical tendency, whose aim is to revive the noble simplicity of Grecian forms, sometimes uniting with them, in ecclesiastical architecture, a return to the plans of ancient Christian churches. The basilica-like church of St. Vincent de Paul, by Jacques Ignace Hittorf (1793-1867), and that of Notre Dame de Lorette, by L. H. Lebas (1782-1856), illustrate this tendency, and each is a most interesting study of an early Roman basilica. For secular buildings the splendid decorative French Renaissance of the sixteenth century was largely employed, and this has developed into the accepted later style which has won the widest favor

among all modern fashions of design. The extension of the Hôtel de Ville during the years before 1848 was a slight attempt in this

Fig. 627. Houses of Parliament, London. (Charles Barry.)

direction (see the second part of this chapter), and the enlargement of the Louvre by Napoleon III. is a splendid masterpiece of this

style. Duban's Ecole des Beaux-Arts is simpler and more impressive—one of the finest and most attractive works of modern Parisian architecture. To the same school belong Labrouste, whose library of S. Geneviève (see Fig. 628) is in an attempted classic style which was afterwards christened Neo-Grec; and Normand, who built the Villa of the Prince Napoleon in the Champs Elysées in a rich and tasteful Pompeian style.

So far as we can gain a clear view of the architecture of the nineteenth century, it seems to confine itself strictly to historical forms; for in one way or another—freely or constrainedly, boldly or timidly, successfully or unsuccessfully, in an independent, vital conception, or in a thoughtless spirit of imitation—we are continually striving to bring ourselves into agreement with far remote tradition. The historico-critical spirit is stamped everywhere upon the architecture of our time. This seems, however, the only means by which architecture to-day can clothe the spirit of the present in that garb which its needs and its nature alike demand.

It is in this way that we explain the remarkable movement in England, called the Gothic Revival. There was, however, this peculiarity about that movement; the considerable connection there was between it and the long-continued life of the Gothic feeling in that country. In 1682 Sir Christopher Wren had built the gateway tower (Tom Tower) of Christ Church College, Oxford; and other buildings of similarly complete attempted Gothic were built by him and his contemporaries and immediate successors. Such were his end towers and west front of Westminster Abbey, and the Church of St. Alban, Wood Street, and several church towers in the city of London. A hundred years later, when the millionaire Beckford undertook the building of a splendid mansion at Fonthill near Salisbury, he adopted what he supposed to be the Gothic style, under the direction of the architect Wyatt. In 1803, Eton Hall, in Cheshire, was built by William Porden (1755-1822), not finished until 1812, and the building—as is shown by drawings made before the extensive alterations made for the Marquis of Westminster—was very tolerable modern Gothic. In 1834 the London Houses of Parliament were destroyed by fire, and shortly afterwards a competition among architects was undertaken, the directions, the regulations for which included a positive provision that the design should be Gothic or Elizabethan. It was begun in 1840 from the designs of Charles Barry, afterwards made a baronet; the style is consistently Perpendicular or latest English Gothic, quite free from the ignorant attempts of men of the previous century to combine incongruous or

non-Gothic features of importance with this style (see Fig. 627): In fact, every detail was closely studied from ancient examples, and great ability was shown in combining these with an excellent working plan, which, indeed, has been rather closely followed in the arrangements of many legislative buildings throughout Europe.

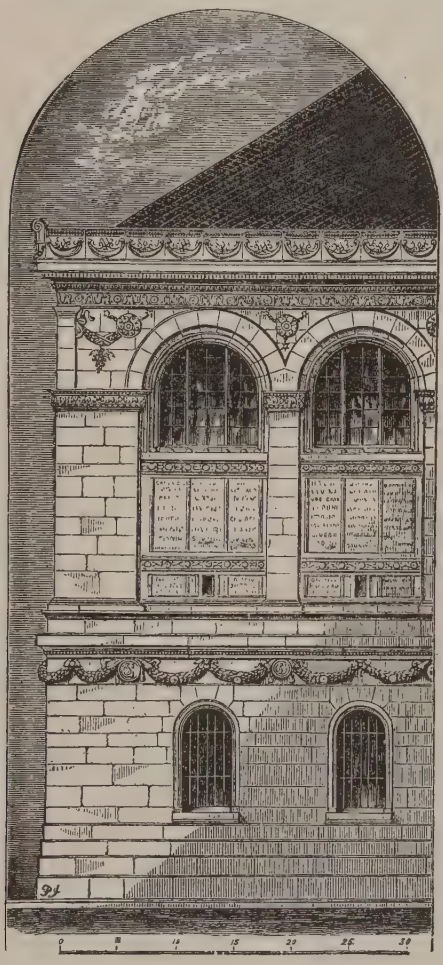

Fig. 628. Angle of the Library of S. Genevieve, Paris.

The above retrospect shows how strong and continuous was the feeling for Gothic art before the time generally set for the beginning of the Revival. Augustus Charles Pugin (1762-1832) began in 1821 the publication of his "Specimens of Gothic Architecture," and had much to do with influencing the young architects of his time.

His son, Augustus Welby Pugin (1812-52) practiced as an architect, and made many of the designs for the decorative details in Barry's Westminster Palace. A son of the last-named Pugin, Edward Welby Pugin (1834-75), also worked as an architect, and was equally devoted to the advancement of the Gothic style. At the same time Anthony Salvin (1729-81) was building a very consistent Tudor mansion house in Scotney Castle, Sussex, and several less important buildings, one of which was at least an attempt at a complete fourteenth-century castle.

We have now reached a time generally set as the beginning of the Gothic Revival proper, and it is to be noted that the earliest men were often the most painstaking not merely in following the style selected, but in care for detail, which in Gothic architecture and its reproduction is of supreme importance. Thus, A. W. Pugin's Church of S. Augustine at Ramsgate (1842) is remarkable for the close observance of local peculiarities, and for the patience and success with which the local materials were used. In 1846 S. Stephen's Church at Westminster was built by B. Ferry, and this, again, is a faithful piece of archæology. It is noticeable that the early Gothic Revivalists laid much stress upon minute knowledge of moldings, and that a great number of amateurs learned to know the age of a building or an arcade by a mere comparison of its molded arches. As early as 1849 another influence began to assert itself, namely, the desire for legitimate progress and a free use of originality. This was especially shown in the celebrated church of All Saints, Margaret Street, Cavendish Square (see Fig. 629); which was begun by William Butterfield (1814-1900) in that year; but its construction and decoration occupied nearly ten years. An inconvenient site and a very bold system of design in color have been the chief reasons for many diverse opinions as to the importance of this building. The extraordinary ability shown in its design can hardly be ignored. This artist had a long and busy life, and one of his most recent buildings, the admirable Cathedral at Adelaide, the capital of South Australia, is as perfect for its epoch as was All Saints. In fact, there is no one of the English modern Gothic builders who has left so large a number of important works of art. In 1855 was begun the Oxford Museum, designed by Sir Thomas Deane of Dublin (1792-1871) and Benjamin Woodward, who died in 1861. In these buildings an attempt was made on a larger scale than was possible to the builders of All Saints' Church above mentioned, to carry out an elaborate system of wrought iron-work and also a great amount of decorative carving in a manner consistent with mediæval practice; the attempt being less to secure a Gothic character in the designs than to have the

Fig. 629. All Saints' Church, London, Margaret St., Cavendish Square.

work done in the mediæval way, namely, by intelligent workmen full of the immediate task in hand, and capable of giving individual merit to each detail (see Fig. 630). Sir George Gilbert Scott (1811-78) began to be celebrated at about this time. He was the best known of all the modern Gothic architects of England, and had an enormous practice, but the work is far less individual in character than that of the men named above. In 1859 the Assize Courts at Manchester were built by Waterhouse. About 1860 began the building by Richard Norman Shaw (1831 —) of those picturesque country houses with high and spreading roofs and very lofty chimneys of great decorative effect; the walls of the houses being partly in masonry and partly in wooden half-timbered construction which

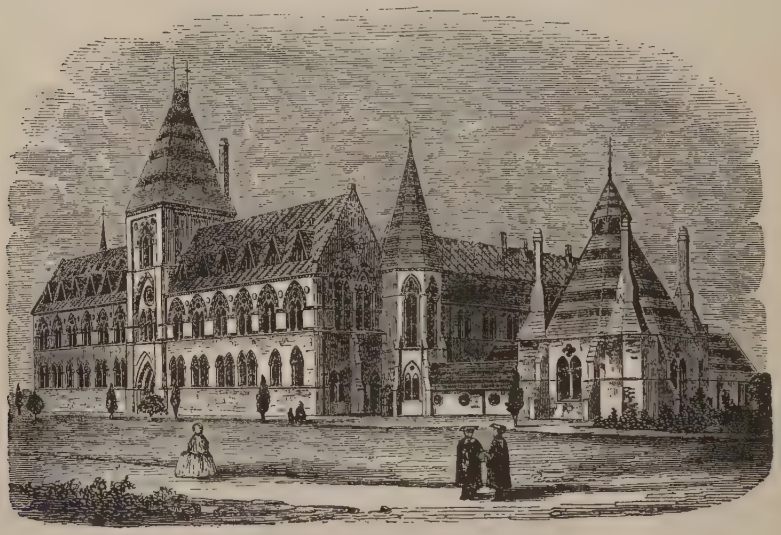

Fig. 630. New Museum at Oxford.

originated the class of design called rather falsely the Queen Anne style. William Edin Nesfield (1835-88) was an architect of kindred tastes, searching for artistic effect more than for archæological accuracy. Of all the designers of this school none was more intrepid and more fertile than William Burges (1827-81); but his work was too original to be easily acceptable by committees in charge of important public work; and moreover he had private means, which perhaps made him less eager for great employments.

During this course of about thirty years there existed alongside of the Gothic Revivalists' work a neo-classical influence which was never for a moment weakened. The buildings erected in that manner are

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not so worthy of notice because they were not essentially different from those common all over the Continent of Europe. During the period that we are now considering the more original men in England and the sister kingdoms betook themselves to the Gothic style as a general thing. At a later time this tendency changed, as is shown below: and even during this earlier period such a dignified design as that of S. George's Hall at Liverpool, finished about 1854 by Lunsdale Elmes, was possible—and was not alone.

In the United States before 1860 the influence of the English architects was far stronger than any other inspiration from abroad. Richard Upjohn (1802-78), an Englishman, built Trinity Church in New York before 1846, the design being a good and simple study of English Perpendicular architecture. At a later time he built the far more original and spirited Trinity Chapel, also in New York City. The Church of the Holy Trinity in Brooklyn was built by another architect at about the same time with Trinity Church, and showed more originality of conception. Similar attempts at repeating in America the English Gothic Revival were common in all parts of the country. As for domestic buildings, they were generally of the simple wooden framed type, very simply covered with clapboards and roofed with shingles, marked by a straightforward simplicity of design without great merit. Public buildings were generally neo-classic, following more or less the type set by the Capitol at Washington and the President's house, which were not unattractive reproductions of many buildings of the English Georgian epoch. Toward the close of our period, namely, after 1855, Jacob Wrey Mould, an Englishman, built the very interesting All Souls' Church in New York. One or two business buildings by men still living were erected at this time. Unfortunately they have been removed to make room for the lofty steel cage "skyscraper" of the years since 1880, and their valuable influence has been lost.

SCULPTURE.

The Venetian, Antonio Canova (1757-1822), first directed modern sculpture into the classical path from the too realistic and rather undignified way in which it had moved throughout the previous half-century. He attained an especial pleasing grace in the representation of womanly beauty; a style marred, however, by a trace of the earlier over-delicate manner, and by a certain elegant smoothness. He was less successful in elevated and dignified monumental compositions, such as the tombs of Pope Clement XIII., in St. Peter's; of Clement XIV., in the Church of the SS. Apostoli at Rome; of the Archduchess Maria Christina, in the Augustine Church at Vienna

—from which was copied his own tomb, in Santa Maria Dei Frari, at Venice; and of Alfieri, in Santa Croce at Florence; though there is much to admire in these very original and personal designs. The statue of Hebe is characteristic (Fig. 631). He falls into a theatrical manner when he attempts heroic themes, such as the Group of Theseus and a Centaur, in the Museum at Vienna, and in that of the Boxers and the statue of the Perseus in the Vatican collection. His influence upon his contemporaries was great and widespread, very few sculp-

Fig. 631. Hebe. (Antonio Canova.)

tors of his day remaining unaffected by it. It appears most clearly, perhaps, in Johann Heinrich Dannecker of Stuttgart (1798-1841). He succeeded in developing a purer loveliness in his female figures—as, for instance, in his celebrated Ariadne (see Fig. 632), in the possession of Herr Bethmann of Frankfort; and his portraits also are remarkable for delicate appreciation of nature and noble characterization. His colossal bust of Schiller in the Stuttgart Museum, and his

bust of Lavater in the Zurich Library, are good illustrations of this. Among French artists, Chaudet (1763-1810) is the foremost representative of the rigidly classical school, though he adopts a somewhat conventional treatment. The English sculptor, John Flaxman (1755-1826), adopted at the same period, and quite independently, a simple, severe antique style, which he exemplified in numerous ideal productions, in monuments, and in his once famous outline illustrations of Dante and of Homer. The celebrated Swedish sculptor, Sergell (1736-1813), who also received his artistic education in Rome, was among the first to renew the idealistic classical style, the traditions of

Fig. 632. Ariadne. (Dannecker.)

which his countrymen Byström (born in 1783) and Fogelberg have still further developed.

The Danish artist, Bertel Thorwaldsen (1770-1844), penetrated farther than these masters into the spirit and the beauty of classical art; and created, with inexhaustible fertility of imagination and with the noblest feeling for form, an array of works which are conceived with a pure, chaste, and noble appreciation of Greek spirit. In his celebrated frieze of the Triumph of Alexander, in the Villa Sommariva (at present the Villa Carlotta) on the Lake of Como, the genuine Grecian relief style is revived with great purity and severity. His colossal Venus, often repeated on a smaller scale, is shown in

Fig. 633. He also treats with the versatility of genius and with charming simplicity the subjects of ancient mythology, in numerous statues, groups, and smaller reliefs; and even introduces into the domain of Christian representation a novel, beautiful, and dignified treatment in the sculptures executed by him for the Church of Our Lady in Copenhagen. Among his monumental works we may mention the Statues of Gutenberg at Mayence and of Schiller at Stuttgart; the Dying Lion at Lucerne, serving as a monument to the Swiss Guards

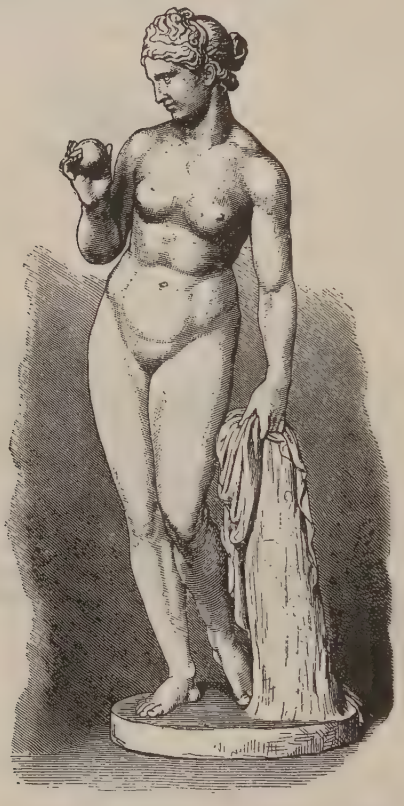

Fig. 633. Venus. (Thorwaldsen.)

who fell in defence of the Tuileries, in 1790; the Equestrian Statue of the Elector Maximilian at Munich; and the tombs of the Dukes of Leuchtenberg in S. Michael's Church at Munich, and of Pope Pius VII. in S. Peter's Church at Rome. Among his pupils, Hermann Freund of Bremen (b. 1786), who died in 1840, sought with independent talent to introduce the characters of Norse mythology into the realm of sculpture. The statue of Schiller by Dielmann, at Frankfort-on-the-Main, is also worthy of notice.

While the wide domain of idealistic sculpture was thus again cultivated with such versatility of inspiration, the Berlin artist, Johann Gottfried Schadow (1764-1850), adopted a more realistic style, especially directed toward lifelike composition and distinct characterization of individual peculiarities. His monument of the Count von der Mark, in the Church of S. Dorothea in Berlin; the statues of Ziethen and of Prince Leopold of Dessau, on the Wilhelmsplatz in Berlin (more lately remade in bronze); the statue of Frederick the Great at Stettin; and, in a less degree, the Blücher Monument at Rostock and that of Luther at Wittenberg—as well as many others—are vigorous protests against the mannerism of the hitherto prevailing tendency, and reopen to Sculpture a field which had now been almost lost to her for two hundred years.

But the other fountain from which modern German sculpture has drawn its materials flows from a source much nearer at hand, and lying in the midst of the national life. The ancient bias of the Teutonic mind toward the complete expression of the individuality of each single life, which exercised almost undisputed sway upon the sculpture of the fifteenth century, has reasserted itself with fresh force, and has found vigorous allies in the quickened historical insight and the increased patriotic sentiment of modern times.

The new-born historic feeling of the several nations demand to-day that their heroes, the defenders of their liberties, the representatives of their intellect—their warriors in the battles both of the sword and of thought—shall be preserved to fame in the true likeness of their actual forms. As a consequence, Sculpture is compelled to probe the depths of the individual consciousness; to investigate the characteristic of each individual intellect as expressed in the figure, the physiognomy, and even in the externals of attitude and garb; and even to give utterance to mysterious life of the soul, as far as it lies within her power. Without losing sight of the great importance which the study of the sculptures of the fifteenth century has upon this tendency, the influence of the antique should not be undervalued; since without the sense of beauty so secured, a realistic degeneracy and exaggeration would be very sure to follow.

Among the German schools of sculpture of the early nineteenth century, that of Berlin takes the lead. Frederick Tieck (1776-1851) of this school adopted the antique style in a series of admirable productions, and especially in the decorative sculpture designed by him for the Theater; while the path which Schadow had taken was followed up nobly and rationally during the long and influential labors of Christian Rauch (1777-1857). This artist's important position is due less to his wealth of creative ideas than to his delicate feel-

ing for nature, his fine appreciation of the genuine plastic style, and his incomparable care in execution. His importance, however, does not consist merely in his numerous works, but also in the influence he exercised on his large circle of talented scholars. While he shows a true classical beauty in his ideal works, like his Victories and his many admirable reliefs, his statues of Prince Blücher, of Generals Bülow and Scharnhorst, his colossal equestrian statue of Frederick the Great at Berlin, his superb statues of Queen Louise and of Frederick William III. in the Mausoleum at Charlottenburg, his bronze statues of Dürer at Nuremberg, of Kant at Königsberg, of King Max I. at Munich, and many others, prove him a sculptor of the first rank for delicate characterization and lifelike suggestiveness of composition. Many excellent scholars have gone from his studio into

Fig. 634. Naturfreuden, Relief am Denkmal Fredr. Wilh. III. (Drake.)

careers of independent importance and masterly ability; and these with their vigorous activity, which is never at a loss for employment in important undertakings, form the nucleus of the later school of Berlin.*

Among the most conspicuous of the Berlin artists should be reckoned Friedrich Drake (1805-1882), whose reliefs on the statue of Frederick William III. in the Thiergarten at Berlin (see Fig. 634) are full of simple grace. Other excellent works by him are the marble groups on the bridge of the Royal Palace (Schlossbrücke) at Berlin; the Melanchthon, in Wittenberg, the Schinkel, in Berlin; the

* Friedrich Eggers, "Christian Daniel Rauch"; Berlin, 1873. With a portrait of Rauch, drawn in 1812 by G. Schadow; engraved in 1873 by E. Mandel.

reliefs on the Beuth Monument, also in Berlin; the statues of Justus Möses, at Osnabrück, of Johann Friedrich the Magnanimous, at Jena; and, above all, the Equestrian Statue of the Emperor William on the railroad bridge over the Rhine at Cologne. Another of this school is Schievelbein (died in 1867), who showed a great deal of imagination, especially in the composition of reliefs; as in the great frieze representing the Destruction of Pompeii, in the new Museum, and also in the relief on the bridge at Dirschau. Among his other works are one of the best of the marble groups on the Schlossbrücke at Berlin, and the sketch for the pedestal of the equestrian statue of Frederick William III. at Cologne.

A. Fischer is the artist of several groups on the Belle-Alliance Platz, Berlin; and Hagan, who died when quite young, designed the reliefs on the Thaer Monument. The branch of animal sculpture is represented by A. Kiss, who died in 1865, as seen in the most widely known of his works, the mounted Amazon and Panther, in bronze, in front of the Berlin Museum. He has also produced a good deal in historical and monumental art; for example, the Battle of the Amazons, S. Michael and S. George slaying Dragons, and the equestrian statues of Frederick William III. for Königsberg and Breslau. Other artists are Th. Kalide and W. Wolff.

Ernst Rietschel (1804-61) claims indisputably one of the first places among the sculptors of this century, as regards versatility of endowment, delicate feeling for form, and depth of sentiment. He derived from Rauch his faithful and characteristic representation of life and his painstaking execution. His double monument of Schiller and Goethe at Weimar, his monument of Lessing in Brunswick (in a still purer and happier style), and the statue of Luther executed for the monument at Worms, are good examples of these traits. In the group of the Virgin with the Body of Christ, which he executed for the Friedenskirche near Potsdam (see Fig. 635), he produced a work full of striking expression and of the deepest religious feeling; while the subjects of his numerous representations in relief for the pediment of the Opera-house at Berlin, and the Theater and Museum at Dresden, represent him with equal dignity and merit in the department of ideal antique subjects. Ernst Hähnel is a Dresden artist, whose powerful compositions for the Dresden Theater and Museum are antique in treatment, but who also produced monumental statues, works of the most delicate characterization, such as the Beethoven at Bonn, the Emperor Charles IV. at Prague, and the statues designed for the Dresden Museum, especially the noble Raphael. Johannes Schilling has distinguished himself by his ideal groups of the divisions of the day—Morning, Noon, Evening, Night—de-

signed for the Brühl Terrace. There is also Donndorf, a pupil of Rietschel, who has been occupied upon the Luther Memorial, and who executed the equestrian statue of Charles Augustus for Weimar.

In Munich, the talented Ludwig Schwanthaler (1802-48) was the chief representative of a more romantic style, which opened a new field of fresh ideas to modern sculpture. This master, who was endowed with an almost inexhaustible imagination, carried out a great number of extensive works during his short life, in supplying the plastic decorations for most of the buildings erected by King Ludwig (see the section on Architecture above). While these are distinguished by fertility of invention and an excellent decorative taste, the artist, spurred on to ceaseless labor, and hindered by bodily infirmities, did not succeed in giving his monumental creations that

Fig. 635. Pietas. (Rietschel.)

thorough development of form which is an essential of sculpture. It cannot be denied, however, that a grand monumental conception is visible in these productions, as is especially proved in the colossal Statue of Bavaria in Munich; for which see Fig. 322.

In France, Sculpture early endeavored to free herself from the rigid rule of the antique, and carried the prevailing effort after dramatic effect, expression, and passion even to an extreme point of realism. Among the masters of classicism in the Napoleonic era must be named François Bosio (1769-1845), who in figures like the Nymph Salmacis, the Hyacinthus, the Cupid bending his Bow (in the Louvre) exhibited a somewhat effeminate grace, but in the re-

liefs on the Vendôme Column, the equestrian statue of Louis XIV., the quadriga on the Triumphal Arch in the Place du Carrousel asserted his antique training. The same course was followed by Fr. Lemot (1773-1827), who executed the equestrian statue of Louis XIV. for Lyons, that of Henry IV. for the Pont Neuf, Paris, to replace the one thrown down at the time of the Revolution, the bas-relief for the pediment of the Louvre Colonnade, and others. Especially noteworthy, however, is Jean Pierre Cortot (1787-1843), who in ideal detached figures and in groups like the Daphnis and Chloë, and the Dying Victor of Marathon, evinces a somewhat sober correctness. He has erected dignified works of deeper intrinsic merit in the relief for the pediment of the Chamber of Deputies of Paris (see Fig. 636) and the Coronation of Napoleon by the Goddess of

Fig. 636. Charter of 1830: from Pediment of Chamber of Deputies, Paris. (Cortot.)

Victory for the Arc de l'Étoile. Nor does the prolific Dumont (1801-1884), nor Philippe Henri Lemaire, in his Last Judgment for the Pediment of the Madeleine, go beyond a rigidly classical treatment. The same applies to Foyatier (1793-1863) with his Spartacus, Cincinnatus, and others.

In the thirties a new life begins to stir also in French plastic art, and the directness of a homely feeling for nature takes the place of a frigid conception in the spirit of antique art. François Rude (1784-1855) with his Neapolitan Fisher-boy and his Mercury led the way: occasionally too harshly realistic, as in his sepulchral statue of Cavaignac in the Cemetery of Montmartre; or even too exaggerated in expression in spite of real force, as in the great relief of the

Departure for the War on the Arc de l'Étoile. He was emulated by the somewhat younger Francisque Duret (1804-1865), who in his Neapolitan Dancer, his Improvisatore, and his portrait statue of Rachel has created works full of delicate appreciation of nature. Beside these, James Pradier (1792-1852) of Geneva distinguished himself particularly in the graceful delineation of female beauty which he brought into brilliant prominence by his masterly treatment of the marble; yet all his figures—the Graces, Venus, the Bacchante, Flora, etc.—are calculated mainly to produce a sensuous charm, and lack a deep artistic merit. A thoroughly independent course was pursued by P. J. David of Angers, commonly called David d'Angers (1793-1856), who gave himself up to an energetic realism. Although sustained by great talent and an ingenious facility in composition, this tendency deteriorated into a realism almost bereft of style—as in such monumental works as the relief for the pediment of the Panthéon of Paris, which are rather illustration than monumental art. Extremely clever and spirited, however, are his numerous portrait busts; and he was famous for his medallion portraits reviving the best traditions of the Renaissance.

Among the pupils of Pradier, Antoine Etex (1808-1888) followed in the pathway of his master, but strove successfully for passionate expression, as may be seen in his Cain, the two reliefs on the Arc de l'Étoile, and his Hercules and Antæus. Both he and Charles Simart (1806-1857) had first studied painting in the school of Ingres, in whose spirit Simart gave prominence to a severe and noble modeling in his plastic work—witness the bas-reliefs adorning the Imperial tomb in the Dôme des Invalides. Clésinger (1814-1883) carries the cult of sensualism even to voluptuousness (but see the second part of this chapter); and a similar tendency was adopted by Alex. Schoenewerk (born in 1820), who proceeded from the school of David d'Angers. Of greater intrinsic merit is Eugène Guillaume (born in 1822), who turned from the sensuous tendency of Pradier to a more serious conception in the spirit of ancient Roman sculpture (see Fig. 636A), and has distinguished himself particularly by means of many masterly portraits—as, for instance, that of Napoleon I.

A numerous school adhered to the realistic tendencies of David d'Angers; and with the general victorious progress of realism this school has recently extended its sway more and more.

Belgian Sculpture has mainly moved in pathways similar to the French, and some of its artists have received their education in Paris. One of the most distinguished masters is Willem Geefs (1806-1885), who with his brother and several other artists executed the sculptures on the National Monument at Brussels. Fig. 637 gives

his group, The Lion in Love. Altogether plastic art in Belgium received an impulse from the growth of national consciousness enhanced by the struggle for liberation, and Geefs was intrusted with the execution of the memorial for the victims of the Revolution of 1830, in the Place des Martyrs, as well as with the sepulchral monument of Count Merode, for the Cathedral. Also the statues of Rubens at Antwerp and of Grétry at Liège are by his hand. One of his richest works is the magnificent pulpit in the Cathedral at Liège. His brother Joseph (1808-1860), who had studied

Fig. 636A. Roman Marriage. (Eug. Guillaume.)

in Paris, not only participated in the execution of the National Memorial, but also produced the equestrian statue of Leopold I. for Brussels, and that of William II. for The Hague; also one of S. George, and several ideal genre works. Charles Auguste Fraikin (born in 1819) devoted himself to kindred themes of a naïvely graceful style, and besides executed for Ostend the sepulchral monument of the Queen of the Belgians, and for Brussels the double monument of Counts Egmont and Hoorn in the Grand Place. Further we must

name Eugène Simonis (1810-1882), who found in Rome his true mission, and besides many ideal genre works in marble, executed for Brussels the equestrian statue of Godfrey de Bouillon. Karel Hendrik Geerts (1807-1855), finally, cultivated mainly ecclesiastical sculpture, and has especially won high distinction through the exquisitely carved choir stalls in the Church of Our Lady at Antwerp.

Rome forms an important central point in the production of modern sculpture, with her numerous studios, her skill in marble-cutting—an art handed down to her from ancient times—and her vast collection of antique works. Here Canova and Thorwaldsen had their studios, which were for many decades the most famous nurseries of modern sculpture. That antique conception and idealistic style should

Fig. 637. The Lion in Love. (W. Geefs.)

acquire especial prominence here, lay in the nature of things. Only where the modern social and political life exercises its full powers does Sculpture find tasks that call upon her for the characteristic representation of important personages and the lifelike delineation of historical events.

The sculpture of Rome, so far as it became a style by itself, chose principally poetic and ideal subjects, and it was only in funeral monuments and similar private memorials that individual characterization found any field for its employment. Hence the general similarity between all the works of the Roman school, in spite of the various nationalities of the artists composing it. Among modern Italian sculptors, who, as a rule, are apt to fall into an effeminacy of conception, and into either an exaggerated or a theatrical style, Pietro

Tenerani (1798-1869), a pupil of Canova and Thorwaldsen, appears as a foremost representative of the classical tendency, and as partly free from the prevailing errors of his day. Lorenzo Bartolini gave a fresh impetus to sculpture in Tuscany (1777-1850); and he was followed by a long list of pupils and followers, who aimed at establishing his style even more firmly upon a delicate and lifelike conception of nature. Prominent among these was Giovanni Dupré (see the second part of this chapter), an artist whose nobility of sentiment makes him very attractive. Pio Fedi (1815-1892) was the

Fig. 637A. Pyrrhus and Polyxena. (Pio Fedi.)

most productive sculptor of the generation succeeding Canova. His Pyrrhus and Polyxena (see Fig. 637A), an important group, is in the Loggia dei Lanzi, at Florence. Giovanni Bastianini (1830-1868) showed great power of characterization, together with the close observation of nature peculiar to the masters of the fifteenth century.

The English artist, John Gibson (1790-1866), is conspicuous among the sculptors of different nationalities who have made Rome

their headquarters, as the representative of a noble classic style. He produced many groups of mythological and poetical subject, and made portrait statues of Queen Victoria draped in an excellent classical style. His nude Venus, to which he gave colored eyes and hair, and an ivory-like tint to the skin, is his most celebrated piece, and deserves admiration.

Flaxman, named above, was followed by Richard Westmacott (1775-1856), best known for his monuments of William Pitt and Charles James Fox, in Westminster Abbey. Francis Chantrey (1781-1842) was admirable in portrait work. Alfred George Stevens (1817-1875) will be named in Part II. Foley, also, though born in 1818, did his best work after 1860.

The tendency of the numerous sculptors whom England has recently produced is toward the genre style, and toward graceful forms in the manner of Canova. Macdonell, an artist of much taste, and Edward Hodges Bailey, also well known by his public works, deserve mention here, as well as R. J. Wyatt (1795-1858), Thomas Campbell (1790-1858), and William Behnes (1790-1864).

The United States of America possessed sculptors of decided talent during this period; such as Randolph Rogers (1825-1892), who designed the bronze gates of the Washington Capitol, Thomas Crawford (1813-1857), who made the bronze doors and also the Liberty which crowns the cupola of the same building; Hiram Powers (1805-1873), the well-known author of the Greek Slave; Miss Hosmer (b.1831), a pupil of Gibson at Rome; and E. D. Palmer (1817—), who, though a gifted artist, inclines to an exaggeration of the picturesque. Henry Kirke Brown (1814-1886) was the author of two very successful equestrian statues in bronze—the Washington in New York, set up in 1856, and the General Scott in Washington, a few years later. John Quincy Adams Ward (b. 1830), a pupil of Brown, had already made his mark before 1860: see the second part of this chapter.

PAINTING.

Although modern painting* is very much further removed from the classical methods than is the case in Sculpture, still, with painting as well, the revolution in style began with a reaction toward antique models. Asmus Jakob Carstens (1754-98), who is named in connection with the previous epoch, had first given expression to this new movement in his simple, noble paintings and drawings (of which the best collection is now in the Museum at Weimar), and had suc-

* See A. Görling, in the second volume of his "Geschichte der modernen Malerei"; Leipzig, 1867-68.

ceeded in reanimating the Greek ideal with a simplicity, depth, and grandeur hitherto unattained, especially in those of his compositions which represent classical subjects. With Thorwaldsen the sculptor, who is largely indebted to the suggestions contained in his drawings, and Schinkel the architect, he forms the great trio of modern German masters, who may be called for German art, the Greeks of later days. The most famous of the artists who succeeded him were the two Württemberg painters, Eberhard Wächter (1762-1852) and Gottlieb Schick (1779-1812). The masterpieces of both these artists are in the Stuttgart Gallery. The former was not quite free from the influences of French classicism; to which, however, he imparted a fresh dignity in his celebrated painting of Job. Shick is especially remarkable for a tendency toward strong effects in coloring, and for delicate fidelity to nature; especially in his Apollo among the Shepherds, and in his Sacrifice of Noah.

At the same period, the severe style of painting founded on the antique was introduced into France by J. L. David (1748-1825); but in that country it was by no means so pure, and sometimes degenerated into frigidity, sometimes into mere theatrical mannerism. David conformed even through the choice of his subjects (the Oath of the Horatii, Brutus before the Bodies of his Sons, Death of Socrates, Rape of the Sabine Women, Leonidas at Thermopylæ), and still more through the strong pathos in conception, to the passionately agitated times which recognized in him one of the greatest artists, and did not feel his defects—the frigid, theatrical traits, and the plastic rather than pictorial treatment. As a historian of his own time he contributed powerful canvases to the art of the nineteenth century; as in the Coronation of the Empress Josephine. Much more simple and truthful is the Death of Marat, where the painter of the Revolution is seen under the influence of a strong natural emotion. As a portrait painter David was great; as seen in his portrait of the great chemist Antoine Laurent Lavoisier and his wife. Among the numerous pupils of this master a reaction soon became manifest, and acquired prominence in the first place in Anne Louis de Coussy Girodet, called from his adopted father Girodet-Trioson (1767-1824), at the same time proclaiming itself the first harbinger of Romanticism by a leaning toward Ossian and Chateaubriand (Burial of Atala, Ossian receiving the Shades of French Generals). The picturesque element finds its purest expression in his Endymion, which is in the Louvre. A kindred tendency was adopted by Pierre Paul Prud'hon (1758-1823), who in his carrying off of Psyche by Zephyr displays a fusion of colors and a softness in the treatment of forms which won for him the name of the French Cor-

reggio. Only exceptionally, as in Justice and Divine Vengeance pursuing Crime—which, like the preceding, is in the Louvre—he strikes a more vigorous chord. In François Gérard (1770-1837), with his Belisarius (see Fig. 638) and his Psyche receiving Cupid's first kiss, we meet an artist who clothed the expression of a softer, even sentimental feeling in classic forms, but above all commanded great admiration by his portraits (Madame Récamier and many others). As delineator of the Napoleonic military epoch, Jean Antoine Gros (1771-1835) through his energy of conception and vigorous pictorial treatment became the celebrated painter of the First Empire, who in

Fig. 638. Belisarius. (Gèrard.)

pictures like Napoleon visiting the Plague-Stricken Soldiers at Jaffa (see Fig. 639), the Battle of Aboukir, Napoleon at the Pyramids, the Battlefield at Eylau, proves himself the forerunner of Horace Vernet. A strict adherent of severe classicism was Pierre Narcisse Guérin (1774-1833), who in antique subjects, like Marcus Sextus by the Body of his Wife, Hippolytus and Phædra, Andromache and Pyrrhus, Æneas relating his adventures to Dido, sought to redeem the academic coldness of his forms by strong dramatic traits.

Of all the pupils of David (whose influence upon the development of French art was very great), Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres

(1781-1867)* adheres most closely to the strictly classical method. Of but small creative powers, and rather intellectual than imaginative, this chief representative of idealism directs his efforts especially to the thorough delineation of form, for which, following in the steps of Raphael and the antique painters, he seeks to find the loftiest expression. He is most successful in the portrayal of ideal single figures, especially of nude female figures, as in his La Source—figures which no master of his time painted with such purity and loveliness as he. Many of his portraits, also, are distinguished for dignity of con-

Fig. 639. Napoleon at Jaffa. (J. Antoine Gros.)

ception, perfection of form, and even for a certain effectiveness of color. On the other hand, his compositions from heathen antiquity—for example, the Apotheosis of Homer, and the Œdipus and the Sphinx, both in the Louvre; with the Jupiter and Thetis, in the Aix Museum—have that cold, superficial quality into which the classic revivalists generally fall in their treatment of antique subjects. In his ecclesiastical pictures—the Martyrdom of S.

* E. de Laborde, "Ingres, sa Vie et son Œuvre"; Paris, 1870.

Symphorien, in the Cathedral at Autun; Christ in the Temple, in the Mùseum at Montauban; Christ giving the Keys to S. Peter, in the Luxembourg; and the Vow of Louis XIII., in the Cathedral at Montauban—he has succeeded, under the influence of Raphael, in attaining that effectiveness which may be produced by intense earnestness and devotion, even when unaided by a powerful imagination. Besides him, the Swiss Charles Gabriel Gleyre, born at Chevilly, Canton Vaud (1807-1874), is an equally noble representative of purest classical modeling, combined with harmonious coloring and delicacy of feeling, in well-balanced compositions, like the poetic melancholy

Fig. 640. The Raft of the Medusa. (Géricault.)

Eventide, the Nymph Echo, the Dance of the Bacchantes, but notably in his chef d'œuvre, Pentheus pursued by the Mænads, which is in the Museum at Basle. The same exquisite treatment of form is apparent in works like S. John at Patmos, the Departure of the Apostles, and the Retreat of the Romans, in the Museum at Lausanne.

The first powerful impulse to realism, in what was afterward called the Romantic Movement, was given by Géricault (1791-1824), in his Raft of the Medusa, now in the Louvre (see Fig. 640)—a work full of stirring power. The most eminent representa-

tives of the romantic genre school were Jean Victor Schnetz (1787-1870), with his Biblical and romantic pictures, and illustrations from profane history; Carl Steuben (born in Mannheim in 1791, died 1856), who produced a great number of large historical and battle pieces; and Ary Scheffer, originally from Holland (1790-1863), with his elegiac scenes from the Bible and the poets, as in the Francesca da Rimini of Dante and the Mignon of Goethe, as well as his illustrations of the Greek struggle for liberty. In the development of these last-named artists, the influence of German ideas, and of German and English romantic poetry—especially of German poetry—is unmistakably felt. This new tendency appeared more powerfully in Eugène Delacroix (1799-1863), who as a brilliant colorist declared war against that severe study of form which was characteristic of followers of the antique. In his powerful picture of Dante and Virgil in the bark of Phlegyas (1822), now in the Luxembourg, he boldly entered upon the path just broken by Géricault, and gave wonderful expression to the prevailing love for the passionate and horrible (a tendency equally conspicuous in the contemporary French novelists, especially in Victor Hugo), in such works as the Massacre of Scio, the Murder of the Bishop of Liège—a scene from Walter Scott's "Quentin Durward"—the Convulsionnaires of Tangiers, and the Shipwreck—from Byron's "Don Juan." In his monumental works—of which there are specimens in the Chamber of Deputies, the Luxembourg, the Gallery of Apollo in the Louvre, and the Church of S. Sulpice—the need of a more firm and skilled drawing is felt, in spite of an unusual pictorial magnificence and boldness. While at this time Hippolyte Flandrin (1815-64) attained to great independent importance in grave religious painting—as, for instance, in the noble, original, and beautiful frescos in S. Germain des Prés, in S. Vincent de Paul, and in S. Séverin—the greatest number of French painters devoted themselves to a vigorous realism, a fresh, often bold, delineation of real life, and a daring and impressive representation of historical events. The fundamental principle, which they all held more or less strictly, was the development of a strong, warm system of painting in which pigments are used more purely than before, and with a certain brilliancy of effect; hardly to be called great coloring, but true to the life, the technical brilliancy of which has since 1850 affected the German school more and more decidedly.

Horace Vernet (1798-1863) claimed the first rank as a popular painter, the darling of the army, with his strong delineations of African battles—such as the Taking of La Smalah, and other important works, in Versailles—his numerous larger and smaller studies

of military life and of history, and his combats of animals with their intensity of action. Next follows Paul Delaroche (1797-1856), with his historical pictures, remarkable for psychological delicacy and spirited characterization—as, for example, his Mazarin, Richelieu in his Barge, the Execution of Lady Jane Grey, Cromwell by the Coffin of Charles I. (see Fig. 641), Napoleon at Fontainebleau, Marie Antoinette leaving the Court, and his frescos in the hemicycle of the École des Beaux Arts—an Apotheosis of the renowned artists of all ages, conspicuous delicacy of characterization, ingenious composition and

Fig. 641. Cromwell at the Coffin of Charles I. (Delaroche.)

harmoniously effective coloring; and, finally, Léopold Robert, whose spirited delineations of Italian peasant life rise to the rank of historic conceptions. As brilliant colorists, chiefly notable are Léon Cogniet (1794-1880), who combines an effective treatment of color with an endeavor to express the profounder emotions; Alexander Gabriel Decamps (1803-60), who generally paints Oriental scenes with striking effects of light; and Thomas Couture (1815-1879), best known by his picture, long in the Luxembourg at Paris, now in the Louvre, a

masterpiece of skilled modeling of the nude, Les Romains de la Décadence (see Fig. 642). Among the innumerable genre painters we may mention the humorous François Biard (1801-1882) and the elegant Meissonier (1813-1891), of whom there is mention in the second part of this chapter; and Édouard Frère (1819-1886), as a

Fig. 642. Group from the Decadence of Rome. (Thomas Couture.)

genial delineator of bourgeois domestic life, especially of the children's world. Winterhalter, who was born in Baden, and died in 1873, enjoyed a widespread fame as an admirable portrait painter.

The Second Empire did not produce a favorable effect upon the development of the arts. The painting of the time was marked by

superficial brilliancy, heightened technique, more extreme realism, combined with barrenness of thought, poverty of ideas, and absence of true feeling. Jean Léon Gérôme (1824-1904) with his bold seeking for historical episodes of thrilling interest, often tending to a somber delineation of the dark side of humanity—as in his Gladiators in the Arena, scenes of Turkish tyranny, and the like—or with an occasional touch of voluptuous allusion—as in the Phryne before her Judges, Cleopatra brought to Cæsar, and the like—calls forth only a cold admiration by the masterly technical perfection of his dainty, almost too carefully polished pictures (see the second part of this chapter). Alexander Cabanel (1825-1889), eminent as a portrait

Fig. 643. Evening. (Jules Adolphe Bréton.)

painter, has little thought behind his compositions of nude goddesses. The famous Paul Baudry (1828-1886) named in the second part of this chapter, had painted before 1860 the Fortune in the Luxembourg and the execution of the Vestals in the Lille Museum.

Pierre Charles Comte (born 1815?-1823?) proves himself a clever colorist in his historical genre paintings. But all these, and many other artists, have been surpassed by two painters of peasant life, who unite depth of sentiment, truth of expression, simple naturalness, and broad, free handling of their subject, in a result of rare power. These are Jules Adolf Bréton (1827—) and Jean François Millet (1815-1875). Bréton delineates with unsurpassed truth such scenes

MILLET

"THE GLEANERS," FROM THE PAINTING IN THE LOUVRE, PARIS

as country-people at work in the fields, girls weeding, harvesters, girls feeding turkeys, the return from the harvest-field, etc.; or religious festivals, such as his Procession with the Crucifix, and the Blessing of the Harvest—all showing a strong sense of beauty, with great *naïveté* of conception (see Fig. 643). Millet, in whom one misses the feeling for grace and beauty in the ordinary sense, but who makes up for the deficiency in an almost religious earnestness and chaste simplicity, and a depth and glow of color not common in French art, has gone further into the life of the peasant than any other artist, and has known how to represent in a poetical way dull, continuous labor.

Fig. 644. The Dance of the Nymphs. (J. B. Camile Corot.)

French art appears constantly to gain in freshness by the study of nature, as is evident from its landscape painting. A few artists follow that ideal style of landscape which seeks beauty in the truth of form and thorough modeling which they know how to secure, like Jean Paul Flandrin (1814-1864), Felix Hippolyte Lanoue (1812-1872), and François Louis Français (1814—), Jean Baptiste Camille Corot (1796-1875), with his pictures enveloped in a silvery haze, rejects detail, and seeks effects of dawn—the pale yellow sky behind sombre masses of foliage (see Fig. 644). The greater

number reject all richness of outline, and turn all their powers to the reflection of atmospheric effects and conditions of light, amid the simplest scenery and in simple, every-day truth; though masters like Charles François Daubigny (1817-1878), Pierre Étienne Théodore Rousseau (1812-1867), and Jules Dupré (1812-1889) have attained to a height of effect in this direction which, acting like a charm upon the unadorned portrayal of Nature in her homeliest aspects, invests it with a true poetic beauty. Animal painting has also been worthily represented by one of the greatest masters of the craft, Constant Troyon (1810-1865), who is also a landscapist of power; his excellence in both respects is plainly marked in his picture of oxen going to work (see Fig. 645). In a lower rank, but still worthy of great respect

Fig. 645. Oxen Going to Work. (Constant Troyon.)

and admiration, are Jacques Raymond Brascassat (1804-1867) and Marie-Rosa Bonheur (1822-99) of whom there is mention below; and, finally, Gustave Courbet (1819-1878), bold and almost reckless realist, was most successful in his landscapes, which are noble and powerful works, as in his painting Le Retour de la Conférence. We have to name, very briefly, a few workmen in black and white, better known in that way, though often skilled in painting as well. Gustave Doré (1833-1883) must be noted as a most brilliant interpreter of fantastical poetry and legend, decidedly his best creations being imaginative subjects and landscape, such as his illustrations to Dante's Inferno and "Don Quixote"; also the grotesque but powerful

designs for the Legend of the Wandering Jew and Balzac's Contes Drolatiques; while, on the contrary—as in his fairy-tales and Bible illustrations—he becomes almost unbearably vapid, and devoid of style. As for the rest, illustration in France has a humorous and satirical vein—Granville (1813-1847), Gavarni, properly G. S. Chevallier (1810-1866), Bertall (with La Comédie de notre Temps) Tony Johannot (1803-1852) being its chief piquant and clever contributors, not without a strong leaning toward caricature.

Switzerland, too, boasts of a master of landscape in the Genevese Alexandre Calame, famous for his masterly skill in the representation of the grand Alpine scenery of his native mountains; while in Böcklin of Basle (born 1827) we have an exceptionally fine ideal delineator of Southern nature, with his glorious color tones and poetic apprehension. He, in his figure compositions, like the frescos in the Basle Museum, the Schack Gallery at Munich, and the National Gallery in Berlin, reveals a fancy often imposing, occasionally, however, digressing into the bizarre. Stückelberg, of the same city, is known as a talented painter of idyllic village scenes, both native and Italian. Alfred de Meuron is an admirable painter of Swiss landscape; and Rudolph Koller, of Zurich, is one of the most gifted of animal painters, especially noteworthy for his appreciation of the endless manifestations of animal life, and the characteristic delicacy and vigorous naturalness with which he grasps and fixes them.

Two ancient centers of great schools of painting, after having languished long in the slavery of a soulless mannerism, and, later, of an equally deplorable pseudo-classicism, have again attained a new and vigorous life by devoting themselves to a sincere study of nature upon the basis of the modern French school. The first is Italy, where the historical spirit seems to have been intensified by the recent great political revolutions; so that very many artists eagerly find subjects for their pencil in the past history of their own country. Among them, we should mention the talented Stefano Ussi of Florence (1822 —), the Venetians Antonio Zona (1810 —), Molmenti, Puccinelli, and Rafaello Gianetti; and, further, Focosi, who died young in 1869, and the Neapolitan Domenico Morelli. They all possess in common a vigorous sense of color more or less perfectly developed. Francesco Hayez (1792 —), on the other hand, is preëminent in his handling of subjects of a loftier ecclesiastical and historical character.

A similar change is also apparent in Spain, where, in the early decades of the century, the original and talented but eccentric Francisco Goya (1746-1828)* exercised a controlling influence in art by

*Le Baron Roger Portalés, "Les Dessinateurs d'Illustration au dix-huitième Siècle"; 2 vols.

his numerous and varied works, always pictorially conceived, and sometimes sharply satirical. He is celebrated also for the very curious prints from his engraved plates. Among the younger generation we should at least name Rosalez, Antonio Gisbert, and Eduardo Cano of Seville, in the department of history; Escosura and Luis Ruiperez; and Palmaroli and Gonzalva, two admirable painters of architectural interiors. But above all Fortuny (1838-1874), named in the second part of this chapter. His work is based upon French practice, but has a peculiar brilliancy of coloring: and he loved to paint scenes of North Africa and the East with brilliant Oriental costume and accessories. He also made some powerful soft-ground etchings.

In Belgium modern realism has gained an absolute victory, and has exercised an immense influence even over German painting, ever since, in the year 1843, Louis Gallait's (1810-1887) Abdication of Charles V., and E. de Biefve's (1808-1882) so-called Compromise of the Netherland Nobility, created such an unparalleled sensation in Germany. In these pictures the complete power of realistic representation, the irresistible force of an historical moment grasped and fixed with a lifelike and convincing vigor of representation, is shown most strikingly, supported by a strength and fullness of characterization, by a triumphant daring and brilliant certainty of coloring, which had seemed to be one of the lost arts since the days of the great masters of the seventeenth century. Modern historical painting undeniably received an important impulse from these pictures, which marked an epoch in art, although but one of the artists, Louis Gallait—in the Brussels Municipal Guard before the Corpses of Egmont and Horn, in the Last Moments of Egmont, in Jeanne La Folle over the Body of her Husband, in the Sclav Musicians (better known as Art and Liberty)—was able not only to insure his reputation for the future, but to fix it upon a firmer basis. Side by side with these masters we should mention, as representatives of the same style, Gustav Wappers (1803-1874)—the Burgomaster Van der Werff, the Parting of Charles I. from his Children, etc.—and Nicaise de Keyser—Battle of Worringen, Battle of Courtray, Emperor Max in Memling's Studio, Justus Lipsius before the Archduke Albert, and the Giaour. Among Belgian genre painters of the first rank are Jean Auguste Henri Leys (1815-1869) in Antwerp, remarkable for his masterly studies of the popular life of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, especially of the reformers, executed with entire historical accuracy; Alfred Stevens (1817-1875), whose elegant paintings of scenes in modern social life entitle him to a high position; Florent Willems (1823 or 24 —), who excels in representations of persons in the costume of the seventeenth century, reproducing the stuffs most bril-

liantly; while Theodore Fourmois (1814-1871), De Knyff, and Lamorinière are prominent among landscape painters, and Eugène Verboeckhoven of Brussels among painters of animals.

In Holland, on the other hand, there is a marked tendency toward the painting of landscape and cattle pieces, in which we may recognize a healthful connecting link with the old school. Here we may mention B. C. Koekkoek (1803-1862) of Cleves, with his fresh landscapes; De Haas, whose pictures of animals are forcibly painted, and striking in their truth to nature; Willem Roelofs (1822 —), Gabriel, and Maeten, whose landscapes are full of delicate sentiment; and Martinus Kuytenbrower (1816 —), the painter of hunting scenes. Josef Israels (1824 —) is distinguished for genre paintings of powerful sentiment and skillful effects of color. But the most eminent artist in this branch is Laurens (in England called Laurence) Alma Tadema (1836 —), with his delicately finished works, reproductions of classic life and of Oriental antiquity. These two last-named painters are better known for their work in England, where they were welcomed.

England witnessed a brilliant development of the art of painting; though it acquired here more entirely than in any other country the character of individual ability and production, not forming even a local school, yet without gaining through this fact any intrinsic unity. Sir Henry Raeburn (1756-1823), the greatest painter of Scotland, must be named here, although living and working also in the eighteenth century. His style was formed under the same influences which formed the manner of Gainsborough. Raeburn, indeed, ranks with Gainsborough as a portrait painter of the same class and character; but his most important paintings are later than 1790. He was a portraitist of the first rank. Henry Fuseli (1741-1825) and John Opie (1761-1807) were painters who had excellent theories of painting which they taught in words and tried to practice; but they had little technical power, nor was there a serious demand upon the artists of their time for important work of any sort. Until a time later than 1860, no heed was given to great historical painting or monumental composition; except as in the attempt to decorate the Westminster Palace, especially the Queen's robing-room, the Royal Gallery which leads to the House of Peers, and the House of Peers itself with its corridors and lobbies. These are felt to be very deficient, considered as mural paintings in a national building. In fact, the period from 1810 to 1860 was so devoid of significant work in historical painting that the people of the Continent were excusable in assuming that there was no English school of art. It was in landscape alone that the English school was strong during this period. Boning-

ton and Constable were known to a few French landscape painters, but to them alone. In later years an effort was made to open a more extended field to historical painting, especially in the extensive decoration of public buildings. George Frederick Watts (1818 —) has devoted himself to work of this class, and Frederick Leighton (1830-1896) should also be mentioned; their most important work being named in Part II. of this chapter. The departments of genre, landscape, portrait, and animal painting, were, however, far more sedulously and successfully cultivated; and in her admirably developed school of water colors, England has attained to a quite unrivaled degree of perfection. Selecting from among the great army of able artists the most notable instances of characteristic workers in the principal schools, we shall only mention Sir Charles Eastlake (1793-1865), whose style was formed after the masterpieces of Italian and especially Venetian art; David Wilkie (1785-1841), the delineator of Scotch and English life; C. R. Leslie (1794-1859), the admirable humorist; John Constable (1776-1837), a landscape painter who was one of the sincerest lovers of out-of-door nature, and who possessed great power over wide panoramic views; William Clarkson Stanfield (1793-1867), also a landscapist who used a singularly romantic turn of mind to make his pictures more attractive to the public; and J. M. W. Turner (1780-1851), famous for his brilliant effects of light, but whose later landscapes are remarkable for neglect of positive form, seeking to express effects of mist and cloud, and often falling into errors of drawing and perspective. Turner is the most powerful and most versatile of landscape painters, and also one of the least realistic of them all; a naturally great composer of landscape form. The pictures of his later time are those which give the most delight to his sincere admirers. The Slave Ship, now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, was exhibited in 1839. The Fighting Téméraire was exhibited in 1840. The Sun of Venice going to Sea was exhibited in 1843. In all these the purpose and artistic effort of the painter is in the painting of mist and cloud often made brilliant by the colors of sunset. Careful drawing of objects is ignored, and splendid effects of vague appearance delight the lover of colors and composition used absolutely and for their own sake. His great work in etching by his own hand and in mezzotint done from his drawings by himself or by others, is the Liber Studiorum, a collection of about eighty noble prints.

A curious antiquarian tendency combined with great intensity of feeling was adopted by the school of the pre-Raphaelites without attaining to any lasting effect. Ford Madox Brown (1821-93) may be thought the originator of this school; John Everett Millais (1829-

JOHN CONSTABLE

"THE HAY WAIN"

FROM THE PAINTING IN THE NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON

96) belonged to it, but soon returned to a more usual conception. Dante Gabriel Rosetti (1828-82) must also be particularly named in this connection; and William Holman Hunt (1827 —) was the most stanch and consistent of the whole number. Millais, Rosetti, and Hunt were members about 1849 of the very small body calling themselves the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood; but James Collinson, Frederick Sandys (1832 —), Arthur Hughes (1832 —), and several less-known painters took up and continued the system; which was further developed by Edward Burne-Jones and gradually passed away except for a slight general influence about 1875. Many of these men are mentioned in Part II. of this chapter.

Among the great number of landscape painters—who generally do not belong to the ideal school, though often conveying a pure poetic feeling by their faithfulness of delineation and delicacy of tone—we may specify H. MacCulloch (1805-1867) and P. Graham (1836- —), excellent in the delineation of Scotch landscape. There is, however, no single prominent interpreter of classic landscape. Sir Edwin Landseer (1802-1873) as a painter of animals has no equal among the artists of our day for close observation, delicate characterization, and vivacity of expression; he has also a strong sense of landscape. His sympathy with animals, expressed without the attribution to them of human thought or feeling, is seen in the picture of the Newfoundland dog distinguished as a life-saver, and especially in the painting of the collie sitting beside his master's coffin.

The distinct predilection for home life, the representation of its own people and its own land, is an especially noteworthy feature of English art, since the English nation is, without doubt, fonder of travel than any other European people; while among the French, on the contrary, who travel but seldom, painting selects its subjects from all quarters of the globe. From among the remaining English painters of distinction, we may mention, further, W. Mulready (1786-1863), with his vigorously composed pictures of child life; W. P. Frith (1819 —), who borrows his material from the poetic works of Shakespeare, Goldsmith, and Molière; Frank Stone (1800-1859) and George Cattermole (1800-1868), noted especially for their scenes from romance; Thomas Faed (1826-1900), with his freshly painted genre scenes; A. Elmore (1815-1881) and Philip Calderon (1833-98), who are talented painters of historical subjects, though rendering them rather in the tone and character of genre pictures; and John Phillip (1817-1867), a powerfully realistic colorist.

Whatever artists of high rank are found in Denmark show the influence of the German school, rather than the stamp of any national characteristic. An original artist of keen power of characterization,

aiming chiefly at uncouth drollery, which reminds one of Hogarth, is Wilhelm Marstrand (1810-1873), who borrowed his subjects especially from the popular comedies of Holberg. Frau Elisabeth Jerichau (1825-1881) is distinguished for the realistic force of her strong and masculine figure pieces; Johann Exner (1825 —) and Johann Wilhelm Gertner (1818-1871) are eminent for fresh genre pictures, C. F. Soerensen and Antoine Melbye (1822-1875) for excellent marines, and Christian Gottfred Rump (1816-1880) and Kjeldrup for landscape.

The peninsula of Scandinavia, too, has an offshoot of the German schools; and her chief masters, Adolph Tidemand (1814-1876), Hans Gude, and Leu, have already been named in connection with these. We will add especially F. J. Fagerlin (1825 —), with his humorously painted village scenes; August Jernberg (1826 —), who also paints peasant life; Jean Frederic Höckert (1826-1867), with his well-conceived Lapland scenes; and finally, from among the numerous landscape painters, Knuth Baade (1808-1879), Morton Müller, John Frederick Eckersberg (1822-1870), and Johann Nielson.

North America began with the century to take a spontaneous part in this art movement; and in natural sympathy with the mother country its art had issued forth from English painting, even in the eighteenth century. First must here be mentioned John Singleton Copley, born 1737 in Boston, and died 1815 in London, who especially—in pictures like the Death of Lord Chatham, Charles I. in the House of Commons, Destruction of the Floating Batteries before Gibraltar—devoted himself to scenes from English history. Benjamin West is named in the section on England. Washington Allston (1779-1843), on the other hand, who proceeded from the school of Reynolds, took his subject-matter mainly from the Old Testament, and his merit was shown in excellent glowing color. Gilbert Charles Stuart (1754-1828), who had studied under Benjamin West, distinguished himself as a portrait painter, especially by portraits of Washington. Among the genre painters Gilbert Stuart Newton (1795-1835) deserves mention for his paintings after Shakespeare and from the "Vicar of Wakefield." Miniature painting was practiced especially by Edward J. Malbone (1775-1807). The historical field was cultivated by John Trumbull (1756-1843), who in the War of Independence served as an aide-de-camp to Washington, then studied his art under Benjamin West, and painted not only portraits of the champions of liberty, but also momentous historic incidents, like the Battle of Bunker Hill and the Death of Montgomery at Quebec. In later times there was a leaning toward the German schools.

Emmanuel Leutze (1816-1868), celebrated among the artists at Düsseldorf, was eminent in the way of a semi-German American artist for ten years before his death.

Thomas Cole (1801-1848) is important in the early history of landscape painting in the United States; and he was followed by more accomplished men, notably J. F. Kensett (1818-1873), Sandford R. Gifford (1823-1880), Jervis McEntee (1828 —) and Frederick E. Church (1826-1900), who, like Gifford, painted little during his later years. Worthington Whittredge (1820—), Wordsworth Thompson (1840-96), and Jasper F. Cropsey (1823-1900) were of this school. William Morris Hunt (1824-1879) was a painter of figures, portraits, and important historical pieces, in the spirit of his master Couture. Eastman Johnson (1824 —) has a charming gift for scenes of domestic life.

In Germany it was impossible for painting to find material for a genuine, vigorous, and lasting progress in the ancient cycle of thought and the classical method of treating form. It is absolutely essential that this most truly modern of all the arts should have new subjects, and should gain its support from the popular life about it. Such support was especially furnished it in Germany by the growth of that national, patriotic spirit manifested so nobly during the wars of Liberation (1813-15). The strong and earnest efforts of the Romantic school, which were called forth by this spirit, communicated the new impulse to painting also, revealed to it the significance of the national life, and opened the long perspective of a noble past, which now for the first time, glorified by the light of poetry, shone forth in incomparable beauty.

At the time of this great revolution there chanced to be collected in Rome a group of brilliant artists—men fairly intoxicated with their youthful enthusiasm—who sought to aid each other in studies which had a common basis and similar aims. They were Peter Cornelius (1787-1866), of Düsseldorf; Frederick Overbeck (1789-1869), of Lübeck; Philip Veit (1793-1878), of Frankfort, and Wilhelm Schadow (1789-1862), of Berlin. United by the same national motive, they studied the famous frescos painted during the golden age of Italian art, which illustrate so conspicuously the power of elevated and noble monumental painting. They were given an opportunity to embody their theories in practice in 1816, when the Prussian consul Bartholdi commissioned them to illustrate the history of Joseph in a series of frescos in his residence on the Pincian Hill—a house which is now called Casa Zuccaro, but from which these frescos have been removed to the Berlin Museum. Shortly afterwards, Julius Schnorr von Karolsfeld (1794-1872), Philip

Veit (see above), Joseph Anton Koch (1768-1839), Frederick Overbeck (see above), and Joseph Führich (1809-1876) executed a second series of frescos, illustrating Dante's "Divine Comedy," Ariosto's "Orlando Furioso," and Tasso's "Jerusalem Delivered," in the Casino of the Villa Massimi. The history of modern German art opens with these two important creations, some portions of which are of permanent value.

Painting here once more displayed a profounder thoughtfulness, and assumed a severer form and a monumental importance. These pictures were the beginning of a movement toward profundity of thought which had to be expressed even at the cost of artistic excellence. The interest in these paintings and their successors has disappeared even in Germany, for the greatly superior artistic quality of more recent painting makes them appear thin and cold. When, afterwards, the different artists returned to Germany, they transplanted the seed of this new life into the soil of their fatherland, where it was destined to bloom in the most varied forms. Overbeck alone remained in Rome, forsaking his country and his faith, and abandoning in his subsequent style the teachings and practice of the modern school. Since the position thus assumed by him forms a singular anachronism in the art of our time, we must devote a moment here to a special examination of it and its results. His world is exclusively that of the religious ideas of the Middle Ages; his sentiment, that of a new Fra Giovanni da Fiesole, of whom, however, he had not the beautiful coloring nor the lovely traditional design. He spurns as heresy whatever goes beyond the point of view of the fourteenth century, or leans at all toward realism, or strives for a more perfect representation of form than was attained by the artists of that time. In many of his works there are undoubtedly expressed a real sentiment and a profound piety; as in the Entry of Christ into Jerusalem, and in the Entombment, which belong to the Church of S. Mary at Lübeck. His drawings of the life of Christ are also conceived with the same deep feeling. In other works—as in the Triumph of Religion, in the Städel Museum at Frankfort—the literary element is brought forward too prominently to allow a clear impression to remain in the mind.

Philip Veit and Edward Steinle (1810-1886) of Frankfort are the best known among the other disciples of this method, who are generally called the "Nazarenes."

Other artists who devote their attention especially to religious painting have endeavored to combine in it the results of a more liberal conception of nature with a thorough mastery of technique. Among these are Joseph Führich (1800-1876) and Leopold Kuppelweiser

(1796-1862), in Vienna, both of whom were employed on the frescos in the Altlerchenfelder Church; also Heinrich Hess (1798-1863) and Johann von Schraudolph (1808-1879), in Munich: the former of whom is well known for his frescos in the Basilica of S. Boniface and the Palace Chapel, in Munich; the latter for his decorative painting in the Cathedral of Speyer. An artist of more varied achievement in the department of monumental painting is Bernhard Neher, born in Biberach in 1806, and actively employed in Stuttgart up to 1846. He also, in the beginning of his career, was a painter of religious subjects; but he entered upon a wider field in 1832, when he executed the frieze on the Isar Gate at Munich, representing the triumphal entry of the Emperor Louis of Bavaria, the cartoon of which is in the Museum at Weimar. In the paintings executed by him in 1836, in the Schiller Room and the Goethe Room in the Ducal Castle at Weimar, which contain scenes from the works of the two poets, he has again shown himself to be one of our most excellent painters in fresco, and has displayed anew a lofty sense of beauty and great creative power. The same qualities, united to a lofty religious sentiment, reappear in the paintings on glass in the Collegiate Church at Stuttgart, which were executed after his cartoons.

Joseph Anton Gegenbauer (1800-1876) has also proved himself an admirable fresco painter in the pictures illustrating the history of Württemberg, with which he has decorated several apartments in the Palace at Stuttgart. Finally, the Düsseldorf artist, Ernst Deger, born in 1809, should be included here. With the assistance of Charles Müller (1815—?), Andreas Müller (1811—?) and Franz Ittenbach (1813-1879), he executed the frescos in the Apollinaris Kirche at Remagen.

In the works of these men religious painting has undoubtedly considerably increased in scope and importance in Germany; but only a small number out of the great mass of such productions show any individuality of conception or living sentiment.

Peter Cornelius,* however, developed into one of the most vigorous of all the German artists. He struck a genuinely national note in his illustrations for Goethe's "Faust" and for the Niebelungen Lied (see Fig. 646) both as to his choice of subjects and the form of representation, and showed himself a follower of that true German art which was so richly and gloriously illustrated in Albert Dürer. A new era in the history of art in Germany seemed to begin, when, after a long sojourn in Rome, he was recalled to Düsseldorf (in 1820) as di-

* Hermann Riegel, "Cornelius, der Meister der deutscher Malerei"; Hanover, 1866-70. Alfred von Wolzogen, "Peter von Cornelius"; Berlin, 1867. Ernst Förster, "Peter von Cornelius, ein Gedenkbuch aus seinem Leben und Werken"; Berlin, 1874.

rector of the Academy there, and when, later (in 1825), he was placed by King Louis at the head of the Academy of Munich. In his extensive frescos in the Glyptothek he endeavored to set forth the glories of the ancient world of Teutonic heroes. In the Loggia of the Pinakothek he set forth the whole history of Christian art in a spirit of vigorous simplicity, with care for architectonic grouping, and in a graceful, spirited arrangement. In the series of pictures in the Lud-

Fig. 646. The Death of Siegfried. (Cornelius.)

wigskirche he embodied the leading ideas of Christian theology, extending from the Creation of the World to the Last Judgment. The above-named work is all in Munich. When Frederick William IV. came to the throne, Cornelius was invited to Berlin in order to decorate the newly erected royal mausoleum with frescos; and here, although now well advanced in years, he began that great series of compositions in the Campo Santo in which he once more gives, and

with new force, the whole story of the world as Christianity teaches it: the Redemption from Sin through the Life and Death of Christ, the Progress of the Church upon Earth, and the End of all Things, the Destruction of the Body, and the Resurrection from the Dead unto Everlasting Life—all told in works of too great formality, and cold and valueless coloring, but marked by deep thought, and full of a profound sense of religion and of moral height. If Cornelius did not always maintain in his treatment of form the height he reached in the Göttersaal of the Glypothek in Munich; if painting in its truest sense—the mastery over color—may be said to have lain outside of his domain; yet these are defects which cannot detract from his real merit.

The Munich school derived its preference for the delineation of what is strong and striking, the prominence which it gave to beauty of line, to architectonic harmony, and vigorous development of form, from the ideal art of this master. King Ludwig I. of Bavaria directed this general tendency toward definite goals, and opened a wide field for its action in a series of important commissions. Besides the series of religious pictures already mentioned, which Heinrich Hess executed in the Basilica and in the Palace Chapel, Julius Schnorr (1794-1872) painted for some of the apartments of the palace the histories of Charlemagne, of Frederick Barbarossa, and of the fabled heroes of the Niebelungen Lied, in a number of large works marked by vitality of conception and poetic force, however lacking in technical power. Other apartments were painted, by the king's orders, with illustrations of the works of the famous German poets; and even landscape painting—a novelty in art as applied to public or monumental purposes—was introduced into the pictures which Karl Rottman (1798-1850) executed in the arcades of the Hofgarten on the north side of the palace. These pictures, although painted expressly for the open-air situation, have not been permanent, and they have been restored by Leopold Rottman. The attempt to represent famous historical sites was so intelligent and the work was so decorative that their decay is to be regretted. Alfred Rethel (1816-59), an artist who died early, and who possessed a high order of talent, should be mentioned in this connection. He studied first in Düsseldorf, and afterwards in Frankfort; and is more closely allied in his style to Cornelius than to any other artist, as is shown in his broadly and strongly composed scenes from the life of Charlemagne in the Council House at Aix-la-Chapelle, and also in his no less remarkable water-color drawings of the March of Hannibal. He is popularly known by his vigorous and sincere woodcuts, the Dance of Death (see Fig. 647), and the two still finer ones named Death the Destroyer and

Death the Friend. An equally important artist is Anselm Feuerbach (1829-1880), a true classicist, the author of the famous Supper of Plato, the subject being taken from the dialogue called "The Symposium." His removal to Vienna and his later life is described in Part II. of this chapter.

Among the pupils of Cornelius there was but one who was capable of giving a new and original stamp to the ideal style; and this was Wilhelm Kaulbach (born in 1804 at Arolsen, died 1874), who studied under Cornelius's guidance, first in Düsseldorf, and then in Munich. The most brilliant feature in the character of this painter is his genius for satire, which he develops in his illustrations to the

Fig. 647. From the Dance of Death. (Rethel.)

Reineke Fuchs. Among the historical and symbolic representations which he designed for the great staircase (Treppenhaus) of the Museum at Berlin, the most prominent is the Battle of the Huns (see Fig. 648), in which the dead bodies strew the plain, while the released spirits strive in mid air. The Building of the Tower of Babel is rich in strong characterization and original grouping; the Reformation gives an effective group of figures; but the work is that of slighter intellect than that of Cornelius—of one who, without more color or more artistic charm, had less of importance to say. In the remaining pictures, particularly the Golden Age of Greece, the Destruction of

Jerusalem, and the Crusades, the artist has allowed his imagination to run riot too unrestrainedly in the arbitrary confusion of historical, symbolic, legendary, and realistic elements, thereby destroying the concentration of the whole, and causing its characteristic features to fade gradually into mere conventionality. His conceptions of Shakespeare's and Goethe's heroines also betray too little earnestness, too little deep study of the poet's meaning, and suggest too decided an inclination to coquetry and theatrical attitudes, to impress us as the work of pure art. Later designs, like the colossal painting of the Battle of

Fig. 648. The Battle of the Huns. (Wilhelm von Kaulbach.)

Salamis for the Maximilianeum at Munich (of which there is a sketch in colors in the Stuttgart Gallery), exhibit his power of figure drawing; but even here he does not succeed in throwing off his earlier tendency to what is merely externally effective. He cannot draw rapid movement or violent action.

Among the artists of Munich, Buonaventura Genelli (1800-1868) is the representative of a strictly classical tendency, which he especially embodies in his drawings, full of poetic force and often ex-

quisite beauty of outline, though undoubtedly containing all sorts of conventional singularities (see Fig. 649). On the other hand, Moritz von Schwindt (1804-1871), an artist who was also eminent rather for his talented drawings than for his paintings, inclined toward a romantic style, full of fanciful vigor, and the charming fervor of genuine German sentiment, which appears most strongly in his pictures from the fairy-tale of the Seven Ravens, and in his legend of the Fair Malusina. Among his monumental works we may name especially his frescos in the Wartburg, particularly the scenes from the life of St. Elizabeth, and the Works of Mercy; and also his more recent compositions, illustrating Mozart's "Zauberflöte" in the Opera-

Fig. 649. Cupid and the Tigress. (Genelli.)

House at Vienna. His very numerous illustrations, generally in wood engraving, are injured by the very faulty system of light and shade, as if the whole were carved in some white material, and exposed to an electric light.

A second nursery of German painting was formed in Düsseldorf, whose academy took a new impulse under Wilhelm Schadow, about 1826. While the Munich school developed a high ideal style in monumental themes, in which depth of thought, architectonic arrangement, beauty of outline, and severity of drawing preponderated, the school of Düsseldorf found itself limited more especially to easel pic-

tures, and devoted itself rather to the refinements and sentiment of art, seeking to emphasize these traits in a careful and minute study of nature and in a delicate perfection of coloring. If the Munich school cultivated an almost sculpturesque character, it may be said that that of Düsseldorf displayed a taste akin to that of a musician. If this aspiration became merged in effeminacy and sentimentality during the political stagnation of the time, and in a middling provincial town, just as Munich art occasionally degenerated into a species of showy declamation, this fact should not be harshly judged,

Fig. 650. The Preaching of the Hussite. (Lessing.)

since the very enthusiastic recognition which the Düsseldorf pictures met with at that day is a proof of their significant position in the development of modern art. The visionary tone which predominates in the most famous pictures of this school—for instance, in the Preaching of the Hussite (Fig. 650) and Mourning Sovereigns, by C. F. Lessing (1808-1880); the Lamentation of the Jews, by Edward Bendemann (1811-1889); the Two Leonoras, by Karl Sohn (1805-1867); the Sons of Edward, by Theodore Hildebrandt (1804-1874); and the Fishermen, by Julius Hüb-

ner (1806-1882)—was a natural result of the conditions of the time; but its devotion to nature marked an epoch in the history of modern art. At the same time this school was the first to adopt a free and unconstrained rendering of the simple conditions of real life, calling forth a new development of genre painting, in which the more conspicuous artists are Adolph Schrödter (1805-1875), a satirist and humorous designer, best known by his work published in the form of engraving; Jacob Becker (1810-1872), with his striking scenes from village life; Karl Hübner (1797-1831), with his effective treatment of subjects drawn from the social life of his time and from its various contrasts; Rudolph Jordan (1810-1887), and Henry Ritter (1816-1853), with their fresh delineations of the life of the North German fishermen; the Norwegian, Adolph Tidemand (1814-1876), with his poetic and deep emotional scenes from the peasant life of his native land; and Johann Peter Hasenclever (1810-53), with his humorous rendering of bourgeois life and habits. Among the younger generation, Ludwig Knaus (born 1829 at Wiesbaden) has proved himself one of the most successful delineators of simple emotion, as is shown in the second part of this chapter.

In Berlin, painting assumed the same general style as in Düsseldorf, with a similar tendency toward the genre and romantic styles, but with less significant and radical results. There being no opportunity here, any more than in Düsseldorf, for the exercise of the art on public monumental works, it was limited here, as there, to easel paintings; with this difference that, though not wanting in excellent and gifted artists, their work takes the form of so many isolated efforts, instead of being organized in the pursuit of a common aim. While Carl Wilhelm Kolbe (1781-1853) drew his subjects from the realm of romance, Wilhelm Wach (1787-1845) confined himself particularly to religious historical painting; A. von Klöber (1793-1864) preferred the bright regions of classic mythology; and Carl Begas (1784-1855) did not limit himself to any one department, but ranged with his versatile genius over many different fields of work.

Besides these, Friedrich Krüger (1797-1857) is eminent as a portrait painter and a most admirable painter of horses; and Eduard Magnus (1799-1872) is an excellent portrait painter, especially famed for portraits of richly dressed ladies. Among historical painters of this school, Carl Schorn (1803-1850) was the first to become distinguished for his remarkable ability in powerful composition and striking expression. Clever and spirited, though often harshly realistic in his severity of treatment, Adolph Menzel (1815—), has devoted himself to painting scenes from the life and times of Frederick the Great, presenting them very strongly and vividly, not only

in his illustrations to Kugler's history of the famous monarch, but also in such important paintings, as the Round-Table and the Concert at Sans-Souci, the Surprise at Hochkirche, etc. Besides such representations, he shows an unrivaled force and vividness in his varied scenes from the life of the present. This remarkably gifted and versatile artist is also mentioned in the second part of this chapter. Julius Schrader (1817—) succeeds in giving his historical representations the charm of a strong and brilliant coloring, and belongs, besides, to the most eminent portrait painters of our day.

Landscape painting has also played an important part in the progress of German art. The awakening love of nature has everywhere made this branch of art indispensable; so that all grades of work in landscape are represented, from the strictly ideal composition to the mere view. Moreover, by the opening of the world to commerce, the horizon of the landscape painter has been so widened as to include all the zones of the earth; and his material has been enriched by an infinite variety of new forms, new impressions, and hitherto unknown effects.

The reviver of modern landscape in Germany, Joseph Anton Koch (1768-1839), went back to ideal composition as developed by Poussin, and learned to combine with it a grandiose landscape looking as if modeled or carved in the solid, and fervor of sentiment which covered and exercised the non-natural scale of the landscape. This idealistic conception—at the foundation of which lies a poetic spirit, and which seeks to produce its effects by means of grandeur of composition, noble movement of line, and the harmonious design of the whole—has found but few interpreters among modern artists. Karl Rottman (1798-1850), who is named above, succeeded in maintaining this poetic element in the grandest manner in his delineations of Greek and Italian landscapes, imparting an historical tone to his pictures by means of strong and bold outlines and characteristic effects of atmosphere and light.

Friedrich Preller of Weimar (1804-1878) carried out this ideal treatment of landscape—with equal talent and more richness and variety; with great brilliancy of fancy and genuine poetic force—in his illustrations to "The Odyssey" at the Haertel House in Leipzig and the Museum in Weimar. J. W. Schirmer, formerly of Düsseldorf, afterwards of Carlsruhe (1807-63), working in a similar style, is especially noted for a series of Biblical designs; while Wilhelm Schirmer of Berlin (1802-66), in his exquisite pictures of Southern scenery, added the enchantment of magical effects of light to the simple beauty of his drawing. Carl Blechen of Berlin, who died when quite young (1798-1840), interpreted in a truly poetic spirit

the somber tone of the Northern landscape; yet at the same time he showed a delicate perception of the beauty of the South.

What especially distinguishes these masters of idealistic landscape from those of the seventeenth century is their greater accuracy of detail, their more distinct emphasizing of that variety which is the characteristic charm of natural forms. Other masters lay greater stress upon the latter element, without, however, sacrificing the poetic tone of the whole to it. Among these, Carl Friedrich Lessing, whom we have already come to know as an historical painter, occupies a prominent place by reason of his delicacy of observation, his depth of sensibility, and his remarkable truthfulness in the reproduction of nature. The Alpine landscapes of the two Munich artists, Christian Morgenstern (1805-1867) and Heinrich Heinlein (1803-1885), possess considerable poetic force; and the works of the admirable Eduard Schleich (1812-1874), of G. Closs (1840-1870), and of Adolph Lier (1827-1882) show a fine feeling for natural beauty. Among the Düsseldorf school a similar position is occupied by August Weber (1817-1873), with his forest scenes, which are full of deep sentiment; and Oswald Achenbach (1827—), with his interesting Italian pictures; while the greater number of the rest, especially Andreas Achenbach (1815—), have represented natural scenes with a masterly realism: his long standing as a leader in landscape art, the head of his school for more than half a century, tending to make the modern observer forget the importance of this artist to the men of 1850 and thereafter. Hans Friedrich Gude, born 1825, in Norway, has been a Düsseldorf landscape painter since the middle of the century. In fact, this tendency to realism has attracted so many able artists in the course of the development of modern landscape painting that space would fail us were we to attempt to mention individual examples of the talent it has called forth. Still, one artist is particularly deserving of special remembrance: Edward Hildebrandt of Berlin (1817-68), who is named above, has treated effects of light and atmosphere in the islands of the South Sea.

We must not close this brief sketch of the art movement between 1790 and 1860 without further reference to that important branch of artistic production, the extensive application of the reproductive arts, which are cultivated to an extent not even approached in any earlier period. Not only copper and steel engraving are practiced by skilled artists; not only has the long-neglected wood-engraving been revived, and set in a place of honor, so that we owe to this craft such work as Menzel's valuable illustrations of Kugler's History of Frederick the Great, Ludwig Richter's lifelike, brilliant, and faithful representations of German domestic and popular life, the great illus-

trated Bible of Julius Schnorr, the religious drawings of J. Führich (1800-76), the masterly military pictures of Anton von Werner (1843—), Benjamin Vautier (1830—) a designer who like Knaus treats domestic and peasant scenes with a humor not quite subtle enough—too obvious and too elaborately explained,—and the interesting silhouettes of Paul Konewka (1841-1871). Of some of the above-named men there is mention below. Besides all these, lithography, the invention of Aloys Senefelder (1771-1834), which is constantly spreading in all its varied branches, particularly in the domain of chromo-lithography, had arrived at a masterly development even as early as 1860; and, finally, the list is completed with the invention of the photograph, whose power of reproduction of hand work in monochrome is leading to novel, and as yet scarcely imaginable results; to which must be added its powerful aid to archæological studies.

All this indicates plainly that the circle of those who value art, and who are beginning anew to share in its benefits, is ever growing wider and wider; and the more this growth is the fruit of the national life of any people, the greater is the necessity that it should keep its own ideal pure and true. The danger of degenerating into what is superficial, realistic, and hollow lies perilously near to our art of to-day—to painting most especially, because the tendency of the time sets so strongly toward realism; therefore it must hold fast to its immortal inheritance of an ideal, must devote itself truly and intensely to the study of life, but at the same time must endeavor to secure in its works, not the dazzling exterior of life, but the imperishable substance of it. That is its task, its vocation; that is the condition of its continuance.

It is impossible to show, in the second part of this chapter, what hope or promise there may be of the fulfillment of this condition; but this much is clear, that in order to make the realization of this task a possibility, it is absolutely necessary that art should be cherished and fostered after quite another fashion than has ever yet been attempted in modern times; and this by the state, by corporations, social institutions, and communities. Only in a great monumental art—an art which gives expression to the ideas and convictions of a whole people in a glorified image, immortalizing their deeds and setting before them their heroes of the intellect and of the sword in an imperishable form; only therein lies that deep moral power which reacts upon the national spirit with fruitful and ennobling results. It is the part of the people, from this time forth more than ever before, to demonstrate by their fostering care of the ideals they possess, and, above all,

by their encouragement of a great monumental art, that their elevation to political unity and power has not diminished, but rather heightened, their capacity for ideal creations.

Second Part—1860-1900.

The work of the epoch under consideration has been done for the most part by men still living. Even in cases where an artist has died during the last few years, his work has not yet passed into the permanent possession of the race, nor has his style been fully appreciated, nor can his influence be judged. On this account the method followed in this book can hardly be of use to us in this final chapter. It would be misleading, as well as ungracious, to characterize the work of living and producing artists.

The living artist, or he who has but recently left us, is little known by his contemporaries. His work is not in prominent and public exhibitions; his half-finished work is still concealed, much of his finest work and also much of his 'prentice work—the artistic thought of his youth and that of his maturity alike—are hidden away in private houses, and although the illustrated magazines bring to light much of this partly concealed material, it is obvious that this has been done in an uneven way with much stress laid upon one set of works or one tendency while other equally important branches of inquiry are neglected. It is only posterity that can set this right.

There are reasons why a just estimate of the art of the last forty years will always be difficult even to our children. We can see that this is a transition period, full of sharp contradictions. Since 1860 a dozen fashions in art have come into notice and have soon disappeared, leaving but little behind them except a memory. We do not know which of all these will be found to have affected the future, nor do we know which of them will interest posterity and command respect from future generations of students.

There are some reasons for being much discouraged, and those who see the possibilities only in the light of the past are ready to believe that no great artistic movement will follow from the present confusion. There are, on the other hand, some great achievements of the last thirty years, such as the bold departure of this or that sculptor, and of one or another group of painters, which achievements make the inference rather easy that from them will result directly much that is good, and indirectly more through the means of other movements starting from those which have already taken place.

The arts of past times have been the natural outgrowth of the requirements and the spirit of the time, and this development has been

in a sense unconscious. A Greek painter would sometimes paint a vase in one color, and sometimes a statue with many colors, or a part of a wall with we do not know what combination of tints. He would, of course, prefer one branch of his art to another; or, let us say, the conditions of the time, of the demands upon him taken in connection with his own tastes and training, would tend to lead him in one direction rather than another. The masterly producer of historical scenes upon a wall would be less occupied with other things, but, on the other hand, the consummate decorator of pottery of ceremonial as well as utilitarian purpose, would be less employed upon walls; and so on. Such an artist would, of course, study the works of his immediate predecessors; and again those of the earlier men of his own neighborhood, together with such works of foreigners as he could come by—usually not very many. Occasionally, such an artist would travel and would bring back experiences from distant regions. We have this process before us in the records of the lives of men of the sixteenth century. Dürer in Southeastern Germany, Rembrandt in the far Northwest of Europe, collected works of art of all sorts, and that for the evident purpose of studying them continually. Rembrandt, in especial, is the best instance we have of a collector of works of art using his possessions in the loftiest and truest manner. We do not know that Rembrandt traveled very much, but Dürer traveled far and wide, and it is a matter of surprise to see how little his work changed under the influence, first of Venice, second of the countries on the lower Rhine. But in the first place, these men were of the loftiest spirits of their time,—the first men of their time literally—the very first intelligences of the epoch, who were not of the small "noble" or arms-bearing cast, but took their natural course toward the expression of their thoughts in art. The same intelligences in our own time commonly devote themselves to money-making. In the second place, these very able and far-seeing men could receive and benefit by the influx of a thousand ideas upon art, while the vastly greater number of practicing artists, not having the opportunity to see so much, avoided the danger of being swayed from their natural artistic growth. In the third place, the great body of artists were the sons of artists. If not the sons, they were the apprentices of artists, and whether sons or apprentices, the strong influence of the schooling they had received shows itself in the very names they took, calling themselves frequently by the name rather of their master than that unto which they were born. In the nineteenth century all this has been changed. A man goes to college, to the Gymnasium, the Realschule, or the Lycée. He studies history and theories. He hesitates long as to his future career. He takes up the work of an artist at a com-

paratively mature age, and with his mind already full of the entirely non-artistic ideas given by home surroundings and by the school. Before he begins to practice art, almost as soon as he begins to study it, he finds himself surrounded by a mass of book knowledge and of theory which is much too learned for him to despise. The thought and the knowledge which is given in the language of words have possession of his mind before he has begun to consider the feeling and the knowledge expressible by the language of form, the representation of form and color.

In like manner the great extent of the modern community has changed all conditions. In the great ages of fine art, a city of four or five thousand freemen with many slaves; a city of a thousand nobles, twenty thousand burghers, and many unrecognized workpeople; a province containing these little cities of burghers, inclosed in an agricultural community gathered in villages and amounting to a hundred thousand people all told, and with the nobles scarcely in evidence: these were the nurseries of the greatest art. The vast modern urban community, containing more millions of people than the largest royal states of antiquity or of the Middle Ages, is a different world altogether when it comes to questions of fine art. And then the fact that almost every individual of that great community requires a recognition which in the artistic ages only a few could even dream of, makes the great modern social groups even more formidable than their number alone would make them. The art spirit cannot be relatively as strong in a great modern community. The people live too elaborately; they have houses of too great complexity; even the poorest family has too many utensils for all to be treated as all things were treated in the days of great fine art. The community has outgrown the art power of the community; nor will any conceivable growth of art power enable all the builders of cheap houses run up in a few months, and the planners of factory-made wooden, metallic, and pottery vessels, to make all these things tolerable in design. Decorative art, then, in the old sense, is hardly conceivable to the modern world; and the question how far this fact will sway the arts of pure expression and representation—how far painting and sculpture in the highest sense can flourish when decoration is dead—remains to be seen. The conditions are new, and we are not able to appreciate them yet.

Again, the present age is one of critical observation, and in this respect is entirely new. It has, on the one side, physical science with its discoveries and the news it has told of the constitution of the universe; and on the other side it has the spirit of investigation into the facts of antiquity; it has created the science of archæology, it pre-

sents the arts of the past to us, not as the old artistic ages saw them, dimly and rarely, but with clear vision to all those who choose to look. The enormous amount of writing in all the great modern languages devoted to the subject of the fine arts, their history and their practice, has all to be assimilated. Although much of this writing is without permanent value, yet there are valuable suggestions in the most unlikely places, and it will take years for any student to master the whole subject. Nor is it of any avail to say that we will not take this sophisticated view of fine art. We cannot, if we would, shut our eyes to our already gained knowledge. We must of necessity go on in our self-conscious way, looking as a partly instructive community with the well-informed eyes of the archæologist, and not with the unschooled memory of our ancestors, at all works of fine art.

Again, the social question comes to the fore—and this is formidable, indeed! When it was impossible for a man to raise himself above his condition except by such favor as the very great would show to the man of humble birth, the instinct to pursue art simply and along humble paths until loftier ways offered themselves was easy to follow. A painter could produce panels with coats of arms for the military men of noble birth, and devotional panels with an image of a saint or a conventionalized scene from Scriptural history for that noble's wife. With the same brush and on another panel he could produce a larger sacred picture for the convent around the corner, and with a finer pencil and more delicate touch he would paint the vellum leaves of a miniature which was in course of preparation in that convent's scriptorium. When it became the fashion to present brilliantly colored earthenware platters to ladies to whom one would do honor, the art of using fusible and vitrifiable colors was easy to learn and the painter became "a ceramic artist." Meanwhile, his brother or intimate friend would be making filigree gold coronets or, as he gained strength, would be casting and chasing delicately ornamented sacred vessels for an altar, and with the same tools, and during the same weeks, would produce a *nef,* a platter, or even a silver image without apparent purpose as a utilitarian object, and so he would work until such time as a greater opportunity was offered him and he could carve or cast a crucifix. The men whose names we know emerged one after another from this substratum of faithful workmen who had learned to model, to chisel, to cast bronze, to paint, to mix colors so that they would endure, prepare wooden panels to receive their colors, to sketch frames and arcaded backgrounds for their painted panels, which elaborate framing their friends, the carvers, would produce. The men whose names we know came one by one out of this little known body of workmen; but if we could be set down

in Athens in the fourth century B.C., or in Florence eighteen hundred years later we should find that a vast deal of admirable work was in process of production by men of whom the future was never to hear a word, and we should find, moreover, that much which has since become famous under the name of this or that admittedly great artist was really done by the apparently small artist, the unknown workman who lived and died content if he added little by little to his local fame and his annual income.

In the nineteenth century all this is done away. The young man of some opportunities, as of paternal fortune or family associations, desires above all things to retain or improve his social position. He will, perhaps, consent to put on the *sarau* or the jumper to protect his dress while he is learning his trade, but it is with the mental reservation that this is only for the moment. He has no thought of becoming what he would call "a mechanic," or of being in the practice of his profession other than one of the class of gentlemen who, in the cities, belong to Clubs and mix in what is considered elegant society. A man of less fortunate worldly position may become an operative in one of the artistic trades and that with some content, but he will of necessity become an employee working for weekly wages in a great establishment. There is absolutely no call for the independent workman. The artist who is skilled in silverware and chasing, and he who is an excellent modeller in clay are alike in demand in great establishments, and their work is not known nor asked for by the outside world. The consequence is that the skilled modeller never becomes handy in producing a cast in bronze and will have little or no practice in chiselling and finishing such a bronze when cast. And this means that the artist in the old sense exists no longer, and that the only persons who are still "artists" are the more fortunate men who obtain a certain amount of employment as painters in oil on canvases to be framed and hung in rooms, as painters on larger canvases which will be pasted to walls, as modellers of statues or busts which will be produced by other hands in marble or in bronze, or finally will be the designers of elaborate buildings and will be called architects in the special modern sense.

Concerning this peculiar modern profession of the architect, it must be pointed out that there is a special reason already alluded to, why objects of utility, from buildings to jugs, cannot be made beautiful in the old way. As long as a family thought itself comfortably furnished with a chest or two, a wardrobe, a box-bedstead, a dozen earthenware pots of different sizes, and three or four vessels of pewter or of copper, each one of those objects of utility might become a vehicle for a good deal of artistic thought. The piece would be

handed down from mother to daughter, from father to son; at all events it would be made with that possibility in mind. It was made to last, and in an artistic community it would be the object of a good deal of careful consideration as to its form and as to the little adornments that might be added to it. Now, however, when the poorest family requires two hundred utensils of one and another kind, and finds, moreover, that these utensils are furnished at an incredibly low price by great companies which make them by the thousand and force them upon the customer with favorable opportunities for immediate delivery and gradual payment, the possibility of having the common objects of life beautiful has gone. It has gone forever. At least no way has yet suggested itself for restoring the conditions which have been found favorable for decorative art. In like manner the houses are altogether too elaborate; they have to be built too quickly, and there are too many of them, representing as they do a vast proportional amount of the community's time and money, for all of them or any of them to be well designed. The only decorative art of any value in the nineteenth century is that which is produced by the recognized "artist," the highly placed, highly taught and highly paid painter or sculptor or architect, for it is to those three professions that the fine arts independently employed have been reduced.

The architect, as the chief of decorative artists, has found his occupation change in the most notable manner. The modern architect is first of all a business man, one who sees to the honest spending of large sums of his employer's money. He must be good at administration, must know how to organize things so that his client's money is spent to the best advantage, and his client's work is done with the utmost rapidity, even with the most headlong haste, in order to secure speedy returns on the investment or speedy utilization of the church or State-house proposed. Accordingly he is paid as such a business man should be paid, by a commission on the amount expended. The older architect was "master of the work" who was paid a salary and encouraged to produce the most noble results without so peremptory a demand for speed. Secondly, the architect has found it necessary to become acquainted with a great number of scientific matters of thought which did not concern his predecessors at all. He must know about scientific ventilation. Heating in an economical way is required of him, for the old fireplace and the stove made of tiles will no longer suffice. He must know about the proper installation of gas piping and electric plants. Elevators must be provided and room in the cellar for their machinery is to be allowed. Finally, and most important of all, the same family which has changed so greatly (as stated in the last paragraph in regard to its requirements for portable uten-

sils), has changed as greatly in its demands upon the planner of its house—as the larger body in the way of its church, or its public building—and a complicated and highly specialized plan is demanded, which plan is complicated further, and that to an unspeakable degree, by those very matters of heat and ventilation and the like. These the owner requires, of course, and that without realizing how greatly the chosen designer of his building is handicapped by these requirements. Nor is it merely because of their variety and diversity that these many new requirements burden the architect: they render his plans so very complex that the slight changes ordered without thought by the employer, cause endless confusion and loss of time and labor. He must be an artist indeed who will still compel his designs to become beautiful in their final result, or who can even give to them some of those artistic ideas with which he is quite aware his predecessors would have filled their work. His position, too, as a social success, as a business man, and as a person of very considerable authority over many workmen and over much money drives him to the conclusion that his income must be large, and it is incompatible with the making of a great deal of money as a practicing architect to give constant, habitual thought to the artistic side of problems brought before him.

The result of all this is that the best thought expressible in those arts that appeal to the eye is to be found in the work of the sculptor, in the modern sense of the term, of him with a studio, and north light, of him who is assumed to have been academically trained, and who is employed to produce statues, groups, busts, and bas-reliefs, and nothing else—in his work and in that of his neighbor, the painter, whose business it is to paint on walls when he can, or on large canvas to be secured to the walls by *marouflage,* who paints as willingly on small canvases which are to be framed in gold, and who never dreams of other kinds of work: and that this art work is only to be had at very high rates of payment. The modern producer of fine art must be very handsomely supported by the community; for the artist artisan who once could be had cheaply, exists no longer. And it is because of this curious modern limitation of our predications concerning fine art to the limited productions of the painter and the sculptor that all of the artist world was so enchanted by the discovery of Japanese art forty years ago. Suddenly there was revealed to us a community which still possessed a delicate art applied without discrimination to small and cheap objects, to large and costly decorative pieces and to paintings which had been preserved for a thousand years in a stately and elaborately adorned temple, itself the subject of indefinitely great and long-continued artistic thought.

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ARCHITECTURE.

In the architecture of German lands there have been no marked changes of sentiment or purpose since the period closing with 1860. The disposition to study the past and to base modern art upon it continues undiminished, and differs from that which was felt and obeyed during the first half of the century merely as one expedient is tried after another has been found unsuccessful. Of this character is the greatly increased disposition to study and imitate the work of the eighteenth century. Even the more grotesque and extravagant designs of that time have found their followers; and the graver work of what the Germans still call the Barock is constantly copied. This class of work has been abundant in Vienna, in Buda-Pest, in Prague and in other cities of Austria-Hungary: but it is also visible in North Germany. Sculpture is used abundantly and with the same decorative purpose visible in the palace fronts of these cities, as described above in Chapter VI. This tendency is well shown in the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna. There is, however, side by side with this continued copying of the past a strong disposition to employ the modern material, wrought and rolled iron in visible architectural uses. Thus the street fronts of important houses will be furnished with balconies, covered porches and the like made entirely of wrought iron in the most approved modern way, and moreover the light column of the same material is used in coupled and combined window openings to replace what would be the much heavier mullion or pier of brick or stone masonry. Much skill and ingenuity have been exhibited in forcing into service these new elements which have in themselves this great difficulty for the designer, that they give strength without bulk. The designer finds that, in his street front, he has no excuse for shutting out daylight by a heavy pier when an iron tube three inches in diameter will do the work as well. According to all the traditions in which he has been brought up, the heavy pier is needed there as a part of his possible design—a purpose which the slender metal upright cannot possibly supply. In this way the Germans certainly take the lead in our own time. More than other people they are ready to study out the new problems, and to adapt their design to their construction. The result is not always happy, but the course they have adopted is the only one possible to men filled with the artistic spirit.

Still another attempt has been made in Germany, and that with great ardor and with apparent enjoyment on the part of the designers; they have tried to apply carving in stone, and also modeling in hard plaster or stucco, to the purpose of really decorative sculpture: sometimes legendary or suggestive as well, but always strictly adapted

to their places in the building, their artistic subject being decorative forms and combinations of forms not drawn from any of the great architectural schools of the past. This kind of work has not yet reached a sufficiently great development for us to be sure that a style is growing out of it. There is not enough of it done as yet for all the examples of it taken together to form a School or Style, and we can only say that this particular piece of work and that other are promising.

In Germany there is not much doing in the way of careful reproduction of ancient forms. The different experiments in that way have come to be disregarded. The Gothic revival in its German form has not been carried to any definite result. Neither has the study of Greek art gone further. But one exceptional piece of work in a pure Greek style has been attempted, in the Parliament House of Vienna, built between 1874 and 1884 from the designs of Hansen. In the minor pieces of possible utility, the silverware, the bronzes and potteries, the appliances for electric light and the like, there has been, however, a disposition to follow the Greek example in this respect, that the human body, nude or draped, is used with but little reference to vegetable form or forms studied from the inferior animals. A decorative object of any of the kinds above alluded to may consist exclusively of a nude female figure carrying or holding or lifting; serving as a support or as the handle or as a merely decorative appurtenance. This same tendency is visible in other parts of the European world. The very fact that, as shown above, decorative art could only be produced by the highly trained "artist," leads to that artist's ignorance of the ordinary appliances of decoration and drives him into the use of that which alone he thoroughly understands among all the means that nature offers him, the human form. The use of landscape forms for decoration is quite out of his reach: his training has not given him control of flower and leaf form as for decorative purpose. He can, however, give to a modelled human figure such an attitude and pose that it aids greatly in the design of the piece which he has to make effective as an artistic unit.

In France there has been, since 1860, a marked growth of that which had earlier been a national tendency, the tendency to base architectural design upon a most careful and elaborate consideration of the Plan. To the Frenchmen of modern times, the plan is more than other schools have made it or have allowed it to become. To discover the right way of using the piece of ground allowed for the building, to decide how the subdivisions of the structure can best be accommo-

dated upon it and how these larger and smaller parts will rise into external visibility, into greater and subordinate masses—this has been the great subject of French architectural thought. This tendency is well shown in the new Hotel de Ville of Paris; in which, while the plan is most carefully worked out to serve at once many important needs, the design is very frankly studied from the old building of the reign of Henri IV., which had formed the nucleus of the edifice burned in 1871. The excellence of this system is obvious to every person who has given thought to the matter of architectural work; but in France it is a little too exclusively the object of the architectural designer. Detail is neglected and this not in the sense merely of the sculptured masses or the inlaid patterns, but in the sense of the larger parts, which though larger are still subordinate to the main mass or to the combination of masses. Thus, the exact shape of an arcade or of the different arches, columns or piers and superstructure which go to make up that arcade has not interested the French designers very much. The result of this has been buildings impressive in their masses and attractive to the faithful student in that they express without almost the whole purpose to which they are applied within, but buildings unadorned by that charm of associated minor parts in which every great style of the past has found its strength. A dignified front will be built, well spaced, well grouped, well massed, but so poor in detail that nothing but the addition to it of highly realized sculpture, statues and groups worked apart in the sculptor's studio and set up on pedestals and brackets, saves the building from monotonous dullness.

The well-known typical example of this kind of work is the Paris Opera-House (see Fig. 651), the work of Charles Garnier (1825—). In this the boldness of the designer, who tried to accommodate classic methods of design to the wholly novel plan of a great theatre, to show outside the planning of the interior, and then to increase the richness of adornment far beyond what classic tradition would allow, is most notable and praiseworthy. The lack of any true power of detailed design is, however, visible; and the substitution of fully realized sculpture, in statues and large groups, for architectural sculpture in a strict sense is characteristic of the age.

Alongside of this class of architecture, which seems to have grown up especially from the teachings and tendencies of the great Paris school known to all foreigners for its hospitable reception of pupils of all lands, without discrimination, there has been in France a great deal of independent thought embodied in building and decoration; and, as the French architects are surrounded by a far more artistic community than those of other lands, their attempts along new paths

have been less in danger of total failure. The danger is great even in France. A man who is trying to design something which is not Greek, nor Greco-Roman, nor Renaissance, nor neo-classic of any recognized epoch or country has before him a much graver task than the task of him who is seeking merely to put once more into form the traditions of such a by-gone style. The Frenchman has the difficulty, but he has also the encouragement that he cannot, if he would, disregard the artistic requirements. He is kept to them by the immense social influence telling for that which is, on the whole, good in plastic

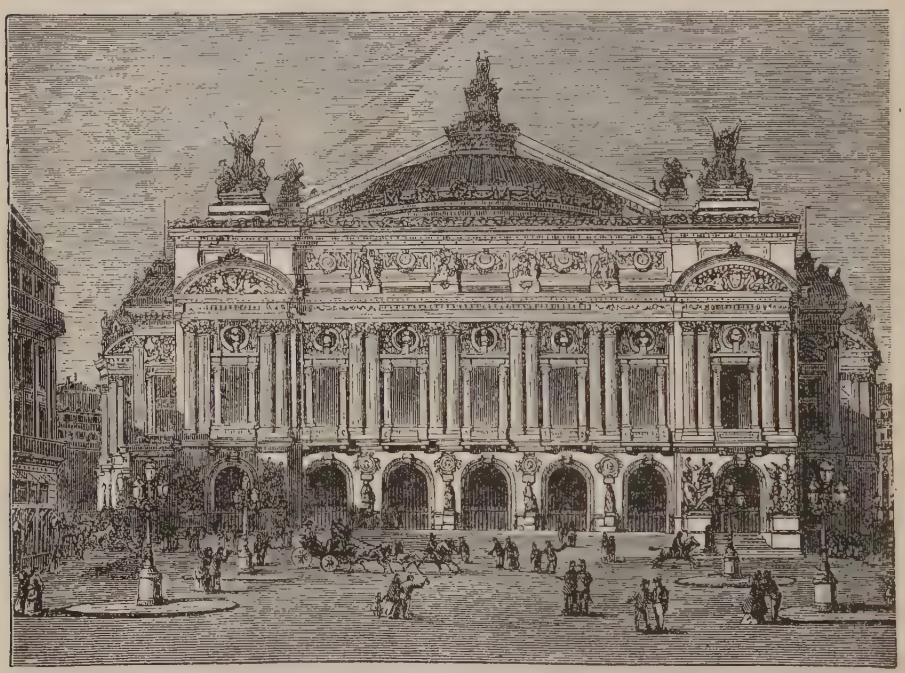

Fig. 651. Grand Opera House, Paris. (Charles Garnier.)

and graphic art. Accordingly, a building which cannot be classified as to style has a better chance of becoming a monument of art in France than elsewhere. An excellent example is the Trocadéro Palace, built before 1878 (see Fig. 652).

In France, the efforts of the archæologists who devoted themselves to mediæval art have not been more successful than in Germany, except that the few buildings with which they have had their way are better Gothic or better Romanesque as being the work of artists more fortunately situated. Some of the great ecclesiastical establishments in France have insisted upon the creation of absolutely truthful Gothic

work, its ribbed vaulting and flying buttress system complete, and its whole organism reproduced in modern forms, except that the rich and varied sculpture is barred, first, by the absence of the workmen who could produce it, and second, by the willingness of the monastic authorities themselves to follow the example of some mediæval religious associations and reduce the art to a combination of structural designing without added adornment. Thus, there can be found cloisters, refectories and churches admirable in their plan and structure, but cold when compared with the complete Gothic of the thirteenth century or of later times. Work in severely exact neo-classic

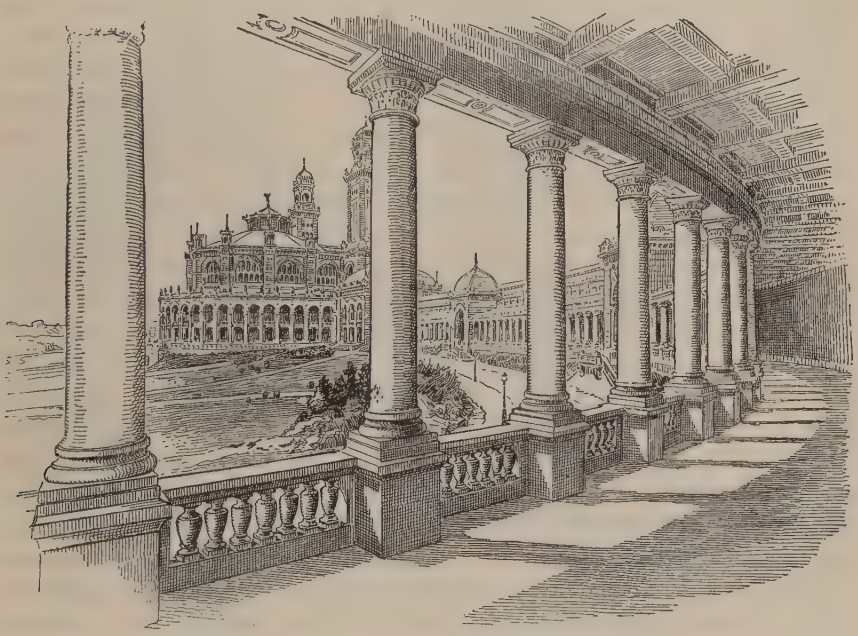

Fig. 652. Trocadéro Palace, at Paris.

styles is rare. When the artist is classically minded he takes the modified and highly specialized style spoken of above as connected in our thoughts with the École des Beaux Arts, and is content if he can guide this a little in the direction of a more classical taste, as by the addition of colonnaded porticoes and the like.

In England and Scotland the conditions have been very different. In the first place, the Gothic Revival, well begun in 1860, was seen a few years later to have failed entirely in its purpose, whether we con-

sider that purpose to be the complete replacing of English and all modern work in the old way of mediæval building, or whether it be taken as the reproduction in modern buildings of mediæval ways of work and thought. Neither of these things has happened. More buildings are built in England in other styles than Gothic—more than there are in all the different forms of Gothic together. As early as 1865 it became evident that buildings for civic and domestic purposes were not to be mediæval in their character. The Gothic Revival passed into a purely ecclesiastical movement; not quite identified with the Established Church, but very nearly so; and in that capacity it has certainly resulted in the production of some admirable monuments which, though not Gothic in any true sense of the word, are of extreme interest. It is probable that the most successful Neogothic work is that of the last ten years, the result of the labors of half a dozen architects who have found a way to create a living style from the remains of the ancient work. There is this drawback to it, that while some of these men have taken up the position that the purest style of Gothic is to be their model, others argue rather that they should begin where their ancestors stopped, namely, at the time of the destruction of the churches, or at least of their beauty and significance, in the reign of Henry VIII. That is to say, only the half of the more successful modern Gothic is based on the thirteenth century practice, that is to say, on pure, or *central* Gothic whether of Englishmen or partly also of the artists of the Continent, while the other half is based upon the strictly English style which we know as the Perpendicular, and which involves the high walls, the low-pitched roof, the square-topped tower, the four-centred arch, and all this without the necessity of interior vaulting. When a German or a Frenchman or a Belgian builds a Neogothic church of any pretension he vaults it in masonry, as a matter of course, although he may try the experiment of some modern modification of this, as by introducing steel ribs for the more costly and troublesome stone ribs. The English Gothic, even of the most brilliant time, never made vaulting a necessary part of its structure; and therefore the modern Englishman of this way of thinking eschews it altogether, and is satisfied with the less difficult problem of the wooden roof.

Buildings other than churches are rarely of pure Neo-classic design; by far the greater number are in some modified style which the English architects find it easy to build up in the same way in which their national styles of earlier times—the Elizabethan, the Jacobean, the picturesque but simple designing of the times of William III. and of Queen Anne, furnish the suggestion. It is easy too to go across the narrow seas and to find suggestions of a kindred sort in the Nether-

lands and in the ancient towns of Belgium. Such a design is shown in Fig. 653, the well-known Imperial institute. In this way the buildings designed for the city streets of London and for many small cities of Great Britain are faced with picturesque gabled fronts, not to be classified more closely than as shown above. According as the spectator's information guides him, or as his predilections sway him, he may call these fronts Flemish or Queen Anne, and there is no one to say him nay, for indeed these designs have much originality. Even

Fig. 653. Imperial Institute.

in furniture, the great expositions held during the second half of the nineteenth century enabled the student of such matters to make a shrewd comparison between the admirably perfect and highly wrought French designing along recognized lines—in the styles of Francis I. or Louis XIV.—and the bolder, far less conventional, far more independently thought out English designs which were yet immeasurably inferior in success as pieces of decorative art. It is as sug-

gested above, a matter of prodigious difficulty to make a satisfactory design in a wholly independent way. All the good designing of the great times has been along familiar lines where no man went far afield but followed closely upon the work of his predecessor.

In the United States the reign of extreme bad taste and the attempt to abandon tradition for the fantastic thoughts of entirely untrained workmen had not ceased in 1860. The years following the great Civil War with their lavish expenditure and bold undertakings in many directions were marked by the production of an incredible number of altogether valueless architectural compositions. Soon after began the influence upon American building of the rather numerous young architects who had been pursuing their studies in Europe. From this there came several interesting movements in art. The most attractive and the most promising was that which consisted in the modification of the familiar American wooden framed house covered with clapboards or shingles or both, by the introduction into it of such simple principles of design as the trained student would readily see his way to. From 1875 to 1885 that movement was extremely active; and it is a matter of great regret that it was not carried farther. Just how the really admirable method of design which was applied to the carefully built wooden country houses could have been modified for application to masonry, and more especially to street-fronts, of course cannot be said. Masonry has never been familiar to American builders; their whole training is based upon carpenter work, and the American citizen ordinarily does not conceive of a house otherwise than as a thing of wood, with perhaps a slight external facing of brick. The masonry built house common in the south of Europe is unknown in the United States, and hence the incredibly numerous fires in which so large a part of the national wealth is destroyed annually.

An attempt at introducing a true masonry style was made about 1878 and during the following years. This was based upon the Romanesque of central France, but freely studied also, especially in detail, from Byzantine and other kindred styles. This method of work was introduced by Henry Hobson Richardson (1838-1886), and was taken up by younger men. The innovators were never able to escape from the American tendency to rely upon woodwork; the exterior might be of stone or of stone-faced brickwork, but once past the doorsill the carpenter was the only workman employed on the structure of the building, although elaborate chimney pieces were set up here and there. The task was soon abandoned, and no other body

of work by men no longer living is to be mentioned as of importance in the way of strong leadership in artistic design.

The active practitioners of the time from 1880 to 1900 are almost all working in a simple and formal neo-classic style characterized by good taste, dignified reserve and an almost total absence of solecisms and harsh contrasts; but this secured only by what cannot but be considered an absence of fresh and independent thought. Little effort has been made to meet the new problems, more plainly seen to exist in America than elsewhere, which are brought into existence by modern possibilities of building. Thus, it is in the Northern United States that the steel cage structure was developed between 1885 and 1900, until now thirty story buildings are as easy to procure as those of more familiar dimensions; and these lofty structures must of necessity receive a fire-resisting external coat which will save the metal from the direct effect of the numerous conflagrations among the older and wood-constructed buildings: but this external coat has not yet received architectural treatment. Two or three architects in the whole country have made a serious attempt to impart a fresh system of design to the exteriors; but the vast majority continue to produce what seem to be classically designed buildings with massive walls, arched openings, piers and columns of stone, and which are really thin shells depending upon a steel skeleton structure. The new system of building is denounced by persons to whom it is unfamiliar; but there is nothing serious against the system of building, the only demand is that the architect shall try to design in accordance with it.

SCULPTURE.

In modern sculpture the most interesting question is that of the relation between naturalism and the study of the ideal. Even if the world of ideal forms should never again acquire that importance for us which it possessed for the Greeks, nevertheless the daily life of humanity still contains a wealth of exquisite motives full of beautiful suggestion which gives to the sculptor's fancy ample incitement to the sculptor's ideals. There is, moreover, in the chaste grace and pure dignity of the antique conceptions, an imperishable charm which appeals to every human sentiment and which secures for all productions conceived in a similar spirit the warm interest of those who delight to refresh themselves with the simple beauty that belongs to every true manifestation of nature. Hence the idealistic style of this art of Greece as it has been recognized by the present time and endowed with new activity becomes forever the most precious possession of modern sculpture. On the other hand, it is by the constant study of

nature alone that this art is kept from falling into monotonous copying of the antique or of the Renaissance. That is the salvation of those arts which express and represent nature as distinguished from such purely decorative arts as architecture. They have nature to draw upon, and are continually renewed by studying the source of all inspiration. This naturalism, too, is not merely in the mere copying of the forms of the body; it has as much to do with the naturalness of pose, of represented movement, of gesture of limbs and carriage of head, and even of the expression of features, though this last is a dangerous field for the sculptor.

Some of the German sculptors whose reputation was made during the first part of the century, continued their work into the years following 1860. Gustav Bläser (1813-74) produced during his later years the well known equestrian statue of King Frederick William III. of Prussia, now in Cologne, and many portrait statues of famous men, such as those larger than life of Humboldt and Hegel, together with ideal statues and portrait busts, among them one of Abraham Lincoln. There is an important bas-relief adorning the bridge at Dirschau, but his most celebrated work is probably the equestrian statue of Frederick William IV. of Prussia, also at Cologne and adorning the Rhine bridge. Reinhold Begas is still living, and can hardly be appreciated rightly, but his rank as a sculptor is admitted by those foreign students who are not usually admirers of German sculpture. Fig. 654 gives his Schiller Monument at Berlin. Leopold Rudolf Siemering (b. 1835—) and Kaspar Zumbusch (b. 1830) are sculptors of characters. Hans Gasser (1817-68) has produced much work which adorns the cities of Austria-Hungary, and also some decorative figures for the Oxford Museum in England. Josef Gasser (1818—) has been especially eminent for his portrait statues, and also for religious statues set up in churches at Vienna, Brixen and Linz, especially the numerous sculptures in wood and in stone in S. Stephen's Church, Vienna. Anton Dominick Fernkorn (1813—) is the author of the equestrian statue of Prince Eugene and several statues of German emperors for the partly architectural purpose of adorning churches in Spire (Speier) and many portrait statues. Ernst Julius Hähnel (1811-1891) has an admirable gift for classical modelling, as in his equestrian statues at Dresden and Vienna.

In France the year 1860 found the second empire in full power and using its energies for the adornment of Paris, while encouraging the decorative treatment of buildings in the minor cities. The government has always been liberal in orders to living sculptors and this stimulates the action of the municipalities throughout France and sets a fashion which private persons are not slow to imitate. Oppor-

tunities, therefore, are given which, if a long space of time be taken together, are considerably in excess of what other nations of Europe have offered. The result is seen in the large number of first rate artistic intelligences which devote themselves to an art generally unpopular as compared with the art of painting.

In all their plastic work the French derive great advantage from

Fig. 654. Schiller Monument in Berlin. (R. Begas.)

their uncommonly delicate understanding of form, their taste for effective representation, and the self-conscious assertion of personality, though this verges sometimes on the theatrical. Exquisite modelling and the highest technical perfection are in general the characteristics of their creations; the masterly delineation of the female form in its natural grace and sensuous charm, and not less the clever and vigor-

ously conceived portrait statue and portrait bust are here to be considered in their first place. Draped as well as nude figures receive especial attention from those sculptors who have studied the relation of sculpturesque art to architecture; and what is said above in the section concerning architecture points to the way in which, while the modern treatment of sculpture is not the ideally best use of it for the sake of the building, it is entirely encouraging and stimulating to the sculptor himself. The gift of a serious historic memorial art, on the other hand, seems to be less within the grasp of the French artists than it was given to Germany through Rauch, Rietschel and their followers; and this because the French art aims at purity and power of design, noble posing and perfect modelling, rather than at penetrating to the uncertain and always debatable traits of human character. On the other hand, this very disposition to treat sculpture less for the revelation of personality than as an art primarily of external charm, is exactly what is needed for the rapid and general development of such an art as sculpture; for in this way men of first rate technical ability and with profound knowledge of the human form, together with the instinct for decorative treatment of the single figure or the group are encouraged to work according to their best abilities; and among them appears from time to time the profound genius who gives to this sculpture of charm and of dignity the additional spark of a profounder life.

Antoine Louis Barye (1795-1875) is best known as the modeller of wild beasts which, although known to the world in the form of small decorative bronzes, are to be seen in their original state of life size and used decoratively in such open places as the gardens of the Tuileries and of the Luxembourg in Paris. About the beginning of the present epoch he was employed to produce figure groups for the adornment of the exterior of the Louvre: these he treated in an extremely classical style, and they have been repeated on a smaller scale, reduced bronze copies of them being in a public square in Baltimore (see Fig. 655). Henri Chapu (1833-91), though like Barye, celebrated before 1860, has done his most important work since that time. One of his most significant works is the tomb of Henri Regnault, the painter, who was killed in one of the battles outside of Paris during the siege of 1871; a similar piece is the remarkable monument to the poet Gustave Flaubert, at Rouen. Less natural and less attractive is the well known statue of Joan of Arc. He was employed also upon statues for the great opera house in Paris. François Jouffroy (1806-82) modeled in 1865 the frieze in relief of Christ and the Apostles which was set up in the church of S. Augustin, Paris. He also worked upon the

new opera house, furnishing the statue of Harmony. Many portrait busts exist. He was professor of sculpture in the great Paris school of fine arts from 1865 until his death. Jean-Alexandre Falguière (1831-1900) is one of the most powerful of the realists; known by his Victor in the Cock-fight, and by a noble portrait statue of Lamartine, as well as one more ideal in character, of the dramatist Corneille. Augustin Moreau-Vauthier, who died in 1893, was especially a decorative artist, working with great success in precious materials and sometimes combining those materials so as to produce chromatic effects of extraordinary richness and great beauty. Jean Baptiste Carpeaux (1827-75) was the author of the decorative groups upon

Fig. 655. Theseus. (Barye.)

the front of the Pavillon de Flore, of the Louvre, at Paris. One of these is the Triumph of Flora, an enchanting piece of impersonation (see Fig. 656). Still more powerfully he drew attention to his talent by the remarkable group, The Dance, on the front of the opera house at Paris. It is of singular character, classical in conception but realistic in treatment. The wild abandon of headlong dance is still checked by the presence of the smiling and yet controlling Apollo-like figure which stands in the center of the group of Nymphs. The splendid monumental group of the four quarters of the world supporting the heavens, in the gardens of the Luxembourg, Paris, is the most important of many valuable works.

French sculpture is maintained still at the close of the century by a great body of most brilliant men whom it is possible only to name: especially because most of them are still living. Chief of the men of tradition who are classed in France as academic sculptors or men who preserve the standard set up by the School of Fine Arts is Paul Dubois (b. 1829), whose most important single work is the monument of General La Moricière in the Cathedral at Nantes. With him are to be placed Charles René de Paul de Saint Marceaux (b. 1845), An-

Fig. 656. Flora; Exterior of Pavillon de Flore, Paris. (Carpeaux.)

tonin Mercié (b. 1845), Louis Ernest Barrias (b. 1841), Eugène Delaplanche (b. 1836), Emmanuel Frémiet (b. 1824) and Auguste Cain (b. 1822). Works by each of these masters are to be seen in Paris, notably in the gardens of the Trocadéro Palace of the Tuileries, of the Luxembourg, and in the great open square about the Triumphal Arch of the Carrousel. Of men recognized as quite apart from the academic school, Jules Dalou (b. 1838) is one of the most

noteworthy. Auguste Rodin is the sculptor whose work has caused the greatest and most heated discussion, for he is the boldest innovator among the able living artists.

In England, sculpture is not a more earnestly pursued art in the nineteenth century than it has been in former times. For some reason the English artistic habit of mind does not lead its best men to the practice of this art. The most truly sculpturesque genius which the nation has produced in recent times was George Alfred Stevens (1817-75), the remarkable decorative designer, whose culminating work is the monument to the Duke of Wellington in S. Paul's Cathedral, a superb design, marred by the placing under a vault too low to receive it in its entirety, and moreover studied with a certain confessed frankness of imitation from existing monuments like those in Westminster Abbey, but still a superb piece of combined architecture and sculpture. George Henry Foley (1818-74) is especially known as the sculptor of the colossal seated statue of Prince Albert under the canopy of the Albert Memorial in Hyde Park, and the group, Asia, of the four quarters of the globe which adorn the angles of this great monument. His portrait statue of Stonewall Jackson, in Richmond, Virginia, is one of his best works of the kind, although he produced many and very excellent ones. Thomas Woolner (1825-93) connected himself with the Pre-Raphaelite brotherhood, and his work of the time shows an advanced naturalism, which is especially attractive in the case of his portrait busts like the one, often reproduced in photography, of Alfred Tennyson in his early manhood. Two very remarkable painters of the English School have left each two or three pieces of sculpture of much more than secondary importance; George Frederick Watts and Sir Frederick Leighton, afterwards Lord Leighton. The Clytie of the first and the Athlete Strangling a Serpent of the latter are the best known of these works, and in the case of Leighton, at least, it is remarkable that the statue, though larger than life and representing the body in intense muscular action is still a sculptor's work in every sense of the word. Of men still living, William Hamo Thornycroft (b. 1850), E. Onslow Ford (b. 1852), and Alfred Gilbert (b. 1854) are notable men.

In Italy, the two most celebrated sculptors of the epoch have been Giovanni Dupré (1817-82), the author of the Cavour monument at Turin, the group, Cain and Abel in the Pitti Palace, Florence, the monument to Raimond Lully, and the Pietà at Sienna (see Fig. 657), as well as many important groups in other places, and Vincenzo Vela (1822-91), the author of that celebrated seated statue, The Last Days of Napoleon (1867), of which there are at least two examples,

one in the great National Museum at Versailles and one in the Corcoran Art Gallery, Washington, D. C. Ercole Rosa is one of the younger school.

The sculptors of Russia are especially known as makers of statuettes and small groups, which, cast in bronze and neatly finished, are attractive to those who care more for story-telling or spirited representation of incident than for purely artistic qualities.

In the United States the present epoch has been very productive: and the young nation has begun to make its mark upon the modern world. Nearly all the men who came to be considered most original and most powerful are still living, but William Wetmore Story, who died in 1896, made a statue of the philanthropist George Peabody, bronze copies of which were set up in London and in Baltimore in memory of great benefactions. His statue of Cleopatra, and his Semiramis

Fig. 657. Pieta. (G. Dupré.)

are in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, in New York. These and many other pieces (Helen, Judith, Thetis and Achilles, and the like) are of the nature of ideal portrait statues, and they bear a certain resemblance to the Roman Imperial work of the second century in that they are somewhat perfunctory, relying upon sculpturesque merit alone for their effect and even in this of no exceptional beauty. Randolph Rogers, who died in 1892, had made portrait statues of Abraham Lincoln and of W. H. Seward, which are placed in Philadelphia and New York, respectively. William Henry Rinehart (1825-74) lived and died in Rome; the greater part of his work was of the same nature as that of Story, that is to say, ideal statues of mythological or legendary subject, but he produced also important portrait statues, such as that of the former Chief Justice, Roger B. Taney, which is set up at Annapolis in Maryland. Henry Kirke

Brown, best known for his equestrian statues named in the first part of this chapter, has produced also the statue of Lincoln in New York. For some years before his death he did little work. Olin L. Warner, who died suddenly in 1896, was one of the most powerful of American sculptors, and was particularly successful in the comparatively new departure of monumental sculpture closely connected with architectural design. Thus, his bronze doors in the Congressional Library at Washington (see Fig. 39), with the bronze tympanum filling the arch above, and the relief figures, Tradition, Imagination and Memory, in allusion to the purposes of the building, are among the best things of the kind in existence. A remarkable fountain at Portland, Maryland, was put up in 1888, and in 1894 a colossal statue of General Devens, ordered by the State of Massachusetts. Portrait busts by him are numerous, and also medallion portraits, and they show a remarkable power of seeing what is interesting and attractive in the nature of the man represented.

The matter of realized human sculpture applied to architectural design was carried far in the United States during the last decade of the nineteenth century. The practice which the sculptors had upon the great exhibition buildings and their accessories in Chicago in 1893 and in minor enterprises of the same sort, was of value, although the pieces were either removed or even destroyed; and the remarkable Memorial Arch erected in honor of naval victories in the Spanish War and which stood in New York for about a year after the reception which gave rise to it, was a still greater help to American study of monumental sculpture. In the way of permanent work there are two of the immense business buildings in New York City which are adorned with statues of great size and considerable artistic importance; the Appellate Court building in Madison Square is still more richly treated in the same way; and the spandrils, friezes and panels of several buildings have been treated with relief of human subject. The interior of the Congressional Library at Washington, which was finished about 1895, is enriched with a great number of symbolical statues, History, Law, Eloquence and the like, and also by bronze portrait statues larger than life. Gradually the United States is taking a position among the nations which patronize fine art with some judgment and discrimination and which find among its own citizens talent enough for the purpose of the adornment of external life. There is reason to hope that a really great school of sculpture is in process of evolution here: as there is much energy and artistic intelligence among the living men.

PAINTING.

In painting, the nineteenth century was a period of real advance. However disappointing to the student of art was the generally inartistic character of the century, devoted mainly to science and to material progress, and without the decorative sense which had guided all previous epochs of art; in painting taken alone, and considered as the expression of one side of human thought, the achievement was as great, proportionally, as the achievement in poetry. It may even be said that in these two arts and in music the artistic expression of the European mind was found. Painting of the external world, especially landscape, was found sufficient to contain nearly all that kind of thought which is only expressible in form, light and shade and color. The sculpture of the nineteenth century is attractive, interesting, powerful, and leads us to hope for still better results hereafter, but painting of the same epoch has been much more completely the embodiment of the artistic thought of the time.

The remarkable reaction of 1830 against the draughtsmen, the designers for form alone, who cared nothing about the painter's point of view—was mainly confined to France, and of that movement Eugène Delacroix is the great embodiment, as has been said above. It was, however, not given to the men of that reaction to reach perfect control over coloring. Another influence was at work in France, namely, the study of pure landscape for its own sake, and as principal subject, the taste for which they found very largely in the example of certain English landscape painters, not so much the far more powerful Turner as Constable, and even smaller men than he, who if they were not great composers, were at least loving and careful painters of out-of-door effect. Théodore Rousseau, Troyon, and Jean François Millet, already named, were leaders in that movement, and Camille Corot (1796-1875) was more influential than any of them. Their work, especially that of Corot, extended into our present epoch, and Corot in fact, painting until his last year of life, produced continually more and more powerful compositions, ideal in the sense that he was not eager to make any one picture a portrait of any one scene but perfectly realistic in so far as all the effect that he sought was carefully studied in the nature which he always had before him as he painted. It is noticeable that all these men painted continually out of doors, not necessarily producing every separate canvas in the open air, though doing that very often, but always in touch with the light and color of nature as well as with her forms. A body of artists, all somewhat younger than those just named, who undertook to paint the effect which they saw out of doors, the effect of natural color seen

under natural light at different times of day but always with close observance of the changing aspect of tree and rock and hillside as the sun itself changed apparent position and as the color of his light varied with cloud or with hour of the day, are commonly called the impressionists, but the term which they themselves adopted and which more closely describes their methods, is *pleinairistes,* or "open air men." Impressionist is an inadequate term, because all painting is the painting of impression, and he is the best man, other things being equal, who sees the most plainly that all that he can hope to do and indeed all that he ought to try to do is the rendering of certain impressions, often incompatible with other impressions, and chosen arbitrarily as those immediately required. But the term *pleinairiste* is accurate, because the avowed purpose of these men was the painting of the effects of nature with such precision that one of the most celebrated of them declared his inability to follow one manifestation of nature for more than half an hour at a time. After that the light changed and the color with it so much that he was compelled to abandon his canvas and begin work upon another subject. In connection with this class of work much was discovered in the way of mixing of paint upon the canvas and still more in the juxtaposition of colors not mingled together but set close together in such small touches that the effect produced on the eye is quite apart from the appearance separately of these unmixed tints. Moreover, the painting of those commonly unseen colors of nature, such as the blueness of the shadows on snow or the yellowness of grass in full sunlight, to take the most familiar instances, is highly characteristic of the school in question and its work is much laughed at by the public, which is more accustomed to pictures painted in different shades of gray. An artist of more popular character was Jacques Raymond Brascassat, who died in 1867. His latest pictures are among his best. Another was Marie Rosa Bonheur, whose celebrity as a painter of cattle, horses and wild beasts constantly increased to the time of her death in 1899.

Brilliancy of color has not been characteristic generally of French painting. There are many men even in the latter part of the nineteenth century whose work is gray and brown, and which has even its charm of color limited to these same restrained and severe effects. These are apt to be painters of important historical scenes; and in this respect the modern disposition to accurate study of the past is very pronounced. Such an artist is Meissonier, who has been named in the first part of this chapter. His long career did not end until 1891, the minute scale and careful finish by which his works are marked is not their chief characteristic. Care in establishing archæological truth and in obtaining minute local accuracy is helped by a power

which may be called imaginative, of realizing the essential facts of a by-gone event or situation, as in his painting of the Cuirassiers of the Guard greeting Napoleon, who is surrounded by his marshals and staff. The constant tendency of this illustrative art in which the chief object, or one principal object, is to tell a true story in a true-seeming way, is to become mere illustration, and to lose artistic quality to a very great extent. Thus we would hardly go to the painters of large historical canvases on the walls of the public buildings for the highest artistic merit; and yet artistic merit is in such work, especially in the matters of composition of line and mass, figures with architecture and landscape admirably composed in a design which may be almost monochromatic in its gravity of color but is otherwise a painting of importance. As for the historical teaching possible to such work it is very hard to set bounds to it. As was said of the Gothic sculpture of the Middle Ages, that the Cathedral porch was the Bible of the poor people who had no other book than this in which to read the Bible story, so it might be said that the historical painting of the nineteenth century might have been so looked at and so arranged for general study that the history of the past would be told in it for those who have no time nor disposition to read the books of historical writing. Such painting as this is hardly ever associated with triumphant success in fine art.

Such an artist was Jean Léon Gérôme, who has died while the proofs of these pages were in hand, January, 1904. His paintings are not attractive to painters; they are hard, sharply outlined, mannered in the last degree, disagreeable in color and in a curious kid-glove-like texture; but they are full of close observation. He was able to see much of the essential peculiarity of manners and dress in the Moslem East of his own day, and in like manner he was able to see how a Roman circus or an amphitheatre must have appeared in the day of its splendor, and how the sports and shows in it must have been conducted. He also, in later life, adopted Meissonier's plan of canvases crowded with many small figures.

There is one artist so exceptional in the character and also in the degree of his artistic merit that he must be named alone. Pierre Puvis de Chavannes (1824-1898) exhibited wall paintings at the Exhibition of 1867, and from that time developed rapidly a style of wall painting peculiarly his own and more perfectly successful than that of any modern in convincing pathos and sentiment with singular grace of composition both in line and in color, and in giving to the resulting pictures a singularly close relation to the walls which they adorn and whose solidity they do not mar. Such are the Ave Picardia Nutrix in the museum of Amiens (1865), the beheading of S. John

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AUGUSTUS SAINT-GAUDENS

"THE SHAW MEMORIAL," BOSTON, MASS.

the Baptist (1870), Charles Martel, victor over the Saracens (1875), a great composition of the history of S. Genevieve in the Panthéon of Paris and many other great works culminating in the vast allegorical composition of the Sarbonne. All these works are in France; there is also an important painting in the staircase of the public library of Boston, U. S.

Another mural painter of great force was found in Paul Baudry, who has been named above. He decorated in Paris the private houses known as Hôtel Galliera and Hôtel Paiva; and when the Grand Opera House was in hand toward the close of the period of the Second Empire he was employed as chief mural painter for this great structure. His work in this direction occupied ten years of his life. After its completion he employed himself chiefly in portrait painting. He died in 1886.

In connection with this, the work of the book-illustrators and the etchers must be mentioned, for there have been two periods of especially active artistic production in this way, one during the reign of Louis Philippe when Gigoux, Tony Johannot, Gavarni and Henri Monnier were at work, and another when the etchers became most active between 1865 and 1880. The etchers restored the old habit of engraving one's own designs—that is, of producing on the copper plate not that which would yield a black and white reproduction of the painting or drawing by some one else, but a conception of the etcher's own. They were in fact what are called painter-engravers, for a true study of landscape, of figure subject or of decorative purpose may be as perfectly developed in black and white and by means of thin and fine lines as in color and with broad touches of the brush. In France, Maxime Lalanne (1827-1886) was one of the masters of etching, though not a great composer; Jules Jacquemart (1837-1880) was the most gifted artist that we know for all matters of reproduction of strange effects, as the lustre and translucency of crystal and agate, the exact amount of conventionality in an Oriental statuette and the like, and Charles Méryon (1821-1868) was one of the most gifted of designers, a man of extraordinarily sombre and grave genius which he employed in the rendering of the strange and picturesque architecture of old Paris. Many men still living are worthy to be named with these, their work being not altogether different from that of the two artists first named above.

In Germany, there are no such general movements to be named, but there are many independent painters, each man working by himself or in sympathy with a small body of men. The influence of French painting upon these German artists has been very great, especially since the Munich exhibition of 1879, in which for the first time since

the war between the countries in 1870 the strong new French school became known to Germany. The Paris exhibition of 1889 was hardly visited by many Germans, but this was all changed in 1900 when Paris was for the first time in thirty years crowded with Germans and when the painting of all the European world was brought into fair comparison. The most remarkable demonstration which German painting has made since 1860 has been in the very large and brilliant pictures of Makart (1840-84), an Austrian, but altogether a German in his ways of laying out and representing a subject. His great triumphal pieces are of less interest to the artist than to the public which admires brilliant and showy costume in great paintings full of movement and life and seen under broad daylight. Munkacsy (1846—) was a Hungarian, and a certain remote semi-Asiatic cast of design, not disagreeable nor very foreign to our western taste, is still visible in the style of color which he adopted. On the whole, he was rather a historian or illustrator than a painter in the great sense. Anselm Feuerbach, named above, was a man of first rate ability who studied hard and well in Paris, and then came under the influence of the old Venetian masters. Whether the comparative lack of interest which his very noble and graceful compositions are apt to excite comes from a too hard worked eclecticism striving to add Venetian grandeur and Venetian color to the Parisian method of design which, fine as it is, almost ignores grandeur and does not include richness of color in its repertory, or whether the long continued studies of his prime resulted in a too complete suppression of the individual man, the fact seems to be that no man is more interesting as a genius when studied in all his work, or less interesting when any individual composition is studied for itself. At the culmination of his artistic ability he established himself in Vienna, but was dissatisfied with his surroundings. His pictures are so widely scattered that it would be very hard to form an exhibition of them, but such an exhibition would be most instructive.

Carl Friedrich Lessing, named in the first part of this chapter, would have been called at any time before 1860 rather an extreme Romanticist caring little for the external aspect of things, caring everything for the romantic associations which his reading could call up. During his later life, however, Lessing is mainly a painter of landscape, often in its wildest manifestations. From the beginning of the present epoch until his death in 1880, he was director of the Grand Ducal Gallery at Carlsruhe, and as time went by, he did less and less original work. The collection which he administered is rich in modern German paintings; it has admirable Feuerbachs and Schirmers, some of Rottmann's best landscapes, and with these a few

of his own; probably the most valuable that can be seen in Europe. Eduard Bendemann lived till 1889 and painted to the end of his active career in the old style of pure "romance" without much reference to artistic merit, but his widely known pictures are always occurring in engraving and photography as examples of German art. The sort of conventionality which was compatible with romanticism is in them all. Theodor Hildebrandt became more and more an illustrator until his death in 1874, nor was his illustration realistically undertaken; it reminds one of the outlines of Retzsch—perfunctory settings down in line of the grouping of characters possible in any scene of drama or romance. Ludwig Knaus is one of those artists whose work must always be popular because everything in it is sacrificed to sentiment and familiar realism. The well known Christening shows rather the moment before the ceremony, the country people, hosts and guests, are taking coffee and long rolls which they dip into it, the priest, who alone must wait for his breakfast, holds the child, and the entire party is shown in a state of eager animation about the baby or the simple fact that the priest is holding the baby. All eyes and all heads are turned in that direction; there is a simple and innocent announcement that this is nothing but a piece of domestic sentiment. Work would have to be much worse than that of Knaus in order to prevent such subjects from becoming widely popular: but the work is indeed not masterly; it is flat and unimpressive, neither the color nor the line composition has any message for one who loves painting, and a photograph taken from an engraving is as valuable as the canvas. More important artistic work is combined with equal realism and equal directness of expression in those works of Otto Brausewetter which have become known to the world of students. His Copernicus is in a way an ideal portrait, and a valuable piece of historical reconstruction of the past.

The great composer in black and white, Adolf Menzel, is still living, and yet his work in illustration of German history seems as much a product of the eighteenth century as if it were signed by Watteau. It has the large artistic touch of the eighteenth century, and in like manner the indifference of that epoch to what might be called moral qualities. There is no attempt at drawing any lesson from the scene or the event; in each separate composition the true object of historical illustration is kept strictly in mind. When in later life Menzel began to paint important pictures the same honorable quality distinguished them all. He is not a great colorist; but his color is sufficient for his purpose, and he can handle, with equal skill, a great crowd of courtiers assembled at the most stately of all functions, an imperial coronation, or the bustling throng of the market

place at Verona. There is no better painter of the ways and doings of mankind; if it is important that the ordinary life of man be set down before us on painted canvases of no special glory of color and hindered in charm by the ugliness of modern costume, then Menzel is one of the most useful of painters. To the sincere lover of painting Adolf Lier, who died in 1882, is of more consequence. He is one of the sincerest of landscape painters and in his later years shook off a certain conventional painting in yellow light and adopted something of the realism of the French open air school.

There are among the still living Germans some of admirable quality. As long ago as the Paris Exhibition of 1878, small as was there the display of German work, there were some paintings on the walls of the German gallery which would command respect even in that great display of French and French-inspired modern painting. Such a man is the younger Kaulbach of whom nothing more can be said here. It is with regret that one turns from this curious subject; but the apparent impossibility of classifying the German artists by schools and the vast number of the uninteresting canvases which have to be studied for hours before their significance can be ascertained, is an almost complete hindrance to knowledge of the modern German spirit as expressible in fine art.

In Spain, there have been one or two very able students of the French school who have added to it a certain brilliancy of hue not common among Frenchmen. Of these the chief was Mariano José Maria Fortuny (1838-74), mentioned in the first part of this chapter. His most important works, however, were executed after 1860; during those few years he produced such paintings as The Serpent Charmer, the Maroccan Dealer in Carpets, the Marriage at Madrid (see Fig. 658), and similar pictures in which a number of figures were represented in brilliant daylight and great display made of such varieties of local color as could be had from costume, tapestries, arms, and other accessories of brilliant and showy life. Living men of the same way of painting are the younger Madrazzo and Georges Jean Vibert.

In Belgium, Charles de Groux (1825-1870) was still living when our epoch opens. He is called a disciple of the French Courbet, but his feeble health prevented his rivalling the manly carelessness of his supposed exemplar. Henri de Braekeleer (1830-88) was a nephew of Baron Leys, and in a way followed his uncle's example but rather studied the modern life around him and the details of the houses and costumes which he saw than the records of the Middle Ages. Charles Verlat (1824-1890) was in complete contrast with the men above named, a painter of Biblical subjects. Louis Dubois (1830-1880)

was more like Courbet, which painter is indeed continually named as the great model for Flemish painting of this period. As far as subject and treatment go Dubois is Rembrandt over again, but of course without the exceptional artistic power. Alfred Stevens (1828-—) is as different in his treatment of life as a man can be. Nearly all his pictures are dainty interiors with women in elegant costume, without movement, without truthful action of any sort, as if painted from models carefully posed: but the technical ability shown is great, the painting is simple and skillful, the subdued daylight of in-doors is perfectly well rendered, and figures are given solidity without exaggeration of light and shade. Hippolyte Boulenger (1838-1874) was

Fig. 658. The Marriage at Madrid. (Fortuny.)

a landscape painter of the true open air school, painting much out of doors. He organized an informal society of men who desired to work like the French impressionists. For a small country, with a population less than that of New York State, Belgium is one of the most artistic of modern communities. The influence exerted by Fine Art on the whole nation is exceptionally great.

The kingdom of the Netherlands, often called in England, from the name of its largest province, Holland, is the home of landscape painting. Even the larger and more wealthy community of Great Britain has not surpassed the record of the little lowland state of the

North Sea; and but for the colossal genius of Turner, could not be thought to rival the smaller state. Johann Barthold Jongkind (1819-1891) has not had his superior in Europe, during our present epoch, in all that makes landscape painting truly artistical, and to exquisite color of the graver and more Corot-like character, he adds a personal charm of sympathy with the heart of Paris or with the canals and windmills of Holland—with violent movement or with serene tranquillity. He is, moreover, one of the first of modern painter-engravers, superior to Lalanne or to Appian in the significance and purpose of his work in black and white. Johannes Bosboom (1817-1891) is a landscape painter in this sense, that he paints architectural subjects or at least subjects in which the structures of man rather than those of nature form the background, and the surroundings. The delicate light and shade of his church interiors are unrivalled in modern art. Josef Israels, born 1824, still living at The Hague, is one of the first of modern workmen in a kind of grave genre painting: dignified and pathetic renderings of the simple incidents of humble life. There is no more independent artist in modern Europe: since he first exhibited about 1853 he has followed his own course of simple development in technical strength and artistic perception.

The wide range of French influence over the painting of Europe is noticeable in the work of our time in the United States, on the one hand, and in the far north of Europe on the other. Thus, in Norway, as in Sweden and in Denmark, we look at each sign of national independence in these matters—at each evidence of a decided attempt to work on national lines, as distinguished from those marked out by the French teaching of modern Europe—holding it as a rarity. The only cause for this is, of course, the absence of a great artistic past. There has been little art of first rate importance in Scandinavia, and probably the present time is the most fruitful since the epoch of the scroll carving on the wooden churches during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Adolf Tidemand (1814-1876) was rather a German in his style and from 1840 for twenty or twenty-five years this German influence was noticeable in Norway. Nicolai Arbo (1831-1892) while choosing as his intellectual subjects passages in Norwegian history and legend, is still a German painter in his practice. It was after 1870 that the strong French influence carried it over all others in the north. The younger men who have felt this the most are still living, but one painter of an earlier generation but of the modern school, Johann Theodor Eckersberg (1822-70) seems to have gained his independence out of doors where at an early date he worked as the earliest French open air painters did at the same time. The living

and hard-working Norwegians are producing admirable landscapes, and portraits of singular force and vigor.

In Sweden, Nils Johann Blommer (1816-58) did not live long enough to perfect his style or to gain perfect technical ability. Indeed he was troubled with the dreams of those who think that in painting good intention is everything, and that the same intellectual matter which poetry and imaginative prose rightly takes as its theme was everything in graphic art as well. Hence his influence was of but little consequence to the growing school of northern art. A somewhat similar experience was that of Karl Johann Fahlcrantz (1774-1861) who, had he lived at a time of more perfect technical mastery in the painters about him, might have been a great artist. Gustav Wilhelm Palm (1810-90) was a stanch realist, although painting mainly in Italy. Egron Lundgren (1815-75) chose Spain as his southern field of inspiration, but resided in later life in England, where he came to be looked upon rather as a steady exhibitor in the Royal Academy than as a foreigner.

The first Swedish painter who has much impressed persons not intimate with the whole history of northern painting is Johann Frederik Hoeckert (1826-66). He also was a traveler and one who studied the work of great national painters of different lands, from Rembrandt to Eugène Delacroix. The result was seen in a singular boldness of conception and in a painter-like way of looking at nature quite foreign to the too abstract, too academic High-German way of looking at things, so often seen among his predecessors. Karl Gustav Hellquist (1851-90) surprised the world at the Paris Exhibition of 1878 by firmly painted pictures of popular life. In spite, however, of the vigorous conception which he shows in this and similar historical compositions, his work is German of the dull unimpressive Düsseldorf school of the middle of the century. A powerful painter was Marcus Larsson (1825-64), but the attempts that have been made to compare him to the German Hildebrandt and other leading painters of the Continent of Europe are mistaken in that he was too little satisfied with simple and nervous work, but sought for fantastic variety. Edward Bergh (1828-80) is the chief of Swedish landscape painters, at least for the period ending with his death: and this, not because of supreme merit in one respect, but of a well harmonized combination of qualities. Hugo Birger (1854-97) was an impressionist in the modern sense, painting the effects of sunlight as the Spaniards and Algerines understand sunlight, and in the north the glow of electric lights through haze. Adolf Nordling is a painter of the sea. In this way the newer men, especially those still living, have become realists in the best sense; they paint nature as they see her; but without such

attempt to disregard traditional ways of giving form and light and shade that their pictures become too defiant. The gallery devoted to Sweden in the Paris Exhibition of 1900 was most attractive to one who would pass the walls in steady review and select the interesting pictures for study. The failure in this, and in other northern schools, as shown to Europe at the great gatherings of art, is in the lack of pure and glowing color. In this they have, of course, the misfortune that the chosen school of the time, the great school of art centred in Paris, is itself comparatively weak in color, and seldom works up its grays and browns to a jewel-like richness of effect, even for a moment.

In Denmark, Christoph Wilhelm Eckersberg, who died in 1853, had left for the new generation of artists an excellent artistic record. Few of them have gained his manly freedom of handling, which in landscape and especially in sea views with ships, in the Dutch manner of the eighteenth century, is artistic in a very high sense, while his portraits and groups are pleasantly reminiscent of Ingres. A man who was fifty years old when Eckersberg died, Jörgen Valentin Sonne (1801-90) is a battle painter and a painter of historical scenes. A more truly national artist, and this mainly on account of his tranquil satisfaction with Danish landscape, is Peter Christian Skovgaard (1817-76). Anton Melbye (1818-75) is a painter of the sea, and this not so much in the Dutch way as a rendering of the life of the sea in battleships and in fishing boats, as in the naturalistic treatment of the ocean itself, the effect upon its aspects of the light and color of the sky, the free aspect of the deep in fair and in foul weather. Carl Bloch (1834-90) is sometimes a humorist like the well known Knaus, but his more valuable pictures are good in that they offer realistic and well seen views in Italy. With few exceptions, however, the modern Danish school is mainly a reflection of that of Paris.

Russia, in which alone of modern nations of Europe some of the mediæval traditions remain, has not been able to influence her modern school of painters by any of the glow of color, the decorative effect, or the masterly traditional designing of her ancient semi-Byzantine and semi-Asiatic work. That decorative work was not intelligent enough to rank very high among the mediæval arts; and it has been always too much identified with the very ignorant clergy of Russia and with the humble life of the peasants to influence the artists of the great cities, who would naturally go to Germany or to France, according to the epoch, for their inspiration as well as their technical training. Thus, Carl Brülov (Brüllov) (1799-52) was a student in Rome for many years before he became known in the north, even in Russia. His famous picture, the Destruction of Pompeii, now in the Hermitage Gallery, St. Petersburg, was apparently an attempt

to reproduce the manner of Raphael's *Incendio del Borgo* in this especially, that violent scenes of distress and suffering, with all the signs of extreme terror, are treated in a would-be classical fashion. Raphael's famous picture has behind it his unmatched ability as a composer in line and mass; and has also his great name and the Raphaelesque tradition to explain its lack of realism, and of the significant relations of a great event; but Brülov's work has that unnatural combination of violence with the classical tradition, without the noble design and without the weight of a lifetime of supremely fine work behind him. This master of the early years of the century has too much set the fashion for the later world of Russian artists, and it is only the bold realism of still living men which redeems this and gives the world hope of a school which shall not be merely derived from Western Europe. In this we are reminded of the constant demand, more frequent in the early years of the nineteenth century than at present—the demand made by Europe upon the United States for a wholly independent and non-European literature. This was a demand so far unreasonable that the world of books has no geographical or national limitations, and that literary thought in a given language can hardly be bounded by the ocean; but in graphic art it is not unreasonable to hope for, nor would it be unwise to work for, a system of design based upon the visible nature of the new land. Landscape and humanity alike are different in aspect under new skies, nor is it without regret that we see an able American, or an able Russian, drawing from Paris his whole habit of thought as well as his technical skill.

Something of this wished-for independence appears in Alexander Ivanov (1806-58). He is called a Pre-Raphaelite; but it is indifferent whether he sympathizes with the "Nazarenes" of Rome (Cornelius, Overbeck and their company) or with the English Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, or again with the early Italian masters from whom both these modern schools drew, nominally, their inspiration. What is interesting about his work is that when he painted Biblical scenes he did so with a sincere treatment of the incident as if it were happening in Russia; the face, the dress, the action being clearly studied from nature out-of-doors, and with little attempt at classical dignity except in the heads of the sacred personages. It is to the credit of some of the still living painters that they feel intensely the necessity of taking back to Russia their skill and knowledge gained elsewhere. Freedom of the soul may be had even under an autocracy administered by powerful and selfish officials, and in no way better than in fine art. Even the horror of war can be, as it seems, treated

boldly by a painter living in Russia; although one would have thought that the implication that there was any other than a glorious side to that "sport of kings" would be frowned upon.

England has no academic school; and therefore no great body of protesting artists. The Royal Academy is mainly an annual exhibition; and neither the schools maintained by that quasi-national institution, nor any other school of art, is of any general weight in British public opinion. Therefore, the world of English painters is made up of a great number of men working each for himself; the result being in a way fortunate, as individualism is the life of modern descriptive and representative art. The English painters draw much of their technical skill from the example of the continental schools; but this is generally the result of studies made in after life, when already a certain technique has been mastered. It is rare that an English student works during his first years in a Paris atelier.

When our present period begins there are found still hard at work some of the ablest of the men named in the first part of this chapter. Sir Frederick Leighton (1830-1896) was to be engaged, soon after 1860, in painting his most important works, the mural paintings in the South Kensington Museum; large pictures filling lunettes high above the floor, and each filled with figures, the subject being The Arts of Peace and The Arts of War. The fresco in the church at Lyndhurst, Hampshire, The Wise and the Foolish Virgins, and the painting in the Royal Exchange, London, the celebrated picture of the Phœnicians bartering with the Britons on the Shore, belong to this epoch. Leighton was the author of a great number of easel pictures as well as the pieces of sculpture named on another page. It is as a master of form that the critic must consider Leighton (see Fig. 659). The true charm which the great painter gives to his canvases was not for him to achieve. He was raised to the House of Peers under the title of Baron Leighton of Stretton.

Millais also was knighted, though he never reached a higher social dignity. About 1860 he ceased to be one of the active champions of the Pre-Raphaelite movement. Something of the directness and simplicity of conception which marked the first efforts of the Pre-Raphaelites was retained by him till his death, and he grew from year to year more powerful as a painter. As a colorist he was not in the rank of men to whom color is the main thing in painting, as it was to Delacroix, as it was probably to Millet—as it would have been to the Venetians of the sixteenth century but that they had also what no modern man can have, the mighty influence of traditional good work in form to save all their painting from obvious error, and to give them the unexampled, the unmatched combination of color and form.

He painted dark subjects without serious attempt to enliven them with that color which is unperceived by the world; he painted brilliant out-

Fig. 659. Elektra. (Frederick Leighton.)

of-door subjects with even less desire than in his youth to make nature repeat again for him her effects of colored light; but he could draw

well and freely, so that the sense of the draughtsman's presence was not left in his canvases, and this technical skill as a painter was unsurpassed in his land and in his own time. During his later years his most important things were landscapes, and they are magnificent in power and range; while his other work was chiefly in portraits, and in small pictures of sentiment in the English manner which were almost portraits, being limited in their range and confined to one or two figures. George Frederick Watts (born in 1818) is an artist about whose painting, especially his later work, lovers of painting will continue to disagree. It is odd that some able practicing artists admire his work as much as the more non-artistic critic who views painting from the poetical side of criticism alone. His large pictures are not attractive, when compared with the work of great technical artists of any school, more especially of those in which the feeling of the colorist is noticeably strong. A photograph of any important work of his is as interesting as the picture itself; a statement often made with regard to the work of artists who are rather Thinkers than Painters. Abstract idea passing through a powerful and sympathetic mind will prove too much for the artistic working out of almost any painter, and the experience of Watts is no exception to this. His most important mural painting is in the great hall of Lincoln's Inn in London, The School of Legislation; but this was painted at the beginning of our present epoch. All his later works are easel paintings, though some of them are very large; among them are many portraits, and he gained a singular repute among his contemporaries for his skill in painting the inner life and true nature of his sitter—a kind of praise which has been awarded to all the greatest painters who have given their attention to portraiture, and which is a qualification very difficult to assign with certainty. Ford Madox Brown lived until 1882, and his latest work is marked, as is that of Millais, by a disposition to approach gradually the more general view of the artist's work, drawing away little by little from the marked Neo-mediæval, or "Pre-Raphaelite," character of his earlier paintings. His subjects, however, are chosen with the same prophetic spirit. They must still convey a profound thought or an important reminiscence; as in the Cromwell with the blind Milton and Marvel acting as clerk, planning the protest against the oppression of the Vaudois; as in the Baptism of King Edwin, the Expulsion of the Danes from Manchester, the First Observation of the transit of Venus, and similar subjects. Concerning the Pre-Raphaelites proper, Arthur Hughes (1832—) has never received the public recognition which his admirably suggestive and spiritual work would seem to demand. He was not a very productive artist; and it is a truism that the artist who would have fame must produce much; his

appeal to the public must be repeated many times. Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-82), most powerful of all the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, and too imaginative indeed to be long controlled by the dicta of any school, never, while he kept his health, lost his prodigious ability nor ever laid aside his little mannerisms. All his work was in the form of easel paintings and none was very large. La Bella Mano (The Beautiful Hand; a picture illustrating or illustrated by a well known sonnet of Rossetti's) was painted about 1875, and in the same year was the interesting picture of the Blessed Damosel, also accompanying, as many of Rossetti's pictures do, a poem of his own. Of later date is the Proserpine, and so is the admirable and famous Lilith the mythical first wife of Adam, the witch of fascination. Later pictures are the Astarte Syriaca (the Syrian Venus), a draped figure in an upright canvas, the background almost filled by other figures which seem half divine attendants of the goddess, The Sea Spell, and Fiametta: but these pictures like earlier ones are generally studies of a single figure, and it sometimes happened that Rossetti in studying a living head would find it come out under his hand too personal—too portrait-like, and would give it away or at least throw it aside altogether and begin his work again. In this his practice is like that of other great artists, but noticeable instances of it have occurred in Rossetti's later years. During the last few years of his life he was not able to paint. Finally, William Holman Hunt (1827—) lived the longest of all the well known Pre-Raphaelites, and was to the end stanch to his original principles. He, less than others, abandoned his deliberately made resolve to paint according to a carefully wrought out theory. He also was one of those artists who paint but little, each canvas containing more thought and especially more laborious work than that which has generally been found by the most able painters expedient and in the highest sense economical. A man of his peculiar ability must be a law to himself, and we are contented to accept as almost the whole production of thirty years a few such pictures as The Afterglow in Egypt (1868), The Shadow of Death (about 1870), Isabella and the Pot of Basil (an upright picture in which the single figure of Keats's heroine is shown embracing the flowerpot in which is concealed her lover's moldering head), The Triumph of the Innocents (1878), this being the exquisite picture in which the child-Christ, carried in his mother's arms, as she rides toward Egypt, is surrounded and followed by the spirits of the children who perished for Him, and the well-known mystical picture, "The Light of the World." Sir Edward Burne-Jones carried out the Pre-Raphaelite traditions, and composed in the same way: and about his

work even the lovers of the refined style of design introduced by Rossetti will hardly agree, for to many of them the coloring of this famous artist and his composition in masses of color cannot be attractive. In a very different external sense he designed as Watts did, that is to say, he had a great moral or poetical or religious thought which he felt it essential to express, whether it lent itself readily to artistic composition or not. Men having this habit of mind will never be very great painters; but their work will always have the greatest possible interest for those who care far more for poetry without reference to the form in which it exists—for those who would prefer in verse William Blake to Shelley, or Emerson to Alfred de Musset.

Frederick Walker, who died very young in 1875, was almost alone in his independent feeling of an idyllic tone of thought embodied in an excellent, simple and solid painting. He paints pictures of simple domestic incident; but these are infused with a grace, a charm wholly his own. Albert Moore differs from him in that he never paints Incident at all, but only Situation. This habit, which in the opinion of many thoughtful critics of the time is that which the world ought to be encouraged to look upon favorably, consists in refusing to represent any event that ever happened, whether in history or in fiction, but to choose only admirable groups of figures, lovely surroundings of color in natural or in artificial backgrounds and foregrounds, and to paint these for their own sake as paintings. Walker came very near to that. If he had lived longer it might well have been that he would have become an artist as far removed from the historian or the story-teller as Albert Moore himself; but in Albert Moore we have as his most elaborate compositions such as the magnificent picture which represents four draped men seated on a long bench, or form, of rich design, and engaged together in the performance of some important piece of music for stringed instruments alone; while three elaborately draped girls stand facing the musicians, with their backs turned uncompromisingly toward the spectator, and gazing intently whither their interest is fixed. It is curious, by the way, that in a picture to be compared with this, the Waiting to Cross, where girls in Grecian costume are looking intently upon the rippled river, the painter has felt it necessary to turn the face of one of the three, outward, toward the spectator, lest too absolute a study of the back and its drapery should be monotonous. In the painting of The Quartette, however, the faces of the musicians are visible, and the girls may fix their attention without regard to the spectator. Moore's other pictures are generally still more slight in their "literary subject"; he depends for his effect upon admirably composed drapery of no matter what epoch and what material; flowers, marble, carved wood, or upon a charmingly imagined

landscape of his own devising; the whole wrought in a most delicate and exquisite combination possible to him who would keep everything in high light and in pure pale color.

W. Q. Orchardson (1835—), Laurens Alma Tadema (1836—), knighted as Sir Lawrence, and John Brett are noticeable as men whose business it is rather to paint the visible in an intelligent and painstaking way. The brilliancy and fidelity of Brett's landscapes, the rough cliffs rising from calm seas, and the interesting study of distant hillsides with cloud shadows passing over them, make it surprising that he is not more esteemed by his brother artists; but the tendency in modern landscape is so strong toward disregard of minute detail and swift execution of general harmonies, that it causes this and similar instances of partial injustice. This work is far from being great landscape—it cannot be compared with the graver and more significant work of Millais, in which probably not one-fifth of the time is consumed; but there is no mistake about the brilliancy of Brett's sunshine, and it is sad there could not have been given to that manly painting the last touch which would have made it charming as well as artistically truthful. Orchardson is one of the most serious of historical painters in the true sense; but then historical painting has no great value after all. Rendered in black and white and either engraved on wood or produced in etching by the master himself, one of his compositions would have done as well and have been as valuable eight inches long, as in a thousand pound canvas, having a superficies fifty times as great. Much the same truth obtains in regard to Alma Tadema; there being only this reserve, that no one has painted marble better than he, nor simple stuffs. As an example to other painters, as showing them what can be done in certain directions, there is no one more praiseworthy. Beyond this, his archæology is of just as much value as that which goes to the restoration of Roman or Greek buildings in our better books for popular information. It is the obvious way of thinking out the questions: How a Roman artist sold his bronzes; How a slave dealer exhibited his slaves to possible buyers—the classical world revived for us according to the thoughts of a man who has read much.

In the United States, the art of the men who are no longer living was from 1860 to the close of the century almost wholly a national growth; influenced here and there by a knowledge of the more masterly work that was being done in France and more rarely by the English precedent, but still, on the whole, American, of the Northeastern States. The so-called Hudson River school did not die in 1860; it was merely modified by some of those outside influences to which allusion has been made. Frederick E. Church (1826-1900)

and John F. Kensett (1818-72) did not paint much during their later years. Their work remains to us as the most powerful of the former epoch, rather than as influencing or forming a part of the new world of American art. Sanford R. Gifford (1825-80) and Jervis McEntee (1828-91) were the younger men of the older school, so to speak, and their landscape grew more and more significant as they grew older. McEntee's specialty of late autumn landscapes, with the ruddy gray of the trunks harmonizing with the red brown scattered leafage, and Gifford's summer landscape, hardly attempting sunshine but grave and severe in harmonies of grayish green, were not to be improved in their special way. They were renderings of the landscape effects, as the more intelligent layman sees landscape, of New York State and New England; not essentially the painter's, but rather the landscape lover's view of the problem, How to paint the fields and the woods. A. H. Wyant (1836-92) was younger than the men just named, and had more of the thorough handling and perfect knowledge of his technical business than they. With Martin, who is named below, he represents the best of American painting of simple landscape intelligently composed. In this sense he was less of a realist than Gifford and McEntee, because they would have been much less conscious of their own artistic handling of their theme, whereas to Wyant it was probably never a serious proposal that he should paint exactly what he saw. Homer D. Martin (1836-1897) was in this respect the most consummate artist that the country possessed. He produced little and he was hardly known by the public—even by the public of picture buyers; but his few large paintings are among the most important possessions of the country in the way of fine art. He was a deliberate composer. Out of doors he would paint, or more often sketch with the hard point, a tree or a clump of bushes or the way in which a naked rock rose out of the pasture, but it was in his study that his composition was made, and it was there that he produced those astonishing pieces of truth in the anatomy of hillside and rocky cliff, in which no landscape painter has ever surpassed him. George Inness (1825-94) was unique in America in his power of investing the landscape with brilliancy of color. He was like Corot in his indifference to the minute facts of the country before him, and like Corot in his disposition to harmonize sombre foliage and pale distant sky into a lovely harmony, but he was more eager than was Corot to seize the brilliant color of sunset and to use his gray green trees as a solid frame for those glowing effects.

William Morris Hunt (1824-79) was the one important figure painter among the men no longer living; and he was the first American to give to the world large mural paintings of artistic importance.

These were executed for the Capitol (i.e. the State government building) at Albany, but unfortunate errors in the construction of a part of the building caused new walls and roofs to be put in which conceal

Fig. 660. The Lambs. (Wm. Morris Hunt.)

these paintings altogether, and they are lost to the world. Many of his smaller pictures have great charm (see Fig. 660), and he is always a forceful technician.

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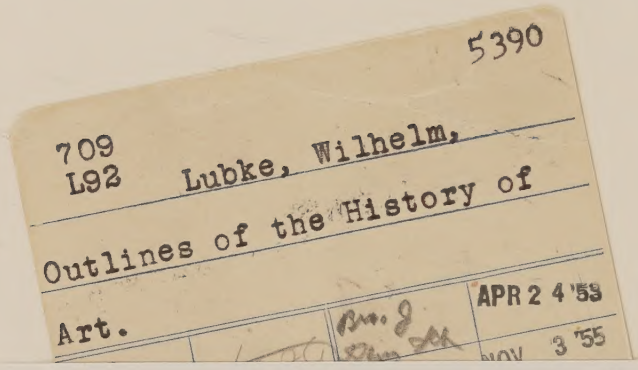

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